FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-1

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
JAN 10 1942

Sir:

After donating my services as a volunteer in the Army Signal Corps, feel that my position can be easily filled by any girl of average intelligence. I definitely know that my services can be utilized in a more profitable manner.

Herewith, I take the liberty of offering myself to the Intelligence Service, where I trust I could perform a greater service to my country than many others under the present circumstances.

During the last World War the British through Lawrence of Arabia incorporated the help of the Arabs, having as their leader my uncle, the late King Feisal; naturally the Moslem world would follow a Cheriff, direct descendant of the Prophet Mohamed.

The inhabitants of Mindanao, as one knows are Moslems and if lead by the philosophy and psychology of Islam can be encouraged and brought to a certain degree, whereby, they could damage enemy operations permanently, such a deed cannot be ignored in wartime.

I believe that my services can be used in such lines, born a direct descendant of the Prophet Mohamed, thoroughly acquainted with Oriental customs, Easterners would certainly cooperate with me, thereby, executing your orders and commands through a person of my birth with zealous confidence, so necessary for such work.

Shall be at your call for further details. May I state that I was born in the United States of America.

I have the honour to be,

Gazelle bent Tahar Muly Ali Cheriffa

daughter of

Prince Hadji Tahar ben Mohamed Cheriff

150 West 95th Street
New York, N. Y.
Apt. 7 A

A. A. G. 5

NE-1

FN

X FN ~~100~~

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-1
~~100~~

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
JAN 10 1942

Jan 9, 1942

File & send acknowledgment FLP

Near East

Dr. DeWitt C. Poole
C. O. I.
South Bldg.
25th & East Sts. N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of the letter I sent to Col. Donovan, at the suggestion of Commander S. M. Riis, whom you know. The contents of the letter are self-explanatory.

In connection with the subject matter Commander Riis, further suggested that if Col. Donovan should become interested; Cmdr. Riis will if deemed necessary, be glad to act in the advisory capacity, in connection with the technicalities of carrying out the idea proposed by me, in as much as far as I am personally concerned; my part in the scheme would naturally be on the psychological mental effect that I might have upon the Moslem Moros.

Cmdr. Riis, as you know, has been in the Far East for many years and is thoroughly acquainted with the Moro question in the P. I. and their tie-up with the Moslem Japs.

The whole proposition may seem farfetched and yet their is nothing to farfetched for our enemy to undertake and if we are to counteract any such enemy activities, we can't very well use easy going methods, as unfortunately has been the habit of the Anglo-Saxon in dealing with slimy enemies.

I have the honour to be,

Gazelle bent Tahar Muly Ali Cheriffa

Gazelle bent Tahar Muly Ali Cheriffa

daughter of

Prince Hadji Tahar ben Mohamed Cheriff

150 West 95th Street
New York, N. Y.

Apt 7A

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

~~151~~ 154

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-2

November 15, 1941

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Wiley

FROM: Walter L. Wright, Jr.

SUBJECT: Personnel for Mr. DeWitt C. Poole's Organization

1. I attach a copy of a memorandum dated November 4, 1941, summarizing my conversations with Professor Philip K. Hitti at Princeton, New Jersey, on November 1 and 2, 1941.

2. Dr. John Van Ess, 44 Alexander Street, Princeton, New Jersey

Professor Hitti tells me that Dr. Van Ess is the only American whose use of spoken Arabic is sufficiently good to justify his broadcasting in that language. Dr. Van Ess is a retired missionary who spent his life for the most part in Iraq where he had very extensive experience, both in dealing with private Arab individuals and with government officials. He knows Turkish also, just how well I cannot say, but in the brief conversations in Turkish which I have had with him he seemed to me to have a fine command of the language. I believe Dr. Van Ess to have an intimate knowledge of the psychology of the Arabs in general and to be a person much respected by them.

2. Dr. Philip K. Hitti, Department of Oriental Languages and Literature, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey

Dr. Hitti is the only Arab historical scholar who has completely mastered the technique of European scholarly work without losing touch with the traditions of Arab culture. He is a man of first-rate ability and of well-balanced judgment, an American citizen of many years standing and interested in the Arab National Movement but very much of a moderate in his views on this subject. He is disposed to give us every help within his power. The respect in which he is held by Arabs both in this country and throughout the Arab-speaking world and his very wide acquaintance combined make his help of the greatest value to us.

3. Nabih Amin Faris

Nabih Amin Faris is a Palestinian Christian Arab and one of Hitti's best students in the field of Arab history and literature. He is about 30 years of age, and being younger than Hitti is much less well balanced in his opinions. For example, he is strongly anti-Zionist, as one might expect of a man who is a native of Palestine. Faris has an excellent knowledge of both Arabic and English and writes in excellent style in Arabic.

36 yrs old in Oct. 1942

NY-FNS-I 07-2

4. Kerim Key, International House, Berkeley, California

Kerim Key is a Turk, partly of Azerbaijani origin, a graduate of Robert College in Istanbul and now a graduate student in the University of California. His knowledge of both Turkish and English is excellent, and he might be useful as a broadcaster or translator. I believe him to be entirely trustworthy.

5. Raif Erishken, 184 Waverly Place, New York City, New York

Mr. Erishken is an Istanbul Turk of very good family, in fact a close relative of Ismet Inönü, the President of the Turkish Republic. His spoken Turkish is of the very best and his knowledge of English is excellent. He has had some experience in broadcasting and translating, and is a person whom we should by all means employ if possible. Mr. James Warburg is in touch with him at my suggestions and has promised him work in connection with the Short Wave Broadcasting Company, Inc.

6. A. D. Sarkissian (Application on file with Mr. Byron Lindsley at the Library of Congress)

Mr. Sarkissian is an Armenian born in Turkey. He is now 36 years of age and is employed in the Catalogue Preparation Division of the Library of Congress. He has a doctorate in the subject of history obtained at the University of Illinois. I do not know him well personally, but believe that he is worth investigating as a possibility for work among Armenians.

7. Rouben Gavoor (Application on file with Mr. Byron Lindsley at the Library of Congress)

Mr. Gavoor is an Armenian who has done a good deal of work in connection with the Armenian colony in the United States. I had an interview with him and got the impression that Mr. Gavoor is an intelligent and well-intentioned fellow, capable of being useful to us in work connected with the Armenian colony.

8. James R. Gordon, Valley Cottage, New York

Mr. Gordon was formerly Assistant Manager of the American Express Company in Athens and in Istanbul and formerly Treasurer of the Near East Foundation, which carried on social work in Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, and Syria. Gordon is a native-born American of considerable ability. He has some knowledge of Greek and might be useful in dealing with the Greek population of the United States, among whom he has a certain measure of popularity.

So much for the present. I shall be glad to look up other names as the occasion offers.

Mitchell Jr.

WLW:jr

No: ____

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-2

B

FOREIGN POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES

Country: _____ Place: _____

From: _____ Date: _____

To: _____ Source: _____

Subject: _____

REMARKS

SUMMARY

Nabih Amin Faris

Born in Nazareth, Palestine
in ~~Dec~~ October of 1906

Attended English College in Jerusalem
1922 - 24

American University in
Beyrouth 1926 - 1928 (AB)

Came to U.S.A. in 1931

Princeton Theological Sem.
1931 - 1933

Teacher of Arabic
Princeton and Johns Hopkins

Start new report if subject changes -- Use double spacing --Send original (white) and one copy (green) -- Capitalize all names --Use standard paper as supplied.

A: AG 5C

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAR 30 1942
NE-3-R

Princeton, N. J.
March 22, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Emir Abdullah of Transjordan

[Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, March 13, 1942; As-Sameer, New York, March 13, 1942; al-Hoda, New York, March 12, 1942; al-Bayan, New York, March 14, 1942.]

All these Arabic-speaking papers have copied the special cable to the New York Times, dated Jerusalem, March 11, 1942, reporting the interview of C. L. Sulzberger with the Prince of Transjordan.

For the gist of the interview and my remarks, see please accompanying report on the Emir Abdullah.

N.F.F.

The Emir Abdullah of Transjordan. (3 pp.)
Press readings, based on Sulzberger interview,
by Faris. 3/22/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAR 30 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
Princeton, N.J.
March 22, 1942
NE-3-B

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Emir Abdullah of Transjordan

A special cable to the New York Times, dated Jerusalem, March 11, 1942, reports an interview which C. L. Sulzberger, correspondent of that paper had with the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan. The gist of the interview is that the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem had, by virtue of his Axis relations, forfeited his position among the Arabic-speaking people and lost the greater part of his influence among them. The Emir, according to the cable, went on to say that he alone could speak for the "Arabs", because he was the only remaining leader from the first Arab Revolution, and, therefore, would not allow any other Arab to mix in or attempt to deal with the future of these lands.

That the Grand Mufti has lost a great deal of his following and influence is, indeed, true. But the Emir Abdullah, despite his former connexions with the original Arab Revolution, is in no position to speak for the Arabic-speaking peoples, not even those of Transjordan whom he governs. It would be extremely dangerous for either Britain or the Allies to depend on the Emir, just as it would be dangerous for Britain to depend on any of the Indian princes. The Emir's loyalty, as well as those of the Indian princes, is the result of convenience not conviction, and neither the Emir nor the princes could be depended on to form the opinion of the masses, or echo their sentiment, or lead them in their aspirations.

A brief sketch of the Emir Abdullah might, under the circumstances, be helpful.

The Emir Abdullah is the second son of the late King Husayn of al-Hijaz, scion of the House Hashim, the noblest family of Islam, brother of the late King Faysal of Iraq, and uncle of the present regent, the Emir Abd-al-Ilah. As descendants of the Prophet of Islam through his daughter Fatimah, and for generations the guardians of the Sacred Places (Mecca and Medina), the family enjoyed paramount prestige through the Moslem world in general and the Arabic-speaking world in particular. It was natural, therefore, for the leaders of the Arab Revolution to look to them for supreme leadership. Of course the movement coincided with the ambitions of the late King Husayn who had hoped to assume the dignity of a caliph, as indeed he did in 1925. The real leadership, however, passed into the hand of Faysal, the only member of the House who was sincere and worthy. It is noteworthy that Abdullah's role in the Revolution was a secondary one.

After the conclusion of the war Faysal was proclaimed King of Syria (March 8, 1920); and at about the same time Abdullah was proclaimed King of Iraq. Faysal's reign lasted until July 28, when he was driven out by the French. Abdullah never ascended the throne to which he was elected, and never recovered from the disappointment. He had to give way to his brother Faysal who ascended the Iraqi throne on August 23, 1921; instead, Abdullah was placed by the British over the Transjordan(1921), a buffer-state between the sand and the sown, reminiscent of the Ghassanid and the Lakhmid states prior to the rise of Islam.

The Emir's record in Transjordan has not been creditable. During the first five years of his rule he squandered the whole income of the state. The British finally intervened and placed the Emir on an annual pay. His dependence upon the British for the maintenance of his position alienated the nationalist group, while his extravagance estranged his honest supporters. The high hopes placed in him by the people soon vanished, his respect among them dwindled, and even his noble descent from the Prophet no longer shielded him from lampoon and insult.

Regardless of his motives, he may be in earnest about his support of the Allied cause. But few "Arabs" would heed his advice or follow his leadership. If Britain, or the United States, is interested in enlisting the active cooperation of the Arabic-speaking world on the side of the Allies, the Emir is the wrong person to depend upon. He may succeed in keeping the tribes in Transjordan quiet, but he cannot move others outside to any action. The people of Iraq are for the most part Shiites hostile to the Sunnites whom the Emir represents. Even Faysal had his trouble with them. The people of Iraq object also to the Emir's mercenary attitude. In Syria he is not popular, because he withheld his aid from them in the revolution of 1925-27. In the Lebanon the descent of the Emir is not an asset but a liability, and his record is worse. In Palestine where the anti-Zionist feeling is highest, the Emir is a suspect, because of alleged friendly relations with the Zionist leaders. Egypt is politely casual. In Arabia proper Ibn-Saud reigns supreme. In fact he is the only Moslem figure who enjoys the universal respect of all Moslems. He is the man Britain, and, indeed, this country should cultivate.

(Dept. Favorable)

4.15

B.V.

Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
AB-

C

SECRET

SECRET

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION — FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Number 12

March 31, 1942

The Emir Abdullah of Transjordan

In a special cable to the *New York Times*, dated Jerusalem, March 11, 1942, C. L. Sulzberger reports an interview with the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan. The New York Arabic papers *Meraatul-Gharb*, *As-Sameer*, *al-Hoda*, and *al-Bayan* have all copied this cable. The gist of the interview is that the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem had by virtue of his relations with the Axis forfeited his position among the Arabic-speaking people and lost the greater part of his influence among them. The Emir said that he alone could speak for the "Arabs" because he was the only remaining leader of the first Arab Revolution, and that he would not allow any other Arab leader to interfere with the future of these lands.

Professor Nabih Amin Faris of Princeton University kindly supplies the following commentary on the interview:

That the Grand Mufti has lost a great deal of his following and influence is indeed true. But the Emir Abdullah, despite his former connections with the original Arab Revolution, is in no position to speak for the Arabic-speaking peoples, not even for those of Transjordan whom he governs. It would be extremely dangerous for either Britain or the Allies to depend upon the Emir, just as it would be dangerous for Britain to depend upon any of the Indian princes.

The Emir's loyalty, like the loyalty of the Indian princes, is the result of convenience rather than conviction, and neither the Emir nor the princes could be depended upon to form the opinion of the masses, or to echo their sentiments, or to lead them in their aspirations.

The Emir Abdullah is the second son of the late King Husayn of al-Hijaz, scion of the House Hashim, the noblest family of Islam; he is a brother of the late King Faysal of Iraq, and uncle of the present regent, the Emir Abd-al-Ilah. As descendants of the Prophet of Islam through his daughter Fatimah, and as guardians of the Sacred Places (Mecca and Medina), the family enjoyed paramount prestige throughout the Moslem world in general and the Arabic-speaking world in particular. It was natural, therefore, for the leaders of the Arab Revolution to look to them for supreme leadership. The movement coincided, of course, with King Husayn's ambition to assume the dignity of a caliph, as indeed he did in 1925. The real leadership, however, passed into the hands of Faysal, the only member of the House who was sincere and worthy. It is significant that Abdullah's role in the Revolution was a secondary one.

After the conclusion of the war (Professor Faris continues) Faysal was proclaimed King of Syria (March 8, 1920); at about the same time Abdullah was proclaimed King of Iraq. Faysal's reign lasted until July 28, when he was driven out by the French.

Abdullah never ascended the throne to which he was elected, and never recovered from his disappointment. He was forced to give way to his brother Faysal, who ascended the Iraqi throne on August 23, 1921. In the same year the British installed Abdullah in the Transjordan, a buffer-state between the sand and the sown, reminiscent of the Ghassanid and the Lakhmid states prior to the rise of Islam.

The Emir's record in Transjordan has not been creditable. During the first five years of his rule he squandered the whole income of the state, with the result that the British finally intervened and gave him an annual subsidy. His dependence upon the British for the maintenance of his position alienated the nationalist group, while his extravagance estranged his honest supporters. The high hopes placed in him by the people soon vanished, their respect for him dwindled, and even his noble descent from the Prophet no longer shielded him from lampoon and insult.

Regardless of his motives, he may be earnest in his support of the Allied cause. But few "Arabs" would heed his advice or follow his leadership. If Britain or the United States desires to enlist the active cooperation of the Arabic-speaking world on the side of the Allies, the Emir is the wrong person to depend upon (Professor Faris concludes). He may succeed in keeping the tribes in Transjordan quiet, but he cannot control others. The people of

Iraq, for the most part, are Shiites hostile to the Sunnites whom the Emir represents. Even Faysal had trouble with them. The people of Iraq object also the Emir's mercenary attitude. In Syria he is not popular because he withheld his aid during the revolution of 1925-27. In the Lebanon the descent of the Emir is not an asset but a liability. In Palestine, where anti-Zionist feeling among the Arabs is highest, the Emir is suspect because of alleged friendly relations with Zionist leaders. Egypt is politely casual to him. In Arabia proper, Ibn Saud reigns supreme. In fact, Ibn Saud is the only Moslem figure who enjoys the universal respect of all Moslem. He is the man Britain and this country should cultivate.

A. AGB

Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 24 1942
NE-4-R

Princeton, N. J.
April 18, 1942

RECEIVED APR 21 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: A Lebanese University in Washington ?

3.1.1

[Al-Hoda, New York, April 16, 1942.]

1.8

In a signed article by one of the regular contributors, Ilyas al-Khuri al-Murr, the subject of the future of the Lebanese community in this country is discussed and the mission which it should fulfil is set forth. This mission is to promote understanding between the Lebanon and the United States. It is, therefore, advocated that the Lebanese should preserve their heritage, including their language, and as a unit render their contribution. But the language, which is the best unifying factor, has been forgotten by all but the immigrants -- the second generation of Lebanese in this country have not retained the language of their parents. To remedy this ill, it is proposed to establish either a Lebanese University in Washington or community schools in each locality where a Lebanese community resides.

4.1.2

[The Lebanon has always been separatist (see my reprt of Feb. 15, 1942 on "Syrian versus Lebanese in New York"). This is but an extreme manifestation of the same phenomenon, but does not necessarily echo the sentiment of the majority of the Lebanese Americans. In fact the editor of al-Hoda himself has repeatedly urged his readers that their first loyalty was to the land of their adoption. Nor does it represent the wishes of the second generation Americans of Lebanese stock. These resent being anything but American, and know no Arabic, the language of their parents. The subject will probably be discussed again in the Arabic press,

A Lebanese University in Washington ? (cont.)

but it is extremely doubtful that it will meet any enthusiasm; it is almost certain that nothing will be done about it, to interpret the idea in action.

It is, nevertheless, the sympton of a tendency. As such it is worthy of atttention and watching. The genius of America has been the welding of divers cultures and heritages, not their isolated perpetuation. There is no harm for a minority to be bi-lingual, but it cannot be bi-national in the "melting pot."]

a Lebanese University in Washington? Parade on Washington St. (3pp) Press readings by Faris. 4/14-5/31/42.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
JUN 5 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-4-R

B

Princeton, N. J.
May 31, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR.
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JUN 3 9 28 AM '42
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

To: DeWitt C. Poole

PRESS

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: A Parade on Washington Street

3.1.1

[Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, May 25, 1942; al-Hoda, New York, May 26, 1942.]

Near East

On Sunday, May 24, 1942, a special parade in honour of the enlisted men from Washington Street was held, and was the occasion of patriotic speeches on the part of Syrian Americans who renewed their oath of allegiance to the United States. The number of enlisted men from Washington Street is 130. One has already died in action.

[Washington Street is synonimous with Syrian Americans, since it was there where they first settled, and there many of them still live and conduct their business. In its editorial comments on the event, the Meraat-ul-Gharb says that "Washington Street was the first school where the Syrian immigrants received their initial lesson in Americanism, the cradle of their business enterprize, in which it grew and finally reached Fifth Avenue."

Whether they are first generation American citizens or second generation, old and young alike, they are all loyal to the land of their adoption, and are proud that their children are receiving their baptism of fire in defence of the United States and what it stands for.]

Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 15 1942
NE-5

EITHER
SEE: AB-5

SECRET

April 24, 1942

Near East

Professor T. Leslie Shear
Battle Road
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Leslie:

The reports from your office are coming in in great style and we are most appreciative.

We have just received from Professor John A. Wilson of the Near East Section of Research and Analysis the enclosed memorandum, together with the report on the Arab-Speaking Community in the United States. Perhaps you will be good enough to submit this to Professor Hitti and Professor Faris. Their commentaries would be read with the greatest interest here.

Sincerely yours,

Signed - De Witt C. Poole

DeWitt C. Poole

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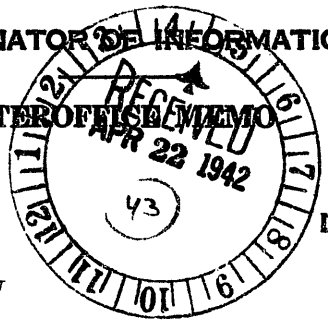
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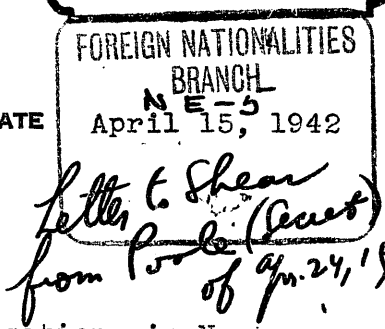
B.

CONFIDENTIAL

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

INTEROFFICE MEMO





FROM: John A. Wilson **DATE** April 15, 1942

TO: Dr. John C. Wiley

SUBJECT: Arab Nationals in the United States

Letter E. Shean from Poole (Secret) of Apr. 24, 1942.

On the basis of recent conversations in New York Harold W. Glidden of the Near East Section makes the enclosed report on Arab nationals in the United States. This information has perhaps come directly from other sources to the Foreign Nationalities Branch.

I do not know whether action is indicated on the subversive tendencies in the situation. It does not seem to me that there is any need for a round-up of Arab nationals who continue certain loyalties which they had before the war. However, it does seem to me that F.B.I. should be aware of the situation to exert whatever restraining influence is possible.

Mr. Glidden and I would be happy to talk to you or to anyone whom you may suggest about the matter.

JAW:jr

CC: Dr. Langer

Glidden report on Arabic-speaking community in U.S. comments by Hitti and Farris. (7 1/2 pp.) Letter: Poole to Shean, 4/24/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-5
CONFIDENTIAL

April 15, 1942

THE ARABIC-SPEAKING COMMUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE WAR

The purpose of this memorandum is to explain the divisions of the Arabic-speaking community in this country, their internal discords and their effect upon the United States at war. Traditional sympathies and antipathies condition their present loyalties and make a considerable portion of them a fertile bed for Axis propaganda. This danger is not yet acute but warrants careful watching on the part of Government authorities. 4.1.2

Geographic and Religious Origins

Of persons of Arab blood or descent in this country about 80 percent are Lebanese, 15 percent Syrians, two or three percent Palestinians, and one or two percent Druzes. The great majority are Christians (Maronites and Greek Orthodox), and only about 5,000 or 6,000 (perhaps one percent) are Muslims. These figures are estimates but probably represent the proportions.

The Lebanese are principally Maronites and want their native land, where the Maronites are the large majority, to be independent of Syria, which they look down on as dominated by medieval, outworn Muslim ideas. They do not as a whole identify themselves with the Arab nationalist movement, but instead look to the West, with the culture of which they identify themselves. On the whole, they are the most Americanized and reliable group among all immigrants of Arabic-speaking origin. 4.2

The Greek Orthodox element, on the other hand, comes principally from Syria and Palestine, both countries with a large Muslim majority. They have expressed the cause of Arab nationalism and of the Mufti and call themselves Arabs. They are thus constantly at odds with the Lebanese, who pride themselves on being descendants of the ancient Phoenicians. 4.1.2.3 4.1.2.4

CONFIDENTIAL

Antipathies

Probably the most important cause of the present divisions among the Arabic-speaking community is the old rivalries and jealousies which have been transplanted here from their native lands. These are often of a tiresome and petty character, but are important when judged from the standpoint of their cumulative effect. The rivalry is not only religious (Maronites against Greek Orthodox), but national (Syrians and Palestinians versus Lebanese), local (people from one town versus those from another), family, and personal. Rival newspaper editors malign each other for the purpose of increasing their circulation, etc. However, behind all this smoke there does exist some fire.

Arab Nationalism

The Arab National League was founded in this country by immigrants of Arabic-speaking origin (principally Syrians and Palestinians) to collect money for the defense of Arab nationalism in the Near East; in other words to help the exiled Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husayni, carry on his opposition against Jewish expansion in Palestine. In ordinary times this activity was perfectly legitimate, just as much so as the Jewish activity in collecting money for the promotion of the Zionist settlement in Palestine.

Now, however, that the Mufti is the ally of the enemies of the United States and is openly aiding their cause from Berlin, the Arab National League finds itself unable to shake off its old alliance with the Mufti. The reason for this is that by repudiating the Mufti they feel that they are thereby giving up their support of the Arab fight against Zionism. They have thus been forced to put their loyalty to the Mufti before their loyalty to this country. It was this irreconcilable conflict of loyalties which led Dr. Fu'ad Shatarah, formerly president of the Arab National League, to commit suicide when this country entered the war. He was replaced by Elias J. Audi of New York, who continues the defense of the Mufti.

The Arabic Press

This defense has given rise to a bitter controversy between Salloum Mokarzel (Lebanese Maronite), editor of the New York Arabic daily paper al-Hoda, and the Arabic

CONFIDENTIAL

paper as-Sameer of Brooklyn. al-Hoda attacks as-Sameer for defending the Mufti, who is now the enemy of this country, while as-Sameer counters with the accusation that al-Hoda is subsidized by Zionist money. Mokarzel says he has received letters threatening his life.

But the controversy spreads beyond the borders of this country. al-Hoda has been and is being attacked by various Arabic papers in Central and South America as Jewish-inspired. Two of these papers the writer has seen himself. They are Sawnt al-Sharq ("the Voice of the East"), published by Basharah Qustandi at Bernoza Num 110, Havana, Cuba, and al-Islah ("Reform"), published in both Arabic and Spanish by Jorge Sabaj Zurob at Bellavista 263, Santiago, Chile. This last-mentioned paper is definitely pro-Axis, so that its defense of the Mufti cannot be divorced from sympathies for Germany and Italy. These papers reach the United States regularly on exchange with Arabic newspapers in this country, and apparently nothing is being done to stop them. Their articles are naturally copied and quoted with approval by pro-Mufti papers in the United States.

Loyalties Under War Conditions

How the atmosphere thus created has affected wartime activities is illustrated by the dispute between Syrians and Lebanese over collecting money for the Red Cross. A Syrian group received from the Red Cross the exclusive right to solicit among the Arabic-speaking community in this country. Since no mention of the Lebanese was made on the letterheads of the organization, the Lebanese protested to the Red Cross, who are too bewildered to be able to do anything about the situation. The net result is that whereas the Arab National League was able to collect $40,000 for the Mufti in a comparatively short time, the Syrian Red Cross committee has so far produced only about $12,000. This information was gained from both Mr. Mokarzel and from Mr. George C. Dagher, 25 Beaver Street, New York City; the latter has been appointed by the Treasury Department to stimulate the purchase of defense securities by the Syro-Lebanese Community.

Mr. Dagher says that one of the principal obstructionists is the Greek Orthodox Archbishop Bashir, an ex-contributor to the Arab National League.

CONFIDENTIAL

Conclusions

The situation thus created is a difficult one, which must be treated with tact but at the same time with energy and firmness. In the first place, if the Arab National League is suppressed the cry will surely go up that it was at Jewish instigation. An attempt should be made to separate the sheep from the goats. Probably many of those adhering to the Mufti would be brought to their senses by a sharp personal reminder that these are no times for divided loyalties. The ringleaders, who are consciously responsible for the mischief, should be given special treatment. These include besides Arab National League officers, organizers[1] for the so-called "Iron-Shirt" (al'Umsan al-Hadidiyah) movement of Antun Sa'adah (now in South America), a Hitler-youth inspired organization, who are now in circulation in this country and trying to enlist the support of Arab groups. The whole situation provides a good sample of the working of the Axis policy of fomenting for their own ends the rivalries, jealousies and prejudices of groups in other countries, and of these weaknesses the Arabic-speaking immigrants in this country have more than their share.

1.1 Argentina (Also)

H. W. Glidden

1.1 1.12

[1] Fakhri Ma'luf, a student at the University of Michigan, and his colleague Raji Zahir.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
SCHOOL OF HUMANISTIC STUDIES
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Letter to Shear from Poole

RECEIVED 1942
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-5

May 4, 1942

Mr. DeWitt C. Poole
c/o Office Coordinator of Information
25th and E Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear DeWitt:

Enclosed are the reports which you requested from Hitti and Faris in commentary on the "Memorandum Submitted by Harold W. Glidden on 'The Arabic-speaking Community in the United States and the War'".

Both men have prepared these criticisms with the utmost care, and Hitti made a special trip to New York in connection with the matter. Since this study required considerable time, you will understand the delay in getting these reports back to you.

Everything is going well at this branch of the work.

With best regards,

Yours very sincerely,

T. Leslie Shear

TLS:mt

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May 5, 1942

Professor T. Leslie Shear
Battle Road
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Leslie:

The commentaries by Professor Hitti and Professor Faris on Harold W. Glidden's memorandum on the Arabic-speaking Community in the United States are much appreciated. I think it was very good of both of them to take so much trouble. They may be assured that the information which they have supplied will be put to good use.

I note that Professor Hitti made a special trip to New York. I do not think that he should be allowed to be out of pocket. Please let me arrange to reimburse him through the means of your petty cash account.

With warmest thanks and kindest regards, I am

Yours as ever,

Initialed - D.C.P.

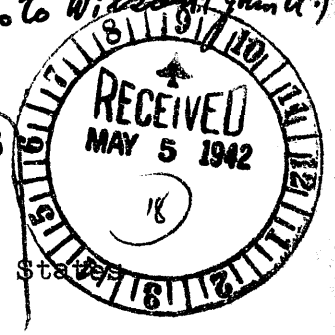
DeWitt C. Poole

DCP:mfk

Letter to Hoskins, Burton - Memo to Wilson (John A.)

1,13 Letter to Poole from Poole 5/6/42

Princeton, N. J.
May 2, 1942.



To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: Philip K. Hitti
Subject: Memorandum Submitted by Harold W. Glidden on "The Arabic-speaking Community in the United States and the War".

I. The Arab National League, whose activities the memorandum holds in suspicion, held its last meeting on April 28, 1941 and passed resolutions two of which read as follows:

> "Resolved that the welfare of the Arab peoples will be better served by a victory of the Democracies, regardless of temporary Axis triumphs and any alluring promises that might be made by the Axis powers to win the favors of Arab Nations.
>
> And be it further resolved that the Officers of the Arab National League are hereby directed and authorized to communicate by whatever means possible with the Arab Leaders in the Near East, cautioning them against the fallacy of assuming an Axis victory and advising them of the daily increase of America's military might as well as her determination and ability to support Great Britain until victory is achieved."

A copy of these resolutions, I am told, were sent to the Department of State. Since then the office of the League (New York) has been closed . Its president, Dr. Shatara, died Jan. 8 of this year and its secretary has been away from New York. He is now in California. Mr. Elias J. Audi, with whom I happened to have lunch yesterday, is not the president. Archbishop Bashir, whom I have known since he was a student-teacher at the American University of Beirut (1919-22) I also happened to meet at dinner last night. No more loyal American citizen of foreign birth can be found.

In the last note penned by Dr. Shatara to his wife, as reported in the New York Times, Jan. 9, 1942, he wrote, "My nerves are frayed, my health undermined, and I cannot go any longer." His widow showed me the original note from which the Times report deleted "thanks to the Cumberland conspiracy". Private conversations with Mrs. Shatara, two colleagues of his, his bosom friend and lawyer (a Palestinian fellow villager of Shatara) and other close associates of Shatara failed to elicit more than this information: His suicide was motivated primarily by losing his connection with the Cumberland Hospital, on whose staff he had been for over twenty years. The "conspiracy" was worked out by colleagues who discovered irregularities in the professional du-

ties of a subordinate and appointee of Dr. Shatara. Some of these colleagues, as well as members of the Board of the Hospital, were Jews, but no one of those of Shatara's relatives and friends with whom I spoke is willing to admit more than this: Shatara's activities in the Arab National League may have disposed some of the Jews unfavorably against him, but that disposition was of no determining influence. A few weeks ago Mrs. Shatara showed me a copy of the last letter her husband wrote to the chairman of the committee investigating the professional charges against Shatara's appointee, and it confirms the general impression I gained as to the antecedents of his suicide. The reference to his "undermined health" in his last note is explained by the fact that a colleague of his told me that there was suspicion of cancer in an internal organ of which Shatara had knowledge.

The Arab National League was organized in the early twenties and raised thousands of dollars in North America and parts of South America, not "for the Mufti" but to liberate and unite the Arab nationalities of Western Asia. Its main activity centered on combatting Zionist propaganda and British conduct in Palestine. To that extent it was anti-British. But that is one thing and being pro-Nazi is another. Even to be pro-Nazi a few years ago, it should be remembered, was not then necessarily in itself anti-American or clearly anti-democratic. To inject ideas which were not clarified until 1939 - 1942 into situations in the early twenties and thirties is to distort the facts of those situations.

It is true that the Arab National League over a period of some twenty years raised from the two Americas much more than the "Red Cross Syrian Group - Syria - Lebanon - Palestine" (that is the way their letterhead reads, indicating that "Lebanon" was expressly mentioned) raised in a few weeks from New York City alone, but, I am told, the Syrian group raised per capita more than any other foreign group in New York City and came third on the list of large contributors.

II. The reference to the "Iron Shirts" is evidently to Syrian National Party (al-Ḥizb al-Sūri al-Qawmi) organized about eight years ago by Antun Sa'adah, who taught German at the American University of Beirut. The Party is unquestionably Fascistic in its organization and part of its ideology, but here again we should guard against injecting our present ideas about Nazism into a Lebanese situation in the middle of the thirties. In other words, if we find in Lebanon at that time a group of nationalistically-minded youths admiring Italian and German methods of organization and intent upon using that organization for driving the French and British out of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine and

uniting the three into one strong united whole, we have no right in 1942 America to assume that such a party was then anti-American. The official organ of this party I received from Sao Paulo, Brazil, where "the leader" sought refuge from the Lebanon government, until the government of Brazil prohibited the issuance of all foreign-language publications. The party struck no root among the Arabic-speaking peoples of the United States, because the vast majority among them are either Separatist Lebanese or pan-Arabs. The Syrian Nationalist Party is interested in Greater Syria alone. I know only of about half a dozen in this country who professed sympathy with this Party. One Arabic paper, As-Sameer (Brooklyn) once wavered on the border line of espousing its cause. Fakhri Ma'luf, cited in the memorandum as an "organizer" of this body, was graduated from the American University of Beirut, where he taught before coming to the University of Michigan in 1939 as an exchange student. He attended our Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies, 1941. If I remember correctly he acted on a friendly advice offered him and consulted last summer with an officer of the Department of State in Washington about the advisability of organizing a branch in this country, but was discouraged from attempting it.

The Memorandum on the whole illustrates what happens when someone lacking the proper frame of reference seeks information from one source only which happens in this case to be a highly prejudiced one.

Note: Dr. Faris and I prepared each his commentary without consulting with the other.

SECRET

Letter to Hoskins & Burton

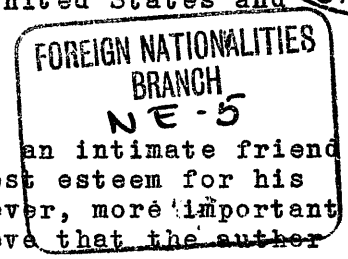
Princeton, N.J.
May 2, 1942

Memo to Wilson (State) from Poole 5/6/42.



To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Memorandum Submitted by Harold W. Glidden on "The Arabic-speaking Community in the United States and the War."



The author of the memorandum has been an intimate friend of mine for many years, and I have the highest esteem for his scholarship and abilities. Issues are, however, more important than personalities, and in this case I believe that the author is entirely wrong.

For facts, in themselves, are like statistics -- when taken out of their context and manipulated without regard to sequence or history, they can prove any desired position. Unwittingly, and certainly in good faith, the facts contained in the memorandum have suffered from such a treatment.

Again, not all the statements contained in the memorandum and accepted by its author are true. Considering the source of his information, the editor of al-Hoda and a certain Mr. George C. Dgaher, he should have been a little less credulous. The editor of al-Hoda, as well as his associate, has been at odds with all the other Arabic-speaking editors in this country. The controversy is solely personal. The crux of the matter lies in fact, not unnoticed by the author of the memorandum, that "rival newspaper editors malign each other for the purpose of increasing their circulation." (Col. McCormick and Marshall Field have been exchanging such courtesies before and since December 7; but the one is not an ally to Hitler nor the other an advocate of communism.) Such charges as the editor of al-Hoda makes are irresponsible, and, indeed, malicious. Their acceptance, on their face value, by my friend Glidden is naïve.

Taking his points one by one, let me make the following remarks:

With the exception of the last paragraph in this section (Geographic and Religious Origins) the statements are fairly accurate. The Lebanese element forms the majority among the Arabic-speaking groups in this country (see my report on "Syrian versus Lebanese in New York", Feb. 15, 1942). This element is, likewise, principally Maronite. It is not true, however, that the Greek Orthodox element is principally Syrian; still less is it a partisan of the Mufti. Many of the Lebanese are Greek Orthodox. They are, also, like the bulk of their compatriots, not favorably disposed towards either Islam or Arab nationalism, which they cannot differentiate from pan-Islamism. Like the Maronites, they too are separatist.

The attitude of the Greek Orthodox element towards the Mufti is identical with that of the Maronite and the other Arabic-

speaking elements. They are aware that the Mufti came into prominence as the chief opponent of Zionist aspirations in Palestine. They are, like all Arabic-speaking peoples, hostile to Zionism, and as such, they might be described as supporters of the Mufti. They will not, however, follow the Mufti into the Axis camp, any more than the All India Congress would follow Bose into the Japanese camp. The halo of martyrdom adorns both in the eyes of the two nationalist groups; but the reins of leadership have dropped from their hands. No Indian would denounce Bose, and no nationalist Arab would denounce the Mufti, no matter how much they might disagree with the wisdom of their actions.

Antipathies.

Herein the memorandum reveals accurate insight, especially when it points out that "the rivalry is not only religious...but [also] national, ...local,...family,... and personal. Rival newspaper editors malign each other for the purpose of increasing their circulation." I would however, place the national factor last, and believe it to be the least important, especially among the different Arabic-speaking communities in this country, where the greater number are fully Americanized. The rivalry of the newspaper editors is to my mind the most important, and is responsible for the articulate character of the controversy. In this respect, the editor of al-Hoda should shoulder most of the blame. It is interesting to mention that this latter time champion of Lebanese rights, has been until recently the editor of an English quarterly the name of which was The Syrian World, while his own printing establishment where al-Hoda is published is called The Syrian Press. That the Lebanese are separatists is, indeed, true. Likewise, the Syrians have shown a greater enthusiasm for a vague ineffable pan-Arabism. (See my report on Lebanese versus Syrian in New York", Feb. 15, 1942) But this is a far cry from the charges of Axis sympathy on the part of the Syrians. The fact of the matter is that, in their clamour for political independence, it was natural for any of these countries to be hostile to the particular power which ruled its land -- in Iraq and Palestine, Britain; in Syria and the Lebanon, France. In the Lebanon this hostility was tempered by a traditional friendship towards France, dating from the last century. Were Germany the mandatory power in any of these countries, the hostility would have been directed against it. The remarkable thing is that, despite the hostility of those peoples towards their foreign rulers, no noticeable sentiment is manifest in favour of the Axis. Were there a genuine and popular sympathy towards the Axis, the Iraq incident, for example, would have been most serious.

Arab Nationalism.

The origins of the Arab League in New York is correctly and fairly set forth. But no mention is made that this League has dissolved itself about the middle of 1941, because its

continued existence would have been embarrassing both to Britain and to itself. It was Dr. Shatara's reluctance to embarrass Britain in this critical moment that led to the closing down of the League and the complete cessation of all its activities. Speculations as to the cause of Dr. Shatara's suicide have been many. But his loyalty as an American citizen should not be impugned. A week after Japan's assault against the United States, Dr. Shatara placed himself at the disposal of the United States Army, to be sent as a medical officer to the Far East. This fact has been attested by the editor of al-Hoda himself. Dr. Shatara made known to me personally his offer, and added that he expected to see action in the Philippines.

Of Elias J. Audi, who is supposed to have replaced Dr. Shatara, I have no information whatsoever. But I know that there is, at present, no League. I further know that no public defence of the Mufti has been made in any of the Arabic-speaking papers in this country since December 7. Mr. Audi may or may not have defended the Mufti in private. This belongs to the realm of rumour. The Mufti has, however, been defended by Arabic papers in South America (see my report "Grand Mufti to be Honoured in Argentina and Chile", April 4, 1942). In that report I said, "The fact that only one Arabic-speaking paper [in this country], namely al-Hoda, has openly attacked the Mufti, while the others observe a discreet silence, is proof that despite his mistaken judgment, he remains an idol to many." But, as I said in the same report, few, indeed, would follow him into the Axis camp; fewer would either condemn or denounce him. As already stated this is similar to the case of Bose of India. Reluctance to condemn either stems from the desire to acknowledge their past services to a cause shared by the overwhelming majority of both peoples. But the silence of the Arab nationalist should not be interpreted as a sign of approval of the Mufti's course since he made Berlin his abode. In fact this silence is proof of diminished influence. He is becoming the "forgotten man". Al-Hoda's continued attacks keep the Mufti in the limelight, and brightens the aura around his head.

The Arabic Press

The raging controversy between al-Hoda and As-Sameer is in the main personal. As-Sameer has not defended the Mufti since December 7. As-Sameer, as my reports have shown, is the principal advocate of a United States mandate over Syria and the Lebanon. This has incensed al-Hoda, who champions Lebanese independence. This is one important factor behind the controversy. Like most controversies that reach the press, the real reasons are often concealed, and a more popular pretext is selected as a vehicle of attack. The issue of the Mufti is such a vehicle, while the real reason is a combination of personal antipathy between the two editors, Lebanese separatism on the part of al-Hoda, and the desire to increase circulation by both, through a lively contro-

versy which will entertain their audience. As-Sameer's attacks against al-Hoda have been for the most part, personal--ridiculing the literary style of the latter, and finding fault with his diction. It is noteworthy that this controversy has been confined in this country to these two papers. The other papers, representing various shades and loyalties, have ignored the whole thing, and in personal talks with me, have regretted its continuation. This leads me to the belief that while lines of demarcation exist between Syrians and Lebanese, already discussed by me in my report of February 15, the controversy now raging is not an echo of these differences. Furthermore, this controversy has no bearing on the loyalties of these groups to the United States. 3.3

The position of the Arabic-speaking press in South America is important. Some papers, as I have already reported, have Axis sympathies and Axis connexions. This is in marked contrast with the Arabic press in this country, where all are independent, and certainly loyal. It seems rather irrelevant to inject the question of the Arabic press in South America in determining the loyalty of the Arabic-speaking community in this country. 3.3 Latin American (Abbot)

Again the memorandum has failed to subject the statements of its informants to any criticism. The editor of al-Hoda, suspecting or knowing that his interviewer had some official standing, has sought to seize the opportunity to take a sling at his personal adversaries. It is extremely difficult to elicit accurate information from anyone when the interviewer has official governmental connexions. This is the more difficult when the interviewer does not fully understand the thinking processes, background, and motives of his informant.

Loyalties Under War Conditions

The incident of the Red Cross is not stated accurately, and the interpretation placed upon it is at variance with the truth. The Labanese were mentioned in the letterheads of the organizations. They were not, however, given as prominent a place as the Syrians, simply because all the Arabic-speaking peoples who have come to this country have been classified by immigration authorities as Syrians. Syrian is the only term known to the authorities. Consequently the committee was called Syrian, and a sub-title explained that the contributors were Syrians, Lebanese, and Palestinians. Al-Hoda took exception to this. The roots of the controversy were discussed in my report of February 15 on "Syrian versus Lebanese in New York".

The controversy has, in all likelihood, adversely affected the success of the campaign. This is most unfortunate, but has nothing to do with lack of loyalty and zeal for the American Red Cross in contrast with the enthusiasm shown in aiding the Mufti. The Arab League did raise a considerable sum of money for the aid of the Palestine movement, But the period involved was over several years, and the funds were not for the Mufti but for Palestine. The memorandum should have known these facts before deducing from

al-Hoda's statements such serious accusations.

More malicious is the accusation that the Archbishop Bashir of the Syrian Greek Orthodox Church is the principal obstructionist. The Archbishop is himself a Lebanese. But he insisted on united effort rather than divided efforts. Were the editor of al-Hoda placed at the head of the committee, no controversy would have ensued. Incidentally, al-Hoda fought and attacked the Lebanese Exposition at the World Fair because its editor was excluded from some official function.

All these things are silly and trivial; but they offer an explanation and a background. Unfortunately the memorandum was written without any regard to, or knowledge of, all these details. The result was to take isolated facts out of their context.

Conclusion

A false premise inevitably results in a false conclusion, There is no Arab League to suppress, and no ringleaders to be brought to their senses. The League, as already stated, dissolved itself.

One word about the so-called "Iron Shirts" movement. This I discussed in my report of March 8, on "A Syrian Führer in Buenos Aires." No doubt the movement is a Nazi-Fascist one. It is, however, irresponsible as well as malicious, to involve innocent people, and dub them organizers. It was my duty last summer to teach this same Fakhri Ma'luf at the Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies at Princeton University. The boy is a nationalist and used to be a member of the Nationalist Syrian Party. Since he came to this country he has been a student at the University of Michigan. Before he came to this country he was a member of the faculty of the American University of Beirut, to which he is expected to return. He is definitely not an organizer. He believes in a Greater Syria, but he does not subscribe to the racial and religious ideas of that party. He himself is a Lebanese, a Greek Catholic, and in ideology pacific. His field of specialty is philosophy. The writer of the memorandum has met Ma'luf at the Seminar, and had the opportunity to ascertain for himself that the latter was and is not an organizer. Here again the word of the editor of al-Hoda was taken without criticism.

In short, the memorandum suffers from lack of critical insight into the background of the whole problem. It is naive in accepting irresponsible charges made in bad faith. Isolated facts, taken out of their context, give a picture wholly removed from truth. I would not blame the editor of al-Hoda, because he has an axe to grind. But I wish the writer of the memorandum had subjected the statements made to him by the former to some

criticism, of which he is certainly capable.

Note: Professor Hitti and I have each written his remarks without consulting each other.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-54

SECRET

May 5, 1942

Mr. George C. Burton
Special Agent
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Burton:

Later on we shall probably be able to give you a completed piece of work on the Arabic-speaking Community in the United States. As that is some time off, however, I am sending you now three papers which you will probably be glad to have in your files for reference.

The first is a memorandum prepared by Mr. Harold W. Glidden of the Research and Analysis Branch of the Coordinator's Office. The other two papers are commentaries on Mr. Glidden's memorandum by Professor Hitti and Professor Faris of Princeton University, both of whom have been helping us with the study of Arab Nationals in the United States.

I may add that both Professors Hitti and Faris are Christian Lebanese who have become

American citizens. Professor Hitti is one of the most distinguished scholars in the field of Oriental literature. Professor Faris, a younger man, is also highly regarded.

Sincerely yours,

Signed - De Witt C. Poole

DeWitt C. Poole

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Enclosures (3)
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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-5

SECRET

D. C. Poole

May 5, 1942

Professor John A. Wilson

With your memorandum of April 15 you were kind enough to send us a report on Arab Nationals in the United States which had been prepared by Mr. Harold W. Glidden following recent conversations in New York.

In view of your suggestion that this was a subject into which we might look more closely, I took the liberty of sending copies of Mr. Glidden's memorandum to Professor Hitti and Professor Faris at Princeton. They were both greatly interested and have taken pains to submit rather extend d commentaries. Copies of their observations are forwarded to you herewith in the hope that you and Mr. Glidden will be glad to have them.

Initialed - D.C.P.

C. O. T. -
Do...
Or...
Cop...

Wilson D.C.P. F.N.B.

Attachments (2)
DCP:mfk

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-5

C. O. I. - F. N. - MASTER COPY
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J

SECRET

May 6, 1942

Harold B. Hoskins, Esq.
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

A little later on I expect that we shall put out a carefully considered report on the Arab world in the United States. In the meantime you may care to have some half-processed material. Therefore, I send you herewith a copy of a memorandum prepared by Mr. Glidden in the Near Eastern Division of Research and Analysis, together with copies of commentaries thereon by Professor Hitti and Professor Faris of Princeton.

This material is sent to you, of course, without prejudice and for whatever interest and value it may possess. If anyone in the Department should care to comment upon it, that would be of much interest to us. Later on, as I say, we hope to present you with a finished report.

Sincerely yours,

Initialed - D.C.P.

DeWitt C. Poole

DCP/cpc

COPY

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-5

John A. Wilson

April 16, 1942

Dr. John C. Wiley

Arab Nationals in the United States

On the basis of recent conversations in New York Harold W. Glidden of the Near East Section makes the enclosed report on Arab nationals in the United States. This information has perhaps come directly from other sources to the Foreign Nationalities Branch.

I do not know whether action is indicated on the subversive tendencies in the situation. It does not seem to me that there is any need for a round-up of Arab nationals who continue certain loyalties which they had before the war. However, it does seem to me that F.B.I. should be aware of the situation to exert whatever restraining influence is possible.

Mr. Glidden and I would be happy to talk to you or to anyone whom you may suggest about the matter.

JAW:jr

CC: Dr. Langer

COPY

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-5
April 15, 1942

THE ARABIC-SPEAKING COMMUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE WAR

The purpose of this memorandum is to explain the divisions of the Arabic-speaking community in this country, their internal discords and their effect upon the United States at war. Traditional sympathies and antipathies condition their present loyalties and make a considerable portion of them a fertile bed for Axis propaganda. This danger is not yet acute but warrants careful watching on the part of Government authorities.

Geographic and Religious Origins

Of persons of Arab blood or descent in this country about 80 percent are Lebanese, 15 percent Syrians, two or three percent Palestinians, and one or two percent Druzes. The great majority are Christians (Maronites and Greek Orthodox), and only about 5,000 or 6,000 (perhaps one percent) are Muslims. These figures are estimates but probably represent the proportions.

The Lebanese are principally Maronites and want their native land, where the Maronites are the large majority, to be independent of Syria, which they look down on as dominated by medieval, outworn Muslim ideas. They do not as a whole identify themselves with the Arab nationalist movement, but instead look to the West, with the culture of which they identify themselves. On the whole, they are the most Americanized and reliable group among all immigrants of Arabic-speaking origin.

The Greek Orthodox element, on the other hand, comes principally from Syria and Palestine, both countries with a large Muslim majority. They have expressed the cause of Arab nationalism and of the Mufti and call themselves Arabs. They are thus constantly at odds with the Lebanese, who pride themselves on being descendants of the ancient Phoenicians.

Antipathies

Probably the most important cause of the present divisions among the Arabic-speaking community is the old rivalries and jealousies which have been transplanted here from their native lands. These are often of a tiresome and petty character, but are important when judged from the standpoint of their cumulative effect. The rivalry is not only religious (Maronites against Greek Orthodox), but national (Syrians and Palestinians versus Lebanese), local (people from one town versus those from another), family, and personal. Rival newspaper editors malign each other for the purpose of increasing their circulation, etc. However, behind all this smoke there does exist some fire.

Arab Nationalism

The Arab National League was founded in this country by immigrants of Arabic-speaking origin (principally Syrians and Palestinians) to collect money for the defense of Arab nationalism in the Near East; in other words to help the exiled Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husayni, carry on his opposition against Jewish expansion in Palestine. In ordinary times this activity was perfectly legitimate, just as much so as the Jewish activity in collecting money for the promotion of the Zionist settlement in Palestine.

Now, however, that the Mufti is the ally of the enemies of the United States and is openly aiding their cause from Berlin, the Arab National League finds itself unable to shake off its old alliance with the Mufti. The reason for this is that by repudiating the Mufti they feel that they are thereby giving up their support of the Arab fight against Zionism. They have thus been forced to put their loyalty to the Mufti before their loyalty to this country. It was this irreconcilable conflict of loyalties which led Dr. Fu'ad Shatarah, formerly president of the Arab National League, to commit suicide when this country entered the war. He was replaced by Elias J. Audi of New York, who continues the defense of the Mufti.

The Arabic Press

This defense has given rise to a bitter controversy between Salloum Mokarzel (Lebanese Maronite), editor of the New York Arabic daily paper al-Hoda, and the Arabic

paper as-Sameer of Brooklyn. al-Hoda attacks as-Sameer for defending the Mufti, who is now the enemy of this country, while as-Sameer counters with the accusation that al-Hoda is subsidized by Zionist money. Mokarzel says he has received letters threatening his life.

But the controversy spreads beyond the borders of this country. al-Hoda has been and is being attacked by various Arabic papers in Central and South America as Jewish-inspired. Two of these papers the writer has seen himself. They are Sawat al-Sharq ("the Voice of the East"), published by Basharak Gustandi at Bernoza Num 110, Havana, Cuba, and al-Islah ("Reform"), published in both Arabic and Spanish by Jorge Sabaj Zurob at Bellavista 265, Santiago, Chile. This last-mentioned paper is definitely pro-Axis, so that its defense of the Mufti cannot be divorced from sympathies for Germany and Italy. These papers reach the United States regularly on exchange with Arabic newspapers in this country, and apparently nothing is being done to stop them. Their articles are naturally copied and quoted with approval by pro-Mufti papers in the United States.

Loyalties Under War Conditions

How the atmosphere thus created has affected war-time activities is illustrated by the dispute between Syrians and Lebanese over collecting money for the Red Cross. A Syrian group received from the Red Cross the exclusive right to solicit among the Arabic-speaking community in this country. Since no mention of the Lebanese was made on the letterheads of the organization, the Lebanese protested to the Red Cross, who are too bewildered to be able to do anything about the situation. The net result is that whereas the Arab National League was able to collect $40,000 for the Mufti in a comparatively short time, the Syrian Red Cross committee has so far produced only about $12,000. This information was gained from both Mr. Mokarzel and from Mr. George C. Dagher, 25 Beaver Street, New York City; the latter has been appointed by the Treasury Department to stimulate the purchase of defense securities by the Syro-Lebanese Community.

Mr. Dagher says that one of the principal obstructionists is the Greek Orthodox Archbishop Bashir, an ex-contributor to the Arab National League.

Conclusions

The situation thus created is a difficult one, which must be treated with tact but at the same time with energy and firmness. In the first place, if the Arab National League is suppressed the cry will surely go up that it was at Jewish instigation. An attempt should be made to separate the sheep from the goats. Probably many of those adhering to the Mufti would be brought to their senses by a sharp personal reminder that these are no times for divided loyalties. The ringleaders, who are consciously responsible for the mischief, should be given special treatment. These include besides Arab National League officers, organizers[1] for the so-called "Iron Shirt" (al-'Umsan al-Hadidiyah) movement of Antun Sa'adah (now in South America), a Hitler-youth inspired organization, who are now in circulation in this country and trying to enlist the support of Arab groups. The whole situation provides a good sample of the working of the Axis policy of fomenting for their own ends the rivalries, jealousies and prejudices of groups in other countries, and of these weaknesses the Arabic-speaking immigrants in this country have more than their share.

H. W. Glidden

1 Fakhri Ma'luf, a student at the University of Michigan, and his colleague Raji Zahir.

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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR.
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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

2 Hillside Court
Ann Arbor, Mich.
June 29, 1942

Prof. Benjamin D. Meritt
School of Humanistic Studies
Princeton, N.J.

Dear Meritt:

Fakri Malouf is registered with Dean Bursley as having been President of Al-Thaqafa for the year 1941-1942.

Al-Thaqafa is a club or society consisting of students from Syria, Palestine and Iraq, every one of whom I believe to be definitely Arab Nationalist, though the constitution of the club states that its aims are purely cultural, as the name indicates. My impression was definitely confirmed today by William Merhab, a loyal American, long known to me, born in Toledo, Ohio, and well acquainted with the club and its members.

I cannot determine whether Malouf maintains any connection with the Arab Nationalists other than that above indicated.

Though you have not asked me, I will volunteer the information that Professor Philip Hitti himself is definitely an Arab Nationalist, as attested by students of mine who only a year ago studied with him in Princeton and found his teaching so dominated by that political bias as to be disagreeable.

From my experience I should never employ any foreign-born speaker of Arabic, though naturalized, in any confidential capacity. American-born Syrians rarely have a good command of newspaper-Arabic if they are sufficiently americanized to be employable. Merhab is thoroughly reliable, but not rapid. He was a student of mine in Arabic. He now teaches French and Spanish in the Romance Languages Department. I believe he is now reading newspapers with a view to some Government service as yet unknown.

American-born missionaries seldom have a good enough command of Arabic. They are usually pro-British and pro-Arab, but also pacifist and anti-Zionist.

Faithfully yours,

W. H. Worrell

W. H. Worrell

A:A&D

L

May 15, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 15 1942
NE-6

Alan Cranston, Esq.
Office of Facts and Figures
Library of Congress Annex
Washington, D. C.

Dear Alan:

Our friends who are reading for us the Arabic-language press report that the Lease Lend program aid to Iraq and Iran comes as very good news to our Arabic-speaking minorities. If the help which goes to this part of the Middle East can be played up in the appropriate foreign-language press in this country, it will be convincing proof that the United States is backing words with deeds, and will tend to counter any Axis propaganda that the United States is so involved with Japan that it can spare no material for other fronts.

4.1.1

4.9

This suggestion is sent to you pursuant to your request made during our very pleasant and helpful conference this morning.

Sincerely yours,

Initialed - D.C.P.

DeWitt C. Poole

C.
D.
O
Cop

Cranston S.C. F.N.B.

DCP:mfk

Letter to Cranston from Mr. Poole 5/15/42.

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

INTEROFFICE MEMO

FROM: B. D. Meritt

DATE May 15, 1942

TO: Mr. DeWitt C. Poole

SUBJECT: Suggestion for Mr. Alan Cranston

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
FOR BRANCH
NE-6

A report from Faris indicates that the Lease-Lend Program of aid to Iraq and Iran is very good news to the Arabic-speaking minority in the United States. If any help that goes to this part of the Middle East can be played up in the appropriate foreign language press in this country, it will be convincing proof that the United States is backing words with deeds, and it will counter any Axis propaganda that the United States is so involved with Japan that it can spare no material for any other front. 3.3

I have gathered from Faris' earlier reports that the Arabic Press is in fact quite loyal, but it seems to me that news of this kind about our growing activity in the Middle East, with the successful sending of supplies to that part of the world, will increase the prestige of the United States in the eyes of our Arabic-speaking friends.

B.D.M.

B.D.M.

Suggestion for playing up Lease-Lend aid to war cost in Arabic newspapers. (2pp) Letter Poole to Cranston. 5/15/42

Not a reading

Princeton, N. J.
May 17, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 22 1942
NE-7

RECEIVED
MAY 26 1942
16

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Saudi Arabia and the United States

Near East

[Baltimore Sun, May 3, 1942.]

Harry Zinder, special correspondent of the Baltimore Sun, writes from Aden that the magic name of the United States has become a potent weapon in counteracting Axis propaganda in the Arab and Moslem World, and points out that Saudi Arabia is "the keystone of the United Nations' Middle East position." He speaks of the enthusiastic welcome with which the United States agricultural mission has been received, and of the growing belief in the Arabic-speaking world that with the aid of this great democracy the Allies will ultimately muster sufficient strength to smash the Axis. He also points out that Axis propaganda is active trying to exploit Arab hostility to political Zionism and to make capital of the seizure of Syria from Vichy France which they [the Axis] insist is a death blow to the future development of pan-Arabism. The writer is aware of the fact that Britain, in her relations with the Arabic-speaking world has to cope with the disfavour which its past policies wrought. The United States is, however, free from such disadvantages, and its influence is already producing favourable results.

4.1.1

4.3

1.1

[The unique position of Ibn-Saud and his Saudi Arabia has already been stressed in my report of March 29, 1942, on "United States Farm Mission to Saudi Arabia", and the unique service which the United States can perform was pointed out in my re-

port of April 4 on "The United States and Ibn Saud". The suggestions I made in my report of March 29 have been partially carried out. Since, however, there is a tendency to leave diplomatic activities in that area in the hands of Britain because of its unique position in the Near East, it must be pointed out that, like the problem of India, the problem of Arab relations with the democracies is no longer a British concern only. It is vitally important to all the United Nations, and the government best able to carry out such delicate diplomatic relations is the United States', not Britain. Britain suffers from many handicaps: grievances legitimate and otherwise, the association of its name with imperialism, and the frequent errors of its government. The United States is in a more fortunate position: it is not handicapped by the spectre of territorial ambitions and imperialistic designs. In the mind of the Arabic-speaking world it is fighting for an ideal, for a way of life congenial to them. Should the United States decline to assume this grave responsibility, the disappointment resulting therefrom will be serious and costly to the United Nations.

In view of this, I submit again the suggestion that the United States supplement the agricultural mission with a political one; and that as soon as possible a son of the house be invited to visit this country. Ibn Saud is the key to the entire Near East, as well as the Arab and Moslem World.]

article in Baltimore Sun on Saudi Arabia and U.S.
(1991 Report: Fausto Poole, 5/17/92

A: ARD

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

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February 23, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-8

Honorable James C. Dunn
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

I believe that you will find of interest the enclosed memoranda relating to The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and The Emir Emin Arslan. The author is Professor N. A. Faris of the Department of Oriental Languages at Princeton. Copies are being sent also to Harold Hoskins.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN C. WILEY
John C. Wiley

Enclosures: 2

dcp/mdk

The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. The Emir Emin Arslan. (5pp) Reports by Faris.
7/23/42.

B

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-8

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILEY:

Handed copies to Henry Field; two copies were sent to Lefty Lewis for distribution by him; one copy each for Hoskins and Dunn to go with letters prepared for your signature.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH

FROM: DEWITT C. POOLE

DECLASSIFIED
NND 843100
By Epc NARS, Date 1/14/88

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
Rec'd 2/20/43
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-8

The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

Al-Haj Amin el-Husayni, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and Head of the Supreme Moslem Council in Palestine is the "Frankenstein" which the administration of Sir Herbert Samuel (now Lord Samuel), British High Commissioner of Palestine from 1920-25, created.

The Mufti belongs to the Husayni family, one of the leading Moslem families of Palestine. The family claims descent from al-Husayn, second son of 'Ali the third caliph and Fatimah the daughter of Muhammad. For sometime this family had a monopoly over the office of the mufti of Jerusalem, whose main duty was to interpret the law when the courts disagreed. The office had no special powers nor special prestige, since final authority rested in the office of the Shaykh al-Islam in Constantinople. But when the Great War put to end the supremacy of Constantinople, each country turned to the mufti residing in its capital city and vested in him, informally, final authority over ecclesiastical courts.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Amin al-Husayni was then a youth in his early twenties. His aged uncle was the Mufti of Jerusalem. He himself had a secular education, mainly in St. George's School. He became involved in the uprisings against the Zionists in 1920, and was sentenced to death. He fled the country, but was shortly afterwards pardoned by Sir Herbert Samuel.

On his uncle's death he succeeded as Mufti of Jerusalem, in spite of a great deal of protest on the part of more learned candidates.

The Government created at that time a council to have charge of the Moslem religious endowments. The Head of the newly organized council was to be elected by the Moslem themselves. The result of the election gave Amin al-Husayni the least number of votes among four candidates; but Sir Herbert insisted upon appointing him to the new office; the appointment was followed by the issuance of a new constitution for the religious endowments, giving the Mufti a term of office amounting to twenty-seven years [nine years to be automatically renewed twice]. At his disposal was placed the entire income of the religious endowments, an income exceeding $500,000 annually.

4.1.1

4.12.4

Only then did the Mufti of Jerusalem become the Grand Mufti of Palestine and Head of the Supreme Moslem Council.

With his family prestige, his position, and an unlimited source of patronage, the Grand Mufti began to build his power. The Government recognized him as the head of all the Moslems of Palestine. The rest was easy. He exploited Moslem hatred to "infidel" rule; he also assumed the leadership of the Arabs of Palestine against both the British and the Zionists.

It was in this latter capacity, his leadership against the Zionists, that he gained reputation both as a patriot and as a martyr. He became a symbol of opposition to foreign rule.

As the Jewish Problem became more acute in Europe, the Zionist problem became more acute in Palestine, and the name of the Mufti became known throughout the Arabic-speaking world. Up to that time, it is generally believed, the Mufti was a sincere leader trying to win a cause in which he believed.

But when after the 1936 troubles in Palestine he was compelled to flee the country, the agents of Italy and Germany courted his favour, and he succumbed to their intrigues. The person who served as intermediary between Mussoulini and the Mufti is none other than the Emir Shakib Arslan, a Druse nobleman living in Geneva and dedicated to international intrigue.

With Italian and German money, the Mufti has been able to continue his opposition to the British, first from Juniah, a village in the Lebanon, with French consent and encouragement, then from Baghdad, Teheran, and now from Rome and Athens.

The influence of the Grand Mufti is based on a negative foundation, and, therefore, can be easily counteracted. He has a great following, and, likewise, many enemies. But so long as the Arabic-speaking majority of Palestine continues to have a geievance against Great Britain, so long will his influence last. The moment the fears of the Palestinian Arabs are alleyed, the Mufti's influence will cease. The robes of the martyr should be removed from the Mufti. This could best be done by showing him up as a Quisling who has accepted money from the Nazis and the Fascists, the same Fascists under whose yoke the Moslems of Italian North Africa have lost half of their number during the past twenty years.

Sentiment in Syria is now pro-British; in Iraq a new regime intends to throw its lot with the 26 anti-Axis Powers; in Lebanon, which is Christian and separatist, the Mufti's influence is nil; Transjordan would follow the Emir Abdullah, who is the Mufti's mortal foe; Egypt is too close to the Axis in Lybia to indulge in such luxuries as the Mufti. Outside Palestine, only in North Africa could the Mufti succeed in reaching a sizable public. But no one contaminated with Italian money could win the confidence of the poeple of North Africa.

Feb. 15, 1942 Nabih Amin Faris

1.1 argentina (Arab)

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
Rec'd 2/20/42
NE-8

The Emir Emin Arslan

The Arslan family claims descent from the princes of Lakhm, a buffer-state which separated the Persian empire of the Sassanids from the marauding bedouins. They were settled in the Lebanon, according to their claim, by al-Mansur, the second 'Abbasid caliph, in the middle of the eighth Christian century. For centuries they were the ruling family among the Druses, though now the government is in the hands of the Atrash family.

3.1 argentina (Arab)

Two members of this family have been very active during the last decade on behalf of Italy, and subsequently on behalf of Germany. The Emir Shakib Arslan, resident of Geneva, and the Emir Emin Arslan, resident of Buenos Aires, where he edits an Arabic bi-weekly, Al-Istiklal. The two Emirs are first cousins. The Emir Emin of Buenos Aires is the more fanatical, and, therefore, has been more articulate. The Emir Shakib is more literary and subtle, and, therefore, has remained in the background. But because there is in Brazil and the other South American countries a sizable Arabic-speaking community, the Emir Emin is, perhaps, capable of more mischief.

It should be remebered that the Emir Shakib has acted as intermediary between the Mufti and Mussoulini; and what is decided on in Rome is carried out in Buenos Aires by the Emir Emin. It is a part of the wide fifth column activities with which the Axis attempts to spread confusion and fear.

The Emir Emin has little influence himself; but he continually appeals to the religious fanaticism of Moslems, although he himself is not a Moslem, and tries to inflame them against the "imperialism of the infidels".

Nabih Amin Faris

Feb. 15, 1942.

Nabih Amin Faris

A: A to G

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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NE JUL 14 1942 9-R
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APEX BUILDING 153

PRESS READINGS: NEAR EAST

SUBJECT: THE GRAND MUFTI. ACTIVITIES, VIEWS ON

3.1.1

activities of and views on the Grand Mufti. (10 pp) Press readings by Isaacs, 1/28 - 5/17/42

B

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-9-R

January 28, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: B.D.Meritt

Subject: Syrian Lebanese reaction in New York to the Grand Mufti's arrival in Berlin

(Information furnished by Nabih Amin Faris from the Arab paper Al-Hoda of Jan. 17) 3.1.1

The arrival of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in Berlin, sequel to the joint British-Russian operations in Iran, was the signal for a series of attacks upon the Mufti by the leading Arabic daily of New York. While favoring the Arab cause in Palestine, al-Hoda feels that in this present crisis, both Arabs and Jews should realize that their own little fight is of secondary importance, and that its solutions could and should wait until the final defeat of the Axis powers. It also feels that the Grand Mufti has been giving comfort to the enemy, and, therefore, should be repudiated. The same paper takes other Arabic papers in the country to task, and in no uncertain terms condemns their silence on this issue.

//

B D Meritt

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: B. D. Merritt (10)

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Feb. 7, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

FEB 16 1942

Zionism and the American Mandate over Syria and Lebanon

The subject of an American mandate over Syria and the Lebanon still agitates the readers of the As-Sameer. So far the reaction has been unanimously in favour of the mandate, though the danger of increased Zionist activity under an American mandate is pointed out. It is felt that Zionism is perhaps more influential in this country than in the United Britain, and, therfore, those who advocate such a mandate should be prepared for greater Zionist penetration, unless the Arabs of Palestine themselves stop selling their land.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-9-R.

As-Sameer, Feb. 2, 4, 1942

Arabs of Iraq Veering towards Britain.

Nuri Pasha al-Sa'id, prime minister of Iraq announced that Iraq intends to join the twenty-six anti-Axis Powers and take a more active part in the war on the side of Britain, her ally. This announcement has been received enthusiastically in Arabic-speaking circles in this country, and it is hoped that Iraq will immediately join the Democracies in the fight against the Axis.

Miraat Hir'at al-Gharb, Feb 2, 1942.

The Grand Mufti's Axis Contacts Condemned.

As further evidence is revealed that the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was and is still in the pay of the Axis Powers, and conducts on their behalf anti-Allied propaganda among the Arabs, the Arabic-speaking press in this country has called upon all the Arabs to declare the Mufti a Quisling and to remember that their future welfare is linked with the Allied victory and the complete defeat of the Axis.

Al-Yoda, Feb. 4, 1942

The Grand Mufti and Rashīd 'Ali al-Jīlāni Organizing Axis' Prpoganda among the Arabs.

In anticipation of their spring offensive through North Africa and through Turkey, the Germans are conducting intensive propaganda among the Arabs through their Quislings: the Grand Mufti and the former prime minister of Iraq, who are are urging upon the Arabs a general revolution. Such a revoultion is to begin simultaneously with the German offensive.

Assalam, Jan. 30, 1941

[Assalam is published in Buenos Aires.]

Habib Amin Faris.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Feb. 7, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 9 1942
NE-9-R

RECEIVED
APR 8 1942
IV

Near East
Latin Amer

Princeton, N. J.
April 4, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Grand Mufti to be Honoured in Argentina and Chile.

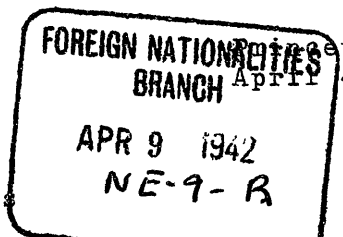
3.1.1 Chile (Blue)

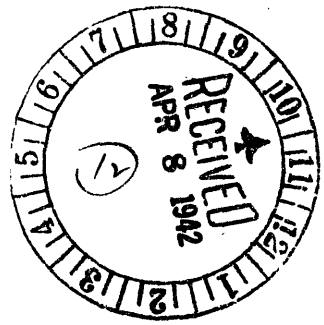
[Al-Islah, Arabic weekly, Santiago, Chile; January 31, 1942.]

According to al-Islah, the Arabic-speaking papers in South America, which are still free from the "microbes of imperialism", are planning a meeting in honour of the Haj Amin al-Husayni, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. Al-Islah also promises to sponsor a similar meeting in Chile "to honour the leader who is beloved by over 80 % of the Arabic-speaking immigrants in the Republic of Chile."

[Quite likely 80 % of the Arabic-speaking immigrants in Chile, as well as in Argentine, Brazil, and even the United States, sympathize with the Grand Mufti, and regard him as a martyr, driven out of his home land by imperialistic tyrants. In the South American countries this sympathy is strong enough to drive those communities to the side of the Axis. In the United States, however, it is only sentimental. Few indeed would follow the Mufti into the Axis camp, although few would condemn him. His prestige has diminished greatly since he made Berlin his abode, but he still remains the symbol of patriotic struggle. The fact that only one Arabic-speaking paper, namely al-Hoda, has openly attacked his position, while the others observe a discreet silence, is sufficient proof that, despite his mistaken judgement, he remains an idol to many.]

E





Princeton, N. J.
April 4, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Statues for Rashid Ali and the Grand Mufti

Near East
Sofia Area

[Al-Islah, Arabic weekly, Santiago, Chile; January 31, 1942.]

Commenting on the death sentence passed on Rashid Ali al-Jilani, former prime minister of Iraq, al-Islah berates the present Iraqi administration for condemning a "great patriot who rebelled against British arrogance", and suggests that Iraq should erect statues for him and for the Grand Mufti, both of whom "have and are expending their lives for the emancipation of the Arab world."

4.3

3.1 (Argentina) Chile

[Al-Islah does in Chile what the Al Istiklal is doing in Argentina. Its connexions with the Axis, unlike the latter, are not well-known. Its influence is, therefore, more dangerous. Incidentally, in the recent presidential election, this paper supported General Ibanez.

Most Moslems are sentimental about the Mufti, who has succeeded in cloaking himself with the mantle of a martyr. The influence which he now exerts, however, is not as great as the sympathy which he enjoys. His flight from his homeland has been likened to that of the Prophet's hegira. Th e best way to counteract this propoganda is to show the Moslems that this champion of Islam is giving comfort and aid to Italy, whose twenty years of misrule in Tripoli has resulted in the decimation of fifty per cent of its Moslem population.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 7 1942
NE-9-R

RECEIVED MAY 1942

Princeton, N. J.
May 4, 1942.

To: Dewitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Mufti and the Arabic Press in the United States

[As-Sayeh, New York, April 20, 1942; al-Hoda, New York, April 27, 1942.]

Under one of its special features, entitled "Tunes and Runes", As-Sayeh write the following single statement: "That newspaper man continues to say, 'Allah be praised! We have attacked the Mufti; what more does America need as proof of our loyalty.'" Further down the columr, the following statement is also made: "The American government would take into custody anyone aiding the enemy. According to that comic paper, this means anyone who does not attack the Mufti."

[The reference to that newspaper man and that comic paper mean the Editor of al-Hoda and al-Hoda respectively.]

In a very lengthy editorial, al-Hoda replies with the charge that As-Sayeh, like As-Sameer, is a Mufti partisan and a disloyal American.

[The presumptuous attitude of al-Hoda that it is the only loyal Arabic paper in this country seems to have exasperated the other editors. That al-Hoda is the only paper to attack the Mufti openly is true (see my report on "Grand Mufti to be Honoured in Argentina and Chile"; April 4, 1942). The silence of the other papers cannot, and should not, be construed as evidence of their disloyalty. In its final analysis, the acrimonious controversy between al-Hoda and the other Arabic papers is personal. In this connexion it must be remembered that the primary purpose of Arabic press in this country is not to form or influence the opinion of its audience, but to entertain it. Al-Hoda aims at pleasing

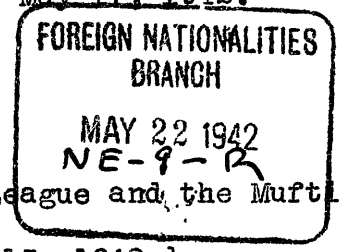
The Mufti and the Arabic Press in the United States (cont.)

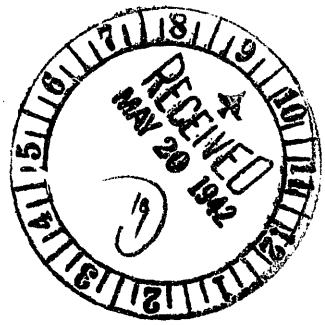
the separatist Lebanese element which is the majority. His attempts to bait other editors to attack the Mufti, and his insistance that this is the only test of loyalty, seem to the others silly. No Arabic-speaking editor would attack the Mufti -- the limit they would go is silence. But their silence does not mean approval of of the Mufti's aid to the Axis. Nor does it mean that they are disloyal Americans.

The best that could happen would be to ban the mention of the Mufti in the Arabic press. This could be achieved through a gentlemanly agreement among the editors. There is nothing more impotent than a forgotten martyr.]

G

Princeton, N. J.
May 17, 1942.





To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Arab National League and the Mufti

Near East

[Al-Hoda, May 13, 15, 1942.]

Subsequent to the charge, made by the editor of al-Hoda (April 27) that the Sayeh, along with As-Sameer and the Arab National League, is disloyal (see my report "The Mufti and the Arabic Press in the United States", May 4, 1942), Mr. Habib I. Katibah, secretary of the National Arab League, addressed an open letter to al-Hoda. The letter was written at Miami, Arizona, and was dated May 2, 1942.

Mr. Katibah says: "You accuse the Arab National League of disloyalty, and even treason; that it is in sympathy with the Mufti's stand on the side of Hitler. Such grave accusations cannot pass unnoticed, especially because, if true, they expose several individuals to punishment;and if allowed to go without refutation, might bring innocent men before the law.

In the first place the Arab National League was dissolved before the United States entered the war, and before the Mufti's flight to Berlin. How can you, then, say that the Arab National League supports the Mufti in his present policies?

In the second place the National Arab League was organized for the defence of the Arab cause in general, and that of the Palestine cause in particular. How could this

The National Arab League and the Mufti (cont.)

be interpreted as disloyalty to the United States? How does it differ from the stand of the Founding Fathers of this country who rebelled against British tyranny, and fought against Britain, their mother country, whose people were racially the same as the Founding Fathers? The Arabs, on the other hand are trying to free themselves from the yoke of a foreign power who is exposing their future to economic salvery.

Thirdly, the overwhelming majority of the members of the National Arab League, like myself, do not approve either of the Mufti's present policies or his flight to Berlin. We regret that he did not seek political refuge in Egypt or in Saudi Arabia, both independent states who have the right to offer asylum to political refugees. You must not forget, however, that it was British imperialists who have driven the Mufti to the lap of Hitler; the Mufti and others besides him, who were so driven, have ceased to distiguish between British imperialism and Nazism, especially because Nazism was being presented to them in other than its real colour, seeking their friendship while the imperialists who professed democracy were driving them out of their home lands. Do you for a moment think that Britain acted with equity towards the people of the Near East and India? Do you think that it tried in earnest to gain their confidence before the present crisis? Even among the leaders of Britain itself and America we find many who have criticized the reactionary

The Arab National League and the Mufti (cont.)

policies sometimes displayed by the British government. Constructive criticism of such policies and the free discussion of topics which concern the future well-being of democracy should not cease, even now.

The National Arab League does not exist anymore. If, therefore, you have political enemies among the other Arabic-speaking editors, please confine your criticism to them and let the members of the dissolved Arab League alone. If you desire to accuse them or the League of such grave offences, you had better base your charges on records and documents, not on rumours and hearsay gossip heard in restaurants and coffee houses. Times are grave and critical; adherence to facts is best under such circumstances. Othewise your false charges are more disloyal to the ideals of real Americanism than the acts of its outspoken enemies."

[[The letter speaks for itself. Mr. Katibah, I believe, echoes the sentiment of the majority of the members of the dissolved League, especially in their disappointment with Mufti's course. The question of loyalty and disloyalty is the creation of the editor of al-Hoda. It is irresponsible and mischievous. Mr. Katibah, in way of background, is a Christian Arab, educated at Harvard Divinity School, author of several books and articles on Near Eastern problems. He has been in this country for over thirty years. His loyalty as an American citizen is beyond reproach. Though a champion of Arab claims in

The Arab National League and the Mufti (cont.)

Palestine, he was quick to see the dangers inherent in continued political agitation both to the Arabs themselves and to Britain. This belief led him and the late Dr. Shatara, the president of the League, to dissolve the League as an organization, and to urge upon Arab leadership in the Near East the necessity of avoiding any act that might be embarrassing to Britain and her allies in the conduct of the war against the Axis menace. (See my special report of May 2, 1942.)]]

A:AEJ

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APEX BUILDING 153

PRESS READINGS: NEAR EAST

SUBJECT: ATTITUDE TOWARD FREE FRENCH AND VICHY FRANCE.

3.1.1

Attitude toward Free French and Vichy France. (17 pp) Press readings by Faris, 1/28 - 6/14/42.

B

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF HUMANISTIC STUDIES

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-10-R

January 28, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: B.D.Meritt

Subject: Support for Free French from the Syrian Lebanese Americans 3 11

(Information furnished by Nabih Amin Faris from the Arab paper Mir'at al-Gharb of Jan. 16, 1942) 1.8

Over sixty persons were present at a dinner held on Saturday, Jan. 10, 1942, at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York in honor of Jacques de Sieyes, General Charles de Gaulle's representative in the United States. S. Mokarzel, editor and proprietor of Al-Hoda, presided. De Sieyes is on his way to the Lebanon where he will assist General Catroux, the Free French representative in the Lebanese Republic.

B.D.Meritt

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Read MAR 3 1942

C

Near East

Princeton, New Jersey
March 2, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: N. A. Faris

2.1.1

Subject: Vichy France, de Gaulle, and the United States.

[Information obtained from Al-Hoda, of New York, of February 25, 1942.]

Vichy France's philandering with the Axis Powers is severely condemned in an editorial in al-Hoda, while the State Department's cool relations with deGaulle and the Free French is regretted.

France
4.4
by Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE - 10 - R

Read
MAR 3 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-10-R

Princeton, New Jersey
March 2, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: N. A. Faris

Subject: DeGaulle's Personal Representative among the Lebanese Community in Mexico.

[Infomation obtained from Al-Hoda, of New York, of February 26, 1942.]

General de Gaulle has appointed the Lebanese merchant Nakhlah al-'Abd as his personal representative among the Lebanese of Mexico. Like the Lebanese of this country, those of the sister republic are partisans of de Gaulle.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
SIGNED

Princeton, N. J.
March 8, 1942

MAR 10 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-10-R

Subject: Vichy France and the Iraq Rebellion of 1941.

[Al-Hoda, Arabic daily published in New York by Salloum A. Mokarzel, Christian Lebanese; March 3, 1942.]

In a letter from Beirut, dated November 22, 1941, and published in Al-Hoda, March 3, 1942, it is stated that Nuri Pasha al-Said, present prime minister of Iraq and staunch supporter of Britain, had declared that the recent rebellion of Rashid 'Ali al-Jeylani has been inspired and supported by Vichy France, while the Japanese agents worked on behalf of the Axis Powers.

Rashid 'Ali, it will be remembered, fled Iraq first to Turkey and then to Iran where he joined the Grand Mufti. Upon the abdication of the former Shah and the arrival of the British and Russian armies, both found shelter in the Japanese embassy at Teheran. It was the Japanese embassy too that arranged for their escape and final arrival in Rome.

The representatives of Vichy France have been active on behalf of the Axis Powers in Egypt as well. It was their activities on behalf of the Axis that led to the severance of diplomatic relations between Vichy and Egypt, and precipitated the last cabinet crisis.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 13 1942
NE-10 P

Princeton, N. J.
April 25, 1942.

RECEIVED APR 1942

War East

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Syria and the Lebanon and the War Effort

[Al-Hoda, New York, April 22, 1942.]

In a lengthy editorial al-Hoda takes the question of Hitler's next move, and the possibility of his using Laval for the re-conquest of the Syria and the Lebanon for Vichy France and ultimately for himself. The attitude of the Syrians and the Lebanese towards such a move is studied, since it is regarded to be of the utmost importance. Would they rise in support of the Allies as the people of the Philippines rose in support of the United States, or would they intrigue against them as the people of Burma did against Britain?

Were Vichy France still in control of these regions, the inhabitants would have been, in all likelihood, indifferent. They felt no loyalty toward a regime which starved them. Now, the situation has changed. The Free French and the British are doing their best to feed the people; the people themselves have a larger share in the conduct of their government, thanks to the British and the Free French. They have something to fight for. It is , therefore, certain that they will rise in support of the Allies in the event an attempt is made by either Hitler or Laval to re-capture the country. The suggestion is made that no more should be expected of them, since they have no say in the conduct of the war. Nevertheless, they should go on record and declare their stand. No matter how small or weak a country may be, it should let it be known where her loyalties lie.

Syria and the Lebanon and the War Effort (cont.)

Nor should it be forgotten, the editorial continues (quoting from a radio speech which the editor made recently), that the rights of people are judged at the peace conference in accordance with their war effort.

[The people of Syria and the Lebanon have no reason to help Laval, still less Hitler. It is unlikely that they will aid either in any way. If fact the Allies can count on their loyalty and active support.

But the fear persists that at the peace conference small nations like Syria and the Lebanon will receive no consideration except in proportion to their participation in the war, irrespective of justice. This is not conducive to confidence. They feel that they have done what they could by welcoming the British and the Free French. It is not within their power to do more.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
JUN 5 1942
NE-10-R

G

10

Princeton, N. J.
May 31, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR.
IN OUT
JUN 3 9 29 AM '42
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Press

Subject: Syrian and Lebanese Merchants Marooned In Marseilles

3,1,1

[As-Sameer, Brooklyn, May 23, 1942.]

War Cont

Seventy Syrian and Lebanese merchants from the Senegal and the Ivory Coast were forced by the Vichy administrations there to close shop and return home. On their arrival in Marseilles, the British and the Free French had already entered Syria and the Lebanon. Consequently the Vichy authorities would not permit them to continue on their way home, and landed them in Marseilles, where they still remain destitute, living on the charity of fellow countrymen.

[I wonder whether the services of the Red Cross or those of the Society of Friends could be enlisted to relieve the distress of these men, and perhaps aid in returning them home.]

Princeton, N. J.
June 7, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
JUN 12 1942
NE-10-R

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR. IN OUT
JUN 10 9 27 AM '42
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: French Literary Activity in Syria and the Lebanon

Near East
Press

[Al-Hoda, New York, June 3, 1942.]

An air mail letter to the editor of al-Hoda, dated Beirut, February 20, 1942, speak of an accelerated literary activity on the part of the Free French, and particularly of the formation of a special company by some leading Free French writers, with a capital of 60,000 Lires, for the express purpose of spreading French culture in the Near East.

[This is indeed strange and interesting. Why should Frenchmen go to a lot of trouble to spread French culture in Syria and the Lebanon when only yesterday more French was heard spoken on the streets of Beirut than any other European tongue? Ever since 1860 France had the favoured position in those lands, and the French language was the lingua franca, not only in Syria and the Lebanon but also throughout the entire Near East including Egypt. Modern Arabic literature is saturated with French influence.

Why then this activity? It is true that in recent years English has been steadily replacing French as the lingua franca in the Near East, partly because English has become the language of science as well as commerce and even diplomacy. But this is not the whole answer. Perhaps the most important factor behind the new project is the fear on the part of the Free French that with the collapse of French political power and loss of prestige,

French Literary Activity in Syria and the Lebanon (cont.)

the favoured cultural position which France has hitherto held in the Near East will also be lost. This is an attempt to check the gradual disappearance of French influence in those lands, in the hope that its survival will aid in restoring and maintaining the French favoured position after the war.

Rivalry between France and Britain in those lands is of long standing. This rivalry never disappeared, not even during the most critical period following the outbreak of the war. It contributed greatly to France's choice of collaboration with the Axis against Britain and the United Nations. It seems to persist among the Free French whose relations with Britain in the Near East is not as smooth as should be.

In itself the new project may or may not have any bearing on the war effort. But as a sympton of fear and distrust, it should be carefully watched.]

I

(6)

Princeton, N. J.
June 14, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR.
IN OUT
JUN 18 9 15 AM '42
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-10-R
RECEIVED
JUN 20 1942
PLEASE RETURN TO LIBRARY
ARLX BUILDING 153

Subject: Sultan Pasha al-Atrash and the Free French

Mail Sent Press

[Al-Hoda, New York, June 10, 1942.]

During the visit of General Catreaux to the Jabal al-Druze, Sultan Pasha al-Atrash declared that the Druzes are loyal to France and to the Allied cause.

[Sultan Pasha al-Atrash is the same Druze leader who fought France for about three years in the famous Druze rebellion of 1925-7. On the surface, therefore, the news are welcome. The Jabal al-Druze was autonomous until recently, when under British influence it was reunited with Syria. (See my report of May 4, 1942, on "Union of Jabal al-Druze with Syria".) Prior to that Hasan Bey al-Atrash, member of the same ruling family was made minister of defence in the new Syrian cabinet (see my report of April 25, 1942, on "A New Cabinet in Syria"). That was evidence of increasing British influence, since the Druze are traditionally pro-British from the time of Palmerston and the erratic Lady Stanhope. Now the Free French are trying, not so much to rectify previous errors, but to regain lost influence. This militates against the united war effort of the United Nations. The war effort is perhaps similar to a chess game, but the influences which ought to be checkmated are those of the Axis not those of Britain. That is why this otherwise welcome news is indeed disturbing.]

Princeton, N. J.
June 14, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR.
IN OUT
JUN 18 9 15 AM '42
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Egypt Recognizes the Free French

War East Press

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-10-R
RECEIVED
JUN 20 1942
PLEASE RETURN TO LIBRARY
APEX BUILDING 153

[As-Sameer, New York, June 10, 1942.]

A dispatch from Cairo reports that the Egyptian government has recognized the Free French, and that the latter's representative will receive diplomatic privileges without, however, enjoying the prerogatives of an ambassador.

[French interests in Egypt are of long standing and many. French nationals are also numerous. French influence is, likewise, deep and widespread (see my report of June 7, 1942, on "Free French Literary Activity in Syria and the Lebanon"). It is, therefore, natural that the Egyptian government should recognize some French body. Vichy's representatives, however, were, because of their activities on behalf of the Axis, expelled (see my report of March 8, 1942, on "Vichy France and the Iraq Rebellion of 1941", paragraph 3.) That left French interests without diplomatic representation. The news should, however, be viewed from the standpoint of the French who are fearful that their influence in Egypt may wane unless they do something about it. This reflects continued Anglo-French rivalry, and the persistence of a mentality which approached Near Eastern problems from the standpoint of zones of influence. This · · in line with the Free French embarkation upon intensified literary

Egypt Recognizes the Free French (cont.)

activity in Syria and the Lebanon (June 7). Neither could be held as conducive to the best conduct of the war. They foreshadow post war rivalries between Britain and France. In this connexion, it should be pointed out that there prevails a feeling among the French in general that no matter what outcome the war may have they cannot lose. If the Axis wins the Vichy gang will carry on; and if the United Nations win the Free French will step in. In either case the French empire will be preserved. Neither this approach nor its implication of empire is a thing to be viewed with tranquillity.]

France 4.3

A: A to C

Near East

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

INTEROFFICE MEMO

RECEIVED APR 25 1942

FROM: Hugh R. Wilson

TO: Mr. John C. Wiley

SUBJECT: S.A. File #4188

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH DATE APR 29 1942 NE 11

I am transmitting herewith a report, dated April 20, from B.C. transmitted to me by Mr. Dulles on April 22.

Attachment

HRW

SECRET

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

Interview with E. D Mackay on near East problems and controversy with "Al- Hoda". (3pp)
Memo: Wilson to Wiley, with attached report, 4/20/42

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

B

4188

NATIONALITIES
RANCH

April 20, 1942.

E-11

SECRET

To: Allen W. Dul

From: M.C.

I called t ing on Mr. Elia D. Madey, publisher and editor of the rabic newspaper "AS-SAMEER", of 109 Atlantic Avenue, , N.Y.

Mr. Madey sidered among the Syrians as one of their great poet und him to be a rabid anti-Zionist. He held forth at on the mistakes of Great Britain, especially on the declaration. He feels that there is some underground arried on in Washington by certain Jews who are endeavo influence U.S.Senators as well as Lord Halifax egardi Palestine question.

Accord r. Madey, neither the U.S.Government nor the British ha ight to dispose of Palestine and divide it into three Christians, Jews and Arabs, for Palestine belongs to th and while the Jews have an equal right to live there th d do so as Palestinians, not as Jews.

Mr. es not want Syria to be under a French mandate for ch fill the country with Jesuits - the very priests who not desirable in France. The French, he said, wanted to make the Syrians French instead of letting them remain Syrians.

Although in the last war the Arabs fought with the British and although they prefer British to French rule, they hate the British superior-race-attitude towards them. Madey's paper advocates American management of Syria, somewhat similar to the American administration of the Philippines. In his connection he sent out inquiries to his readers and the replies were to the effect that this solution would be ideal for Syria but the Syrians feared it was Utopia as America is too far away.

Mr. Madey went on to say that a big controversy is raging between his paper and "AL-HODA", of which Mr. Salloum A. Mokarzel is the editor. The latter favors a French mandate and, in addition, advocates complete separation between Syria and Lebanon. The latter theory is antagonizing a great number of Syrians as well as most of the Syrian Press in America. To prove Mr. Mokarzel's lack of sincerity in the cause now advocated by him, Madey gave me a copy of an article, which I now enclose, and which was written by Mokarzel several years ago and which the "AS-SAMEER" reproduced recently, distributing a large number of copies all over America.

According to him, the Syrians therefore would only welcome an independent government should American management not be feasible

Article written and published by Salloum A. Mokarzel, editor of the "Al-Hoda" several years ago, reproduced by the "As-Sameer" in April 1942.

بروكلن ، نيويورك ـ السنة الثالثة عشرة

سلوم مكرزل امام محكمة الرأي العام

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

A violent controversy seems to have developed as a result of the adoption of a dual name for the Syrian pageant held in Boston. We are informed by the Boston correspondent of a New York Syrian newspaper that the difference is being aired in the columns of the American press of Boston. This, indeed, is regrettable, and it was for fear of just such a result that we took our former stand in the matter. We held that inasmuch as we had been all along known in this country as Syrians, by such a name only we should remain to be known whatever the internal administrative divisions in the mother land. Syrians, Lebanese and Palestinians could be included in this classification because their respective countries are within the natural geographical boundaries of Syria. Besides, all Arabic-speaking elements in the United States come from Sryia, and to merge them in the all-inclusive term "Arabs" would destroy our work of half a century in America and necessitate our starting the work of education as to our ethnological descent all over again.

It behooves us to bear in mind the all important fact that we in America are Americans first and preeminently, and that to our posterity in America we owe our prime duty. This duty is partly to identify ourselves by our country of origin. This country, happily, happens to enjoy an independent historical record as well as a distinct geographical entity. Furthermore, the statistical records of the United States do not classify us by our spoken tongue but by our country of origin. It will therefore be immediately seen that we stand to lose more than we could ever hope to gain by a change of name. At best this would only introduce in our status an element of confusion.

We would like to make our stand clear on the matter. We do not approve either of the broad or of the restricted term. Except among ourselves, and in cases requiring clarification, we would not approve of the term Lebanese or Palestinian Syrians, nor of the term Syrian-Arabs. Syria, we hold, is an independent geographical entity which we are bound to recognize. From there we come and by its name we should be known. We have been known in America by this name for over half a century and it would be a decided loss for us to undo the work it has taken us so long to build and begin anew the work of education with all its resultant confusion and possible misinterpretation.

It is through no prejudice or inimical feeling that we are pronipted to take this stand. It is rather in fulfillment of a duty to our race in America as we conscientiously feel it. We fail to see any benefit in the change of name or the adoption of a dual name. Rather, we believe that such a course would result in injury to our standing in America, in the sense that we would lose our former identity of long standing and be confronted with the necessity of establishing ourselves anew. And we cannot too srongly emphasize the fact that we stand pledged to uphold our national name and defend our racial interests as an ethnic group in America before and above any other consideration of old-country politics. The "Syrian World" is for the service and defense of the Syrians in America first and it is owing to these considerations that it is forced to take this stand.

We exceedingly regret that such a situation has developed. Regardless of our affiliations or sympathies with old-country politics, we should never have lost sight of the fact that our duty towards ourselves as a racial group in America is paramount and preeminent. The conditions we have chosen to leave cannot claim our interests in the same degree as those we have chosen to live in. We must be fair to ourselves and give first consideration to our standing in our country of adoption. We must be fair to our children and considerate of their immediate interests by clarifying their stand instead of complicating it. We maintain that the term "Syrian" is the only logical name by which they should be known.

Salloum A. Mokarzel.

NND 963160 DECLASSIFIED

A:AGB

Evening Star - 11/29/41

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-12

U. S. Welcomes Moves To Free Syria, Lebanon

The United States today formally welcomed steps taken toward establishment of the independence of Syria and Lebanon, French-mandated territories conquered by Free French and British forces a few months ago.

The State Department announced that "this Government is hopeful" that negotiations may be undertaken, as soon as international conditions permit, to enable the United States to extend formal recognition to Syria and Lebanon as sovereign countries.

The announcement referred to a September proclamation issued at Damascus regarding the independence of Syria and another issued at Beirut, November 26, concerning Lebanon independence.

4.1.1.

4.4 by U.S.

U.S. expected to recognize independence of Syria and Lebanon. (2 pp) Washington Evening Star. 11/29-30/41.

Ty-NB-Int-2

Box 1

Evening Star - 11/30/41

B

War Cont

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-12

W. Star Nov. 30/41

Syria and Lebanon Independence Slated For U. S. Recognition

Hope for Early Start Of Negotiations Voiced By State Department

The United States held out official hopes yesterday for formal recognition of the independence of Syria and Lebanon, French Near East mandate territories which have been taken over by Free French forces in co-operation with the British.

Announcement of this Government's atitude attracted special attention in view of the recent statement by Secretary of State Hull that American relations with the Vichy regime in France were under review in the light of developments pointing to closer French-Nazi collaboration.

The State Department issued a statement formally welcoming recent proclamations of independence for Syria and Lebanon, expressing the hope that negotiations for American recognition of the territories as sovereign states may be undertaken "as soon as international conditions permit."

Independence Move Welcome.

"The American Government and people have always sympathized with the natural and legitimate aspirations of the people of Syria and Lebanon," the statement said. "This Government therefore welcomes any steps toward the realization of these aspirations, chief among which is, of course, the full enjoyment of sovereign independence."

Formal recognition of the independence of the territories, the department pointed out, however, must await negotiations to supplant a 1924 convention with France, approving the mandate principle and setting forth American rights in the areas involved.

Defenders Defeated in June.

France obtained mandates over Syria and Lebanon after the World War, administering them until a joint British and Free French force defeated the Vichy French defenders in June, after evidence of German and Italian infiltration developed in those territories.

Gen. Charles de Gaulle, the Free French leader, and Gen. Georges Catroux, his commander in the Near East, proclaimed the independence of Syria on September 16. Great Britain formally recognized the new republic on October 28. Last Wednesday Gen. Catroux proclaimed the independence of Lebanon and termination of the French mandate, announcing that armed forces of the new state will be at the disposal of the British and Free French allies.

France
1.5

A:A&F

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
RECEIVED
NE JUL 14 1942 13-R
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APEX BUILDING 153

PRESS READINGS: NEAR EAST

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND, FOREIGN. NEWS OF NEAR EAST.

3.1.1

News of near East. New cabinet in Syria (SPP)
Press readings by Davis. 7/14-5/31/42

Rec'd MAR 3 1942

B

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Princeton, New Jersey
February 28, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: N. A. Faris

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-13-R

Subject: Haifa-Tripoli Railroad. 311

[Information obtained from the Al-Hoda, of New York, of February 26, 1942.]

In an editorial, the editor of al-Hoda discusses the importance of the newly constructed railroad line between Haifa and Tripoli which, in effect, links Europe with Africa, and hopes that it will enable the Allies to augment their preparation against any possible attempt by the Axis Powers to sweep through the Near East. The peace time importance of the new link is also treated.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Rec'd
MAR 3 1942

c

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Princeton, New Jersey
March 2, 1942

Near East

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: N. A. Faris

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-13R

Subject: Italian Consul Expelled from Juddah.

[Information obtained from As-Sameer, of Brooklyn, of February 21, and from al-Hoda, of New York, of February 20, 1942.]

The action of the government of Saudi Arabia in expelling from Juddah the Italian Consul has been hailed in the Arabic-speaking press as a step in the right direction, and is cited as evidence of the readiness of Ibn-Saud to cooperate with the Democracies.

Note.: A weak link in the solidarity of the Arabic-speaking world behind the Allied cause may be found in the Yemen where the Italians had some commercial concessions and where they expended a great deal of money for gaining a foothold in that region. It is not unlikely that some of the leaders there are pro-Italian.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-RB-R
MAY 1 1942

Princeton, N. J.
April 25, 1942.

RECEIVED
APR 29 1942
48

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: A New Cabinet in Syria

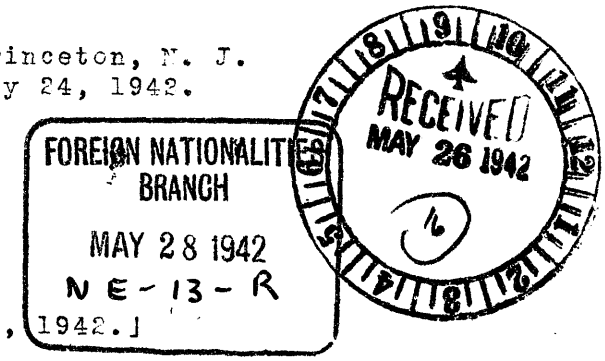
[Al-Hoda, New York, April 21, 1942.]

A dispatch from Damascus announces the formation of a new cabinet in which the ministry of defence is headed by Hasan Bey al-Atrash.

[Hasan Bey al-Atrash is a member of the famous Druse ruling family which led the rebellion of 1925-27 against the French. This might be quite significant, since he could be depended upon to check the influence of Vichy France. Again the Druse are traditionally friendly to Britain from the times of Palmerston. Whether the appointment of al-Atrash to the ministry of defence was inspired by Britain or not is not possible to determine. Very likely it was. It will satisfy the Druse minority, check Vichy influence, and insure support for Britain.]

E

Princeton, N. J.
May 24, 1942.



To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: American Soldiers in Syria

[As-Sameer, Brooklyn, May 21, 1942.]

The news of the arrival of United States troops in Syria to re-inforce the British garrison there is featured and hailed. The hope is again expressed that the United States will go beyond military aid, and that it will agree to remain in Syria after the conclusion of the war, for the purpose of being "to its people and aid and a guide, and to its independence a guardian and a watch."

4.7.2

Near East

[As-Sameer seizes the opportunity to reiterate his idea, in which he believes, of a United States mandate over Syria and the Lebanon. He has been, as my reports have shown, advocating a United States mandate over that region since the beginning of the year. But besides his earnest and sincere belief in the idea and the fact that he had had widespread support in his campaign, he might be also echoing a general hostility, common among the people of Syria and the Lebanon, particularly the former, to the possibility of a post war continuation of French influence in the Near East. Outside the Lebanon such a continuation of Fren influence is heartily disliked. Some feel that a foreign period of political tutelage seems inevitable, and prefer to have the United States as a mentor. It is free of territorial ambitions, and could be trusted to leave when the time of political maturity arrives.]

4.2

4.3

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
JUN 5 1942
NE-13-9

F

(7)

Princeton, N. J.
May 31, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR. OUT
JUN 3 9 28 AM '42
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: Nabih Amin Faris
Subject: George Antonius

Press

[Al-Hoda, New York, May 23, 1942; As-Sameer, Brooklyn, May, 26, 1942.]

Near East

George Antonius is dead.

[The death of George Antonius, prominent Christian Arab leader is a great loss to all friends of the Near East. He had the confidence of the British, the Moslems in and out of the Near East, and the Christians.

He served Britain in Palestine and more importantly in concluding two treatises of far-reaching results: The Anglo-Egyptian treaty and the Anglo-Arabian treaty with Ibn-Saud. By virtue of his English education he understood the English mind; and because he was son-in-law of Faris Nimr Pasha, dean of Egyptian journalism, he had an entrée to the political circles of Egypt. He was an ideal go between. He served Britain also in the court of ibn-Saud when he all but did the work of the late Sir Gilbert Clayton.

He also represented the Institute of Current World Affairs. He was often accused of being the power behind the throne in Palestinian politics. This is perhaps the result of his being a Christian, which precludes his occupying the position of titular leadership. He had therefore to advise and work behind the scenes. His sanity and moderation would, if he were spared, been invaluable for the cause of the Allies now and in the post war period. No Arab can take his place.]

A:A&J

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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APEX BUILDING 153

PRESS READINGS: NEAR EAST

SUBJECT: RELATIONS WITH AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS UNITED STATES.

3.11

Relations with and attitude towards U.S. (15pp.) Press readings by Faris. 3/19-5/31/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-14-R
APR 2 1942

Near East

Princeton, N. J.
March 29, 1942

RECEIVED
APR 1 1942
C

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: United States Farm Mission to Saudi Arabia

3.1.1

[Meraat-ul-Gharb, Arabic-speaking semi-weekly in New York; March 27, 1942.]

The United States is sending an agricultural mission to Saudi Arabia to examine the possibilities of developing that countries resources and to conduct experimental plantings; the mission is headed by K. S. Twitchell, for some time technical advisor to Ibn-Saud. The mission, the State Department announced, was organized at the request of Ibn Saud himself.

4.1.1
4.3

1.1

[Ibn Saud's confidence in the United States has been demonstrated by his granting of the oil concessions throughout his domain to American firms and his exclusion of other nations despite their generous offers. He is convinced that this country has no territorial ambitions or imperialistic designs. This view of the United States is also held by all the other Arabic-speaking countries, and is a great asset to the Allied cause in the present crisis.

Most important of all is the fact that Ibn Saud is the most beloved and most respected Arab figure in the Arabic-speaking and Moslem worlds. Indeed he is the key man in the whole Near East situation. By virtue of being the keeper of the Two Sacred Cities of Islam (Mecca and Medina), the exponent of Islam, and his accomplishments in welding together the warring tribes of the Peninsula, he is the central figure in a resurgent Pan-Islamism. To insure his active goodwill

United States Farm Mission to Saudi Arabia (cont.)

will insure the active goodwill of all the Moslems.

I suggest that this farm mission be followed, at the earliest possible time, by a political mission which will address itself to the task of cementing the friendship between the two countries. Such a mission will demonstrate to Ibn Saud that the United States is indeed interested in obtaining his goodwill and in dealing with him on equal basis.

It is important that the membership of the mission include one well versed in the history, culture, religion, and language of the land. It is likewise important that the head of the mission have some military rank, even temporary.

If such a mission should be seriously considered, I am ready to make some further suggestions, setting forth a practical programme which might be followed.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 0 1942
NE-14-R

RECEIVED
APR 6 1942

April 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Turco-American Relations Strained

3.1.1 Chile (Isla)

Near East
Latin Amer.

[Al-Islah, Santiago, Chile; January 31, 1942.]

Al-Islah reports a cable from the Turkish capital which purports that Turkish re-action to the appointment, as United States ambassador to Turkey, of a Jewish American, has been most unfavourable, since Turkey deems such an appointment as an insult to the Turks who cannot forget the intrigues of Mr. Henry Morganthau, Sr. during the last War. This re-action, the paper continues, has strained the relations between the two countries, and might even modify Turkey's relations with the Axis in favour of the latter.

Turkey 4.1.1

[This is in keeping with the Islah's pro-Axis and anti-Semitic policies. An editorial in the same issue is entitled "Jews! The Source of all Evil." The editorial ascribes to the Jews all the evils which afflict the world, and charges that the Jews throughout the world are Jews first and Americans, or British, or Russian, etc. in the second place. Further investigation will reveal that Axis money supports this paper.]

4.16

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 9 1942
NE-14-R

RECEIVED APR 8 1942

Near East
Safe area

Princeton, N. J.
April 4, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: United States Failure to Recognize the Independence of Syria and the Lebanon

[Al-Islah, Arabic weekly, Santiago, Chile; January 17, 1942.]

Under the title: "News of the Fatherland", al-Islah informs its readers of the independence of Syria and the Lebanon, and adds parenthetically that Graet Britain has forgotten Palestine because it is Jewish, and the United States in turn has ignored the independence of these two "Arab" lands, because of its Vichy connexions, despite American sympathy with Syria and the Lebanon.

[Al-Islah, judging from its pages, is rabidly pro-Axis. Nevertheless, United States failure to recognize the independence of Syria and the Lebanon is regretted in Arabic-speaking circles. Few appreciate the delicate nature of the relationships between the United States and Vichy, and are, therefore, critical.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 9 1942
NE-14-R

RECEIVED APR 8 1942

Princeton, N. J.
April 4, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The United States and Ibn Saud

[Meraat-ul-Gharb, Arabic semi-weekly, New York, March 30, 1942; As-Sameer, Arabic daily, New York, March 30, 1942.]

Both Meraat-ul-Gharb and As-Sameer feature a cable from Cairo that the Hon. Alexander Kirk, the United States minister at Cairo, is proceeding to Juddah, where he will present his credentials as United States States minister to Saudi Arabia. Mr. Kirk will not relinquish his position at Cairo, but will hold both comissions jointly.

Both papers also state the fact that Mr. Kirk is carrying with him a Garland rifle and two revolvers with studded pearl handles.

More important is their comment that throughout Egyptian, Arab, and Indian circles, public opinion is agreed that nothing which Britain might pledge will induce these peoples to throw their active support on the side of the democratic powers unless those pledges are guaranteed by the United States.

[The dispatch of Mr. Kirk to Juddah will be enthusiastically received in all Arabic-speaking circles, especially as it comes at the heel of the American agricultural mission to Saudi Arabia (see my report of March 29, 1942). The carrying of presents to the King would, likewise, be welcome. This is a gesture which an Arab potentate will understand and appreciate. The importance of such gestures cannot be overemphasized.

It is regrettable, however, that a separate representation was not sent to the court of Ibn Saud. Perhaps this will be soon remedied. The job is indeed a full-time undertaking, and the King probably thinks so. The court of Ibn Saud offers the Allies, particularly the United States, a challenge and an opportunity. As I said in my report of March 29, the King is the key figure in the Near Eastern and Moslem situation. His goodwill and confidence is a surer guarantee to the safety of the Allied cause in those lands than any armed force -- and much cheaper.

The question of British pledges and their guarantee by the United States is as important as it is ticklish. In

The United States and Ibn Saud (cont.)

approaching these peoples, it must be remembered that the first task which confronts the Allies is that of counteracting Axis propoganda, a propoganda which relies mainly <u>not</u> on radio, but on <u>rumour</u> spread by paid agents and quislings. Most of the rumours centre around the bad faith of Britain, the insincerity of its pledges, and the Axis desire to free these peoples from the imperialist yoke and to help them achieve their individual aspirations.

4.9

These peoples have aspirations as well as apprehensions. It might not be advisable from the standpoint of the Allies to encourage and support these aspirations. But the Allies must, at all cost, dispel their apprehensions.

This is where the United States, working with and through Ibn Saud, can render invaluable, and indeed indispensable, service.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-14 R

SECRET

April 9, 1942

Dear Harold:

The enclosed report by Professor Faris at Princeton on articles in the Arabic-language press is sent in the exact form in which it has come from Princeton because we think it may have a special interest for you.

The substance will probably be included in our regular weekly summary of the Arabic-language press.

Sincerely yours,

Initialed - D.C.P.

DeWitt C. Poole

Harold Hoskins, Esq.
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

C. C. I. - F. N.-MASTER COPY
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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 7 1942
NE-14-R

RECEIVED MAY 6 1942

Princeton, N. J.
May 4, 1942.

To: Dewitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Moslems of the United States and its Possessions

Near East

3.1.1

[Al-Hoda, New York, May 1, 1942.]

An article by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, which first appeared in the Arab Listener, a publication in Arabic issued by the British Broadcasting Corporation in London, is quoted on the pages of al-Hoda. The gist of the article is that the United States, like Great Britain, can be considered among the leading Moslem powers, by virtue of the 500,000 Moslems who live under the American flag (the Moslems of the Philippines are included in this number.) The article dwells also on the freedom, prosperity, and culture which these Moslems have enjoyed and still enjoy under the benevolent American rule.

4.1.1.4

[I mention this article only to emphasize the importance of American-Moslem relations in the present crisis. The United States enjoys the highest esteem among the Moslems throughout the world. Indeed, the United States is not the "Moslem power" Great Britain is; nevertheless, Moslem affairs are of vital importance to the war effort. It is, therefore, worthwhile to give the question of issuing an American "version" of the Arab Listener. The publication is one of the best things the British have done. The contents of the publication are in the main cultural and literary, sociological and historical. It is the sort of publication which any Arabic-speaking reader would enjoy, and its influence upon him is deeper and more lasting than anything the radio can impart.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 18 1942

Princeton, N. J.
May 10, 1942.

RECEIVED
MAY 14 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The First Representative of Iraq at Washington

3.1.1

[Al-Akhlak, New York, May 3, 1942; Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, May 6, 1942.]

1.V

The arrival of 'Ali Jawdat al-Ayyubi, Iraq's first minister to the United States is the signal for a lengthy editorial by the Meraat-ul-Gharb. Under the title "Arabianism in the Hospitable Stronghold of Democracy", the event is heralded as one of supreme importance to all the Arabic-speaking peoples in particular and to the entire orient in general.

[The sentiment expressed by the Meraat-ul-Gharb is not only genuine, but also echoes the high regard in which the United States is held throughout the Arabic-speaking world. The Arabic-speaking peoples, by history, religion, and temperament democratic, feel a genuine kinship with the United States. They feel that their future is bound with that of the democratic countries. This is why, despite many grievances, legitimate and otherwise, against Britain, there is no popular hostility towards the United Nations. This is particularly [illegible] the Near East where the majority of the leadership are American educated, steeped in American ideas and ideals. In the case of democratic ideals, the Arabic-speaking peoples see an identity with what they call shūra, an institution of government through consultation and agreement, which antedates Islam. Though family fuedalism has replaced the shūra in practice, the latter has always remained the ideal towards which all turn their

The First Representative of Iraq at Washington (cont.)

eyes. It is therefore more than mere words when an Arabic paper writes editorially of the spritual kinship between American and Arab ideals. This is an advantage which the Axis powers can never have.

The minister himself, 'Ali Jawdat al-Ayyubi, as his surname indicates, is ostensibly a descendant of Saladin, founder of the Ayyubid dynasty. He belongs to the same school of thought now headed by Nuri Pasha al-Said, the prime minister of Iraq, and the chief advocate of collaboration with Britain. Under Nuri Pasha, Iraq can be depended on to live up to the letter letter and spirit of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 18 1942
NE-14-R

Princeton, N. J.
May 10, 1942.

RECEIVED
MAY 14 1942
19

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Near East

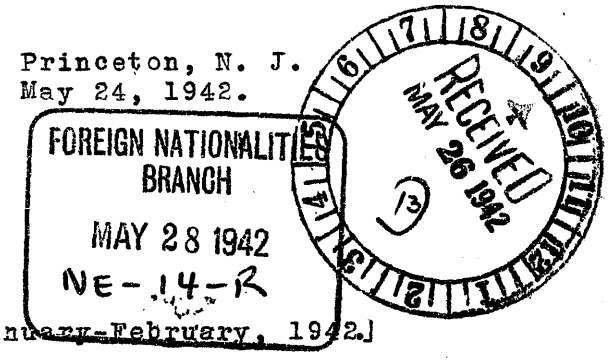
Subject: Lend-Lease to Iraq and Iran

[Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, May r, 1942.]

Featured on the front page is the news of extending the lease-lend programme to both Iraq and Iran.

[No doubt American aid to these countries is aid to Britain and her allies. But its effect will go beyond re-inforcing the "Middle" East. It will convince the people of the Near East, as nothing else can, that the United States is actually backing words with deeds; it will also help to counter any Axis propaganda that the United States is so involved in her war with Japan that it cannot spare the material for any other front. Many in the Near East feel that American relatives (immigrants) have helped in the making of these tools of war and defence. This will further aid the United Nations in gaining the active support of the Near East. It might be helpful to emphasize this point. The Near East is loyal in its sympathies towards the United States, and its active support can be secured and counted on - not by Britain - but by the United States. By and large their sympathies are also on the side of Britain; but they would not give their whole-hearted and active support if the United States were not actively engaged on the side of Britain. United States participation is the symbol of ultimate victory and a just peace. At least this is what the overwhelming majority in the Near and Middle East firmly believe,]

Princeton, N. J.
May 24, 1942.



To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: America and the Arabs

3.71
[Al-Hilal, Cairo, Egypt, January-February, 1942.]

Near East

Under the title "America and the Arabs", and a subtitle "A Good Reputation and Pure Aims", Habib Jamati, a noted writer, discusses the special favoured position which the United States occupies in the minds and hearts of the Arabic-speaking peoples, and stresses the increased zeal with which these people are supporting the Allied cause since the entry of the United States into the present conflict. The reasons given for this favoured position are first, the extensive immigration of Arabic-speaking peoples to the United States and the generous hospitality with which they were encompassed; second, the friendship which the Americans themselves display towards the Arabic-speaking world; third, the cultural contributions of American orientalists, like Cornelius Van Dyck, etc. to the Arabs themselves; and fourth, the humanitarian work of the Near East Relief in those lands during one of darkest hours of their existence.

4.1.2

Over and above these reasons, the writer treats of the United States sympathy with the political aspirations of the Arabic-speaking peoples as manifest in the pronouncements of the late Woodrow Wilson and the resent statement of President Roosevelt that "the United States is pleased that the national aspirations of the Syrians and the Lebanese have been fulfilled, and hopes that both peoples will long enjoy their complete independence."

No Arabic-speaking individual, the writer adds, can hesitate which side to choose: Democracy or Dictatorship. The choice is the Democracies with the United States at the head. The Arabs

America and the Arabs (cont.)

will stand shoulder to shoulder with the United States in its struggle against tyranny and oppression.

[It has been customary among Arab writers to praise the institutions and governments of the schools where they had received their education -- those educated in English schools favour English institutions, while those trained in French schools champion French ideas and ideals. Notwithstanding the fact that the writer of the above article received his education in French schools, he finds in America and the Americans his kindred souls. The reasons he states are all true; so are his deductions. The United States enjoys a unique position in the minds of the Arabic-speaking peoples. As a result they expect of it more than they expect from any other nation. To them, the United States is the only guarantee that this war is not, as far as the United Nations are concerened, an imperialistic war. Since the United States entry into the war, the passive benevolence of the Arabic-speaking peoples towards the Allied cause has been trabsformed into a keen desire for active participation inspired by a genuine conviction that the United States will see to it that not only the war but also the peace will be won.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
JUN 5 1942
NE-14-R

(9)

Princeton, N. J.
May 31, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR.
IN OUT
JUN 3 9 29 AM '42
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: American Prestige in the Near East

[As-Sameer, May 27, 28, 29, 1942; al-Hoda, May 28, 1942.]

Both rival papers, As-Sameer of Brooklyn and al-Hoda of New York, feature an article which appeared in the Home Companion, written by a certain Gordon Gaskel [?]. The article treats of the correspondent's experiences in the Near East -- in Cairo, Jerusalem, Beirut, Damascus, and other towns. A Damascene merchant, on discovering the American identity of the correspondent, gave him a dagger as a present to the President of the United States. For the same reason a Jewish merchant in Cairo gave Gaskel a choice shirt and accepted no money in return; an Arab hotel owner served the American writer the best dinner and turned down the price which Gaskel offered, because the latter was an American. Cigarettes, drinks, and other refreshments were offered him free because he was an American. The climax came when Gaskel arrived in Zahlah, a small Lebanese village. A women, about fifty years old, approached Gaskel and inquired whether or not he was really an American. On his reply that he was indeed a United States citizen, the women embraced and kissed him on either cheek and said, "One kiss for Roosevelt, and the other for all the Americans. God bless them all."

As-Sameer discusses the article editorially, and states that what the writer met in Zahlah is "a true picture of every town and village throughout the Near East holds for America and the Americans."

[This sentimental account does indeed reflect the peculiar position and prestige America and the Americans enjoy through-

American Prestige in the Near East (cont.)

out the Near East. The reasons are not difficult to determine. There are about 200,000 immigrants from the Near East. Almost every town and village in Syria, the Lebanon, and Palestine is represented; and the personal relationships involved account for the first reason. Second, the activities of the Near East Relief during and after the last war have never been forgotten. They are remembered with gratitude. Third, the work of the different American institutions, educational, medical, and charitable. Whatever education the Near East now enjoys is mainly the fruit of missionary schools of which the American have been the most progressive and ~~the~~ active. Finally, there is that ineffable feeling, partly the result of these factors, that the United States is the last best hope of earth, and to many th land of the promise.

With this esteem goes the corresponding responsibility. The United States is looked up to for the solution of the present and post war problems. The responsibility is a difficult one, and perhaps, in the eyes of many Americans, undesirable. But it is a responsibility which we cannot afford to neglect.]

War Cont

Wash. Evening Star
4/10/42

A—6 **

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 13 1942
NE 4-5

Britain Again Bars U. S. Visit by Noted Arabic Scholar

Philby Is Refused Permit To Go to University of Chicago for Lectures

By H. J. J. SARGINT,
Foreign Correspondent of The Star and North American Newspaper Alliance.

LONDON, April 10, (By Wireless). —For the second time since the outbreak of war Harry St. John Philby, noted Arabic scholar and one of the most colorful British figures in the Near East during World War I, has been refused an exit permit to go to the United States.

More than a year ago, Mr. Philby was released from an internment camp in England and went to India. He made reservations on a steamer leaving Bombay for the United States but was detained at Karachi on the charge that he was planning to carry out a propaganda campaign in India. At the time of his detention his papers showed that he was due aboard a ship sailing for the United States the following day. He returned to England and was detained for some time. When he was released he dropped his plans for an American visit.

Recently Mr. Philby received an invitation from the University of Chicago to give two public lectures there on Arab nationalism and to participate in discussions and make brief radio broadcasts. The invitation was signed by Quincy Wright and Philip Ireland of the University of Chicago.

Mr. Philby replied that he would be delighted to accept the invitation if an exit permit could be arranged. He inquired at the Foreign Office and was informed that no permit would be issued for a visit to the United States unless the application was supported by a government department on the ground that it would be in the national interest. The Foreign Office said that in the circumstances there was no justification for recommending the application.

"There obviously is nothing more that I can do at this end," Mr. Philby said to me. "So ends my second chance of visiting the United States. I wonder when the next will occur and with what result."

1,6

Britain prevents Harry Philby from visiting U.S. (1p) Clipping. Washington Star, 4/10/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-16

Saudi Arabia
(Near East

November 12, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. LANGER:

I am most grateful to you for your memorandum of November 12, with which you forwarded Dr. Wright's memorandum with respect to his conversations with Professor Hitti. I am having the material copied for my files and will return it to you shortly.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH

FROM: JOHN C. WILEY

A:ACB

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH

Arabic Papers.

MEMORANDUM

November 12, 1941 - To

Copy given Mr. Poole

To: Mr. John C. Wiley

From: William L. Langer

Subject: Memo from Dr. Wright re: Conversations with Prof. Hitti

The attached memorandum from Dr. Walter L. Wright, Jr., seems to me to contain a certain amount of information which will be valuable to you. This I think you will find chiefly in the first couple of pages and on the last page.

Will you return this to me when you are through with it, as I have no other copy.

William L. Langer
Director of Research

Interview with Hitti on Arabic newspapers and leading personalities. (7pp.) Memo: Langer to Wiley, 11/12/41

Attachment

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH

NY - FNB — Int 2 Box 1 of 2.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-16

B

COPY

November 4, 1941

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. Langer

FROM: Walter L. Wright, Jr.

SUBJECT: Conversations With Professor Philip K. Hitti at Princeton, New Jersey, on November 1 and 2, 1941.

I. Arabic Language Newspapers in the United States

General. Arabic language newspapers in the United States cater not only to the Arabic reading public in this country, but also, through their exchange arrangements, to the Arabic reading public in South America and the Near East. Professor Hitti cited many examples of the way in which the news exchange practice, which he mentioned, leads to the copying in newspapers all over the world of items of interest appearing first in this country. The leading Arabic newspapers are:

A. Newspapers Published in New York

1. Mirat al-Gharb, 80 Washington Street, New York. This is edited by Naseeb Arida, who has a Greek Orthodox background in religion, and is strongly Pan-Arab in sympathy.

2. Al-Hoda, 55 Washington Street, New York. This paper supports a policy of Lebanese separatism and is dominated by the Maronite clerical point of view. It is opposed to the Pan-Arab Movement.

3. As-Sayeh, 303 Fifth Avenue, New York. This is edited by A. A. Haddad. The editor is a littérateur in the tradition of Khalil Gibran and Amin Rihani. Its sympathies are Pan-Arab.

4. As-Samir, 109 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. This is edited by the well-known Arabic poet, E. D. Madey, and is of Syrian nationalist sympathies.

5. Al-Bayan, edited by Suleyman al-Baghdur, a Druze shaykh, who is a strong supporter of Shekib al-Arslan, a fine Arab writer and pro-Nazi propagandist of great ability. This paper is very anti-British. It is published in New York, but the address is not at hand.

II. Arabic Language Newspapers in South America

A. Newspapers Published in Buenos Aires

1. As-Salaam, edited by Señor Schamoun. This newspaper exchanges with the Arabic newspapers of the New York area, and is not very strongly pro-Ally.

2. There is another Arabic newspaper, edited by a Druze, and definitely pro-Axis in sympathies. The name of this paper is not at hand but can be obtained easily if necessary.

B. Newspapers Published in Brazil

Note: The Arabic-speaking colony in Brazil, consisting for the most part of Syrians and Lebanese, numbers approximately 250,000, and is far more influential than this number would suggest. In Brazil, the Arabs are well educated as compared with the native population and have prospered financially to a notable degree, including among their numbers some of the richest families in the country. It is very definitely worth the trouble and expense to keep them supplied with material in Portuguese, French, or Arabic.

Several Arabic newspapers formerly existed in Brazil, but recently ceased publication in Arabic because of a law forbidding the publication of foreign-language newspapers in the country. Some of the former Arabic newspapers are being published in Portuguese, but this situation is very far from clear.

III. Leading Arabic Newspapers in the Near East

A. Newspapers Published in Cairo

1. Al-Ahram. The editor is a Syrian Christian, and the traditional tone of the paper is pro-French. It is probably the leading newspaper in the Arabic-speaking world.

2. Al-Muqattam. This is edited by a Syrian Christian and is pro-British. This is the leading competitor of Al-Ahram, mentioned above.

3. As-Siyasa. This is a Moslem paper, representing the point of view of the Wafd or Egyptian nationalist party.

B. Newspapers Published in Palestine

1. Jaffa: Al-Falastin. This paper is strongly Arab nationalist.

C. Newspapers Published in Beirut

1. Lisan al-Hal. This is a moderate pro-French newspaper. 31

2. Al-Ahwal. This paper represents the Greek Orthodox point of view.

3. Al-Bashir. This is the mouthpiece of the very strong Jesuit organization in Syria and the Lebanon.

D. Newspapers Published in Damascus

1. Al-Muktabas. This is a Moslem nationalist newspaper.

2. Alif-Ba. This is a Christian newspaper.

Note: In Syria and the Lebanon, the papers published in Beirut are the best edited and most widely read.

E. Newspapers Published in Baghdad

Note: For information regarding the Arabic press in Iraq, Professor Hitti refers us to Dr. John Van Ness, who is now living in Pyne Hall, 44 Alexander Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

IV. Arabic Weekly and Monthly Magazines

A. Cairo

1. Al-Muktataf 32
2. Al-Hilal

These are the two leading literary and scientific monthlies of the Arabic-speaking world and are really high-class magazines, strongly influenced by foreign models, especially French, British, and American.

3. Al-Musawwar. This is the leading illustrated weekly of the Arabic-speaking world and influenced by such publications as the Illustrated London News and L'Illustration.

B. Beirut

1. Al-Mashriq. This magazine is a monthly published by the Jesuit University of St. Joseph. Although it is not as good as the two magazines just mentioned, it nevertheless has a wide and influential circulation.

V. Arabic Literary Leaders in the United States

It must be kept in mind that literary leaders among the Arabs are usually also political leaders, and that the poet is likely to be a politician. A number of the Arabs of the United States have world-wide reputations as literary men and command attention wherever the Arabic literary language (which is an artificial dialect like Medieval Latin) is read or spoken. Mr. A. A. Haddad, Mr. E. D. Madey, and Mr. Naseeb Arida are all very well known. Mr. Madey, in particular, is a fine poet.

There are two Arabic musicians in the United States who have very fine reputations:

1. Alexander Maloof, whose address is 64 Hillside Avenue, Englewood, New Jersey. He is a writer of songs and a music composer of wide popularity in the Arab world.

2. Anis Fuleihan, who can be reached in care of Mrs. Marie El-Khoury, 306 West 44 Street, New York. He is a young but gifted musician.

VI. Political Leaders.

A. Dr. F. I. Shatara, 153 Clinton Street, Brooklyn, New York. He is a Syrian protestant, former head of the Arab National League in the United States. He is a very fine public speaker and a man of real ability.

B. Habib Katibah, who can be reached in care of Dr. Shatara. He was Secretary of the Arab National League and is a journalist by profession. He is a fairly

good public speaker. In the opinion of Professor Hitti, both of these men are able and honest. The Arab National League is, of course, an organization which supported the aim of Syrian independence and federation of Arabs in general. It is consequently anti-British and anti-French, but by no means pro-Axis. Further information on its leaders and activities could be obtained from Mr. Harold Hoskins of the Department of State.

/s/ Walter L. Wright, Jr.

A:AtL

PRESS HEADINGS: NEAR EAST

SUBJECT: ARABIC PEOPLES AND THE WAR EFFORT. ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE DEMOCRACIES AND THE U.S.

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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NE JUL 14 1942 17-R
PLEASE RETURN TO LIBRARY
APEX BUILDING 153

SEE! AB-17R

3.1.1
4.12.4
4.2
4.3
4.1.1

Arabic peoples and the war effort. attitudes towards the democracies and the U.S. (20pp.)
Press readings by Jarvis. 3/2/—6/18/42

NY-FNB-INT-2

Rec'd D

MAR 3 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

War East

Princeton, New Jersey
March 2, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: N. A. Faris

Subject: Moslems throughout world urged to unite. 3.1.1 argentina (blue)

[Information obtained from Al Istiklal, of Buenos Aires, of January 15, 1942.]

Discussing the Iraqi rebellion and the subsequent flight of Rashid 'Ali al-Jaylani and the death sentence pronounced against him in absentia, the Emir Emin Arslan blames the failure of the rebellion on the disunited state of the Moslems throughout the world, and reminds them that they can never shake off the imperialist yoke of the West unless they unite. He urges the 300,000,000 Moslems to come together and to unite, or else to accept the fate they have brought on themselves. So long as Moslems fight Moslems there is no hope for either pan-Islamism or pan-Arabism.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-17-R

Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Rec'd MAR 3 1942

C

Princeton, New Jersey
March 2, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: N. A. Faris

Subject: Amman Celebrates the Anniversary of the Arab Revolution.

3.1.1

[Information obtained from Al-Hoda, of New York, of February 25, 1942.]

Observing the twenty-second anniversary of the Arab Revolution, the Emir Abdullah, prince of Transjordan, reiterated the aims of the Revolution and counselled his followers and all the "Arabs" to continue in the support of the Allied cause.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-17-R

Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
MAR 20 1942
NE- 17-R

Princeton, N. J.
March 15, 1942

RECEIVED
MAR 17 1942
(24)

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The role of the Moslems in the present conflict

3.1.1

[Al-Bayan, Arabic paper published three times a week in New York City by a Druse advocate of pan-Islamism; March 10, 1942.]

Why has it been possible for the Japanese to over-run Malay and Java, despite the potential man power of each, and why has it been impossible for them to over-run in the same way the small army of General McArthur in the Philippine Islands? The answer is found in the attitude of the native populations, who would have fought valiantly side by side with the British and the Dutch if they were convinced that the battle was their own. In contrast with the natives of Malay and Jave, those of the Philippines, particularly the Moslems, have fought so valiantly because they share with the Americans the ideals of democracy, and because they know that the United States is not engaged in an imperialistic war. The Moslems of the Philippines have swore by the Holy Koran not to let the Japanese pass. Why have not the Moslems of Java done likewise? Simply because their Dutch overloards have exploited them in the past, and have failed to follow the enlightened policies which the United States has continually followed in the Philippines.

On the attitude of the native populations in the Far East depends the success of the Allies; and this attitude depends on the policies which the Allies pursue, now, among those natives.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAR 25 1942
NE-17-R

E

Princeton, N. J.
March 22, 1942

War Ext

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Democracies and the United States

[Al-Bayan, New York Arabic-speaking semi-weekly, edited by a Druse with pan-Islamic predilection; March 17, 1942]

In an editorial bearing the above title, al-Bayan develops the theme that the so-called Democracies may be democratic at home, but have been guilty of undemocratic imperialism abroad. The Moslem states in general and the "Arab" states in particular have suffered a great deal from this double-standard policy. Consequently they have lost faith with these democracies, European democracies. The only democracy they respect and believe, the only democracy which enjoys their confidence, is the United States of America.

These Arab states cannot forget the undemocratic policies of Britain in Palestine, those of the French in Morocco and Syria, and, therefore, cannot give any serious consideration to their promises and pledges. They have, however, a firm belief in the integrity of American democracy, and, therefore, will not withhold their efforts in the present conflict. Every Arab should exert his utmost to aid the United States.

The Democracies and the United States (cont.)

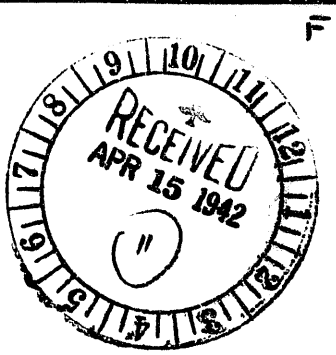
Cited as an authority and an example is the action of Ibn-Saud in granting United States firms the sole concession for oil mining in his lands, and his refusal to grant the same to Britain or France although they offered him a higher price.

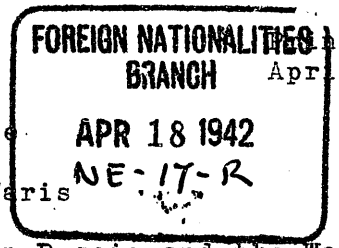
Note. The editorial attempts to undermine confidence in Britain while protesting loyalty to the United States. It does, however, reflect the high esteem in which Ibn Saud is held throughout the Moslem world in general and the Arabic-speaking world in particular.

B.M.W.

F

War East





Princeton, N. J.
April 10, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Moslems in Russia and the War Effort

3.1.1 Argentina (Rev.)

[Al-Jaridah al-Suriyah al-Lubnaniyah, Arabic paper published in Buenos Aires; February 9, 1942.]

On the occasion of the 'Id al-Adha (The Feast of Sacrifice), the Grand Mufti of Russia issued a proclamation in which he urged all Moslems to support the Democracies and to destroy Hitler, the arch enemy of Islam.

Russia 4.12.4

[There are at least 15,000,000 Moslems in Russia. This sizable minority is larger than the combined population of Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. The Grand Mufti of Russia speaks for a population fifteen times as large as that for which the Grand Mufti of Palestine is supposed to speak. The latter, however, represents a protest, and is, therefore, more articulate. Were the Grand Mufti of Russia and similar Moslem representatives of contended Moslem communities encouraged to be more articulatetheir voices will drown that of al-Haj Amin al-Husayni. Such pronouncements as that of His Eminence of Russia should be given ample publicity among Moslems throughout the world. A Moslem is more likely to heed the voice of a fellow Moslem than that of a non-Moslem.

Poland 4.12.4

Not only the existence and importance of the Moslem community in Russia should be recognized, but also the existence and the importance of another Moslem community should be taken into consideration -- namely that of Poland. At least 3,000,000 Polish Moslems are now under German yoke. This community has suffered along with other Poles, and its fate could be used to arouse Moslem sympathy and support.

Moslems in Russia and the War Effort (cont.)

The Grand Mufti of Palestine has been exploiting Moslem grievance in the Holy Land. Let us exploit Moslem distress in Poland, Moslem suffering in Lybia, and above all Moslem contentment in Russia.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 28 1942
NE-17-R

RECEIVED
APR 21 1942
35

G

War Cont

Princeton, N. J.
April 18, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Orthodox Church and the War Effort

3.1.1 3.1.1 3.1.1

[As-Sameer, New York, April 15, 1942; As-Sayeh, New York, April 16, 1942; Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, April 17, 1942.]

1.3

At the invitation of Antonius Bashir, Archbishop of the Syrian Orthodox Church in North America, the prelates of the Serbian, Russian, Greek, Rumanian, Polish, Carpathian, and Ukaranian Orthodox Churches in the United States and North America met in Council and issued a proclamation in support of the United States and the Allied nations, and urged their communicants to contribute generously to the Red Cross and to volunteer for service in the armed forces of the United States. 4.12.3

[These communions represent 6,000,000 followers in this country and some 200,000,000 fellow communicants throughout the world. Their proclamation, therefore, is more than a mere gesture. It will carry weight wherever it is made public. That the initiative was that of His Beatitude the Syrian Archbishop, the representative of the See of Antioch in this country, is equally important, especially among the Arabic-speaking Christians. Archbishop Bashir was born in the Lebanon and educated at the American University of Beirut. He is also known throughout the Arabic-speaking world, both Christian and Moslem, as a writer. His words and views carry weight among Arabic-speaking communities in this New World and in the Old. In fact he might be a good person for occasional radio broadcasts to the Arabic-speaking world. The emphasis is on occa-

The Orthodox Church and the War Effort (cont.)

sional, lest his audience mistake the prelate for a propogandist.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 1 1942
NE-17-R

RECEIVED
APR 29 1942
46

Princeton, N. J.
April 25, 1942.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Lebanon Supports the United States

[As-Sameer, Brooklyn, April 21, 1942.]

At meeting of some of the notables of the Lebanon in the house of one of them, for the express purpose of developing means and ways to support the United States in the present war, a resolution was passed that a memorandum be submitted through the American Consulate in Beirut declaring Lebanese support and gratitude. The meeting was presided over by a former prime minister of the Lebanon. Later a speaker mentioned in particular Lebanese indebtedness to American institutions of learning. and the cultural bonds which unite the two countries.

[American prestige is indeed high in the Near East in general and the Lebanon in particular. No one can forget the work of the Near East Relief after the last war. Likewise American schools have given the Lebanon the greater part of its leadership. Furthermore, hardly a village exists which does not have a score of immigrants in the United States. All these make this gesture the outward sign of a genuine feeling of friendship and sympathy.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 1 1942
NE-17-9

RECEIVED
APR 29 1942
17

Princeton, N. J.
April 25, 1942.

To: Dewitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Role of the Arabic-speaking World in the Present War

[Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, April 20, 22, 1942.]

The Meraat-ul-Gharb reproduces two articles which appeared in a special issue of al-Hilal, one of the foremost monthly journals in the Arabic-speaking world, published in Cairo (November-December, 1941). The whole issue is devoted to the topic, "The Arabs and Democracy".

The first of the two articles quoted is entitled, "The Role of the Arabic-speaking Nations in the Present Conflict", and stresses the strategic position which these lands occupy, particularly Egypt and the Near East. It recites the high hopes which the Arabic-speaking countries had after the last war, their disappointments, and their aspirations at the outbreak of the present conflict. It also alludes to the distrust which these peoples harbor towards Britain, and how the latter is endeavouring to alley their fears and win their confidence and support. The witer of the article is convinced of the sincerity of Britain. He mentions in particular Mr. Anthony Eden's recent statement regarding British responsibilities and intentions towards the Arabs. Likewise he states that the Axis has been and is still trying to woo the Arab world, and how in few instances, like Iraq, the result was serious. The article ends with the statement that the Arabic-speaking countries are fully aware of the strategic position they occupy in the present war between the great powers, and that they watch the development of events with eyes open. They are aware that materially they are weak and poor, but strategically

they can be of great help to the Democracies. They are on the side of the Democracies neither accidentally nor for expedience. The democratic way of life has always been the Arab way of life. Mutual beliefs, ideas, and ideals, are, therefore, the common bond which brings the Arabs to the side of the United Nations.

The second article is entitled, "Military Co-operation between the Arab Nations and the Democracies". It begins by reciting the contribution of the Arabs to the cause of the Allies during the last war, as nations and in the armed forces of the Allied powers and the United States. It ends, like the first article, with the statement that it should not be surprizing to anyone that the Arabs are aligned with the United Democratic Nations. The Arabs are instictively democratic, and the principles for which the United Nations are fighting are, indeed, sacred to the Arabs. 4.7.

[The special issue of al-Hilal, from which these two articles were taken will be the subject of a coming report. It is in 169 pages -- all devoted to "The Arabs and Democracy". In the meantime, let me note that these two articles echo public sentiment among the educated class in the Arabic-speaking peoples. Their disappointments after the last war are genuine, their resentment against British broken promises are grave; but both are tempered by a deep-seated belief in the democratic principle. The spirit of democracy prevails among them, despite the fact that they still lack the democratic machinery of government. Their symapathies will always lie on the side of democracy. They are however, a little hesitant, and would not go the limit in active co-operation, unless they are assured that no secret treati(s)

The Role of the Arabic-speaking Peoples in the Present War (cont.)

have already sealed their fate.

Fear of secret treaties as well as that of reward and punishment at the peace conference -- that small nations will receive no consideration at the final settlement except in proportion to their war effort, may be behind the special emphasis both articles place on Arab contribution to the cause on the battlefield and on the home front.

The Arabs in general find themselves in sympathy with the Democracies, but fear that they will not fare any better than they did after the last war. This fear is genuine on their part, just as their sympathies are genuine. This is why they have been somewhat "cagey".]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 7 1942
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MAY 1942
IV

Princeton, N. J.
May 4, 1942.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Oriental Peoples Attain Liberty

Near East

[Al-Jaridah al-Suriyah al-Lubnaniyah, Buenos Aires, March 6, 1942.]

In an editorial bearing the above title, it is stated that a number of "Oriental" peoples see in the present crisis the golden opprtunity of regaining their independence. This is true, particularly of India. But the danger of other dominations have compelled these peoples to pause and think. Thus the Philippines, in the face of the Japanese threat, have sought to remain under American rule, and the Molsems there have vowed to support the United States. Similarly, the Moslems of India would rather continue under British rule. This shows that the Moslems have cast their lot with the Democracies.

The willingness of the ruling countries to grant these "subject peoples" independence reminds us, the editorial continues, of the case of the Ottoman Sultan who granted Tripoli (in North Africa) its independence when he found out that he could not hold it against the Italian invasion. The action of the Sultan was a face-saving device. Is the case of the "Oriental" peoples at the present time the same as that of peoples of Tripoli then? Independence is more than mere recognition under unusual circumstances. It should include the desire and the will of these people to fight and defend it.

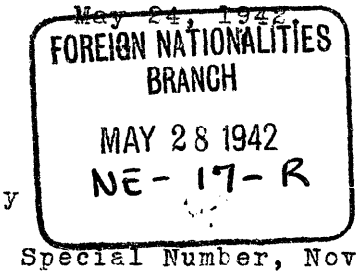
[The paper from which the above is taken is a pro-Allies paper. It cannot be accused of pro-Axis leanings. The purpose of its editorial is two fold: to impress it upon his people in Syria and the Lebanon that their independence is of no avail unless

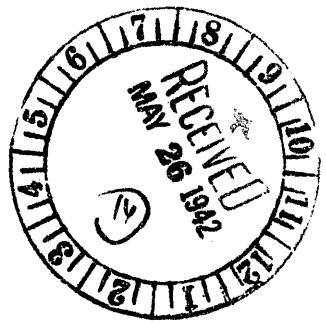
The Oriental Peoples Attain Liberty (cont.)

it is recognized by powers other than those which granted it for convenience; and to voice ~~a~~ genuine fear which persists that, in the case of Syria and the Lebanon, there is indeed no guarantee that Britain and France will not remain there even after the war. The experience of those peoples after the last war gives rise to doubts as to whether or not the Atlantic Charter will be adhered to relative to the Near East. These peoples dread an Axis victory, and hope for an Allied triumph which they cannot completely trust. This is most unfortunate. Nothing will do away with the existing distrust except a guarantee by the United States (see my report on "The United States and Ibn Saud", April 4, paragraphs 3 & 6).

K

Princeton, N. J.
May 24, 1942





To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Arabs and Democracy

Near East

Near East

[Al-Hilal, Cairo, Egypt, Special Number, November-December, 1941.]

Volume L, No. 1 of al-Hilal, the leading magazine in the Arab and Moslem world is devoted entirely to the topic of "The Arabs and Democracy". It contains thirty-three articles by twenty-six famous writers, twenty-one of whom are Moslems, three are Christians, and two are foreigners (Eleanor Roosevelt, the First Lady of the United States, and the British journalist, Wickham Steed). A recitation of the titles of the separate articles will give a fair idea of the contents:

The Arabs and Democracy
The Future of Democracy
The Democratic Way
Why I am a Democrat
England -- Stronghold of Democracy
Islam and Democracy
Democracy among Nations
British Democracy and its Aims
The Fate of Culture between Democracy and Dictatorship
The Democracy of Umar ibn-al-Khattab [Second Moslem Caliph]
The Rôle of the Arab Countries in the Present War
Co-operation between the Arab Countries and the Democratic Nations during the Last War
Arab Lands -- Natural Allies of the Democratic Nations
The Unity of Democratic Traditions
The Democracy of the Arab Kings
The Two Democratic Leaders in the World [Roosevelt and Churchill]
The Foundations of Democracy
The Stage and Democracy
The Democracy of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha [Founder of the Reigning Dynasty in Egypt]
The Spiritual Basis of Democracy
The Economic System

The Arabs and Democracy (cont.)

Science and Scientist under Democracy and Dictatorship
The Arabs in Democratic America
Democracy
The Legal Aspect of the Arab Federation
The Future of the Arab Woman
The Democracy of English Noblemen
Democracy and Party Rule
The Legacy of the Arabs in Democratic England
These have Served Anglo-Arab Friendship
Economic Orientation under Democracy and Dictatorship
Britain Fought for Democracy
Freedom of the Press is the Spirit of Democracy

[This is propaganda on the highest level. The articles are all of the highest calibre, and the authors are among the elite of the political and cultural leaders of the Arab world. This makes the volume under discussion of special value. That over a score of Moslem leaders should stop to sing the praises of democracy when the whole stand of the Moslem world is in the balance is most heartening. Still more important is the genuine belief of these leaders in the democratic way of life. When they assert that Arab institutions as well as Moslem traditions find in democracy the way of life most congenial to their well being and existence, they are not indulging in platitudes, but echo a true sentiment. It is this deepseated sentiment that has always swayed the Arab and Moslem world to the side of the Democracies, despite unfortunate experiences with them. As long as the ideals of democracy remain the ideals of these peoples, Axis propaganda has little chance of success. Axis propaganda has, indeed, been most active, even before the outbreak of the war. The astonishing thing, however, is, despite its activity and the grievances which most Arab lands had against Britain and France, the little headway Axis pro-

The Arabs and Democracy (cont.)

paganda has been able to make. The underlying reason for this is Islam, which regards all non-Moslem peoples as unbelievers, but finds, because of its own tenets and predilections, the democratic way of life more congenial to its being and more conducive to its welfare.

It is important to know this in dealing with the Arab and Moslem worlds. It is, of course important to know who our enemies are; equally important is to know who our friends are. Because we are a Christian nation, and because of the traditional conflict between Christianity and Islam, we are inclined to dismiss Moslems as our enemies. But the era of religious wars is gone for ever. This is an era of ideological wars where Shintoist Japan, with its Mikado worship, is allied to Nazism, with its state worsip; and where England, with its established church, is allied to Russia, with its disestablished and disinherited church. There is nothing incongruous in finding Islam aligned with Christianity in a war which threatens the existence of both. This is not as academic as it sounds, since a missionary mentality prevails: a mentality which has found its way to scholarship as well as to diplomacy.

Such intangibles are as important for the winning of wars as arms and munitions. We have an advantage over the Axis in this particular. We ought to avail ourselves of it.]

33

Princeton, N. J.
June 28, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR.
IN OUT
JUL 2 10 27 AM '42
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: British-Egyptian Coöperation

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
RECEIVED
JUL 8 1942
PLEASE RETURN TO LIBRARY
APEX BUILDING 153

[Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, June 26, 1942; al-Hoda, New York, June 25, 1942.]

Both papers feature the statement made by the Egyptian Prime Minister, Mustafa al-Nahhas Pasha, before the Egyptian Parliament on Wednesday, June 24, 1942, in which he urged the Egyptians to coöperate with the British in the defence of Egypt. At the same time, the Prime Minister assured his listeners that at no time had Britain asked Egypt to become an active belligerent. He also warned against the "fifth column" activities.

[There is no doubt that al-Nahhas Pasha is sincere in his desire to coöperate with Britain in the defence of his own country. But one fact stands out, namely that Egypt, despite the fact that it has been invaded by the Axis, is still officially neutral. This is because of two things: a strong pro-Italian leaning in the Court and the among the aristocracy, and a traditional hostility to Britain among the masses. The late king Fuad was notorious for his Italian tastes and predilections. The same is true of the present monarch, despite his English education, and of the landed aristocracy. The hostility to Britain is well known, and the Wafd party now in power, and which represent the majority (upward of 80 % of the entire population), rose to its position of power as the party committed to oust the British from the Nile Valley. The struggle finally ended with the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 in which al-Nahhas Pasha headed the Egyptian Delegation. So long as he is in power, Egypt can be expected to maintain its benevolent neutrality. This position

British Egyptian Coöperation (cont.)

will certainly be strengthened if the United Nations hold Egypt against the Axis; it might even be transformed into active belligerency on the side of the United Nations if they succeed in regaining their supremacy in the North African theatre. But should Egypt fall to the Axis there will rise from among the aristocracy a thousand and one "Quislings", ready to "collaborate" with the Axis. The only genuine support of the United Nations comes, ironically, from the Wafd leadership and from the intellectuals. In fact these are identical, since the intellectuals have supplied the Wafd with its entire leadership. The founder, the late Zaghlul Pasha was such a leader. He rose from the so-called fellaheen (peasantry) class. The Turco-Albanian aristocracy never was reconciled to such leadership. The United Nations must, therefore, ragain their supremacy in North Africa, support al-Nahhas Pasha, and keep a watchful eye on both the Egyptian Court and the aristocracy.]

A:AGF

PRESS READINGS: NEAR EAST

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
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APEX BUILDING 153

SUBJECT: ACTIVITIES AND NEWS IN LATIN AMERICA

3.1.1

Activities and news in Latin America.
Syrians vs. Lebanese (5pp) Press readings
by Davis. 3/2 - 6/2/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE - 18 - R

Rec'd
MAR 3 1942

15

Princeton, New Jersey
March 2, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From. N. A. Faris

Subject: Syrian versus Lebanese in Mexico. 3.1.1 Near East (blue)

[Information obtained from al-Kustas, of Mexico City, of February 17, 1942.]

The same controversy which resulted from the formation of a Syrian Red Cross Committee (see report of February 15) re-echoed in Mexico City on the pages of al-Kustas, the Lebanese Arabic paper in that city. The Lebanese of Mexico share with other Lebanese elsewhere the separatist stand.

4.1.2 Latin America (blue)

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

MAR 3 1942

C

Near East

Princeton, New Jersey
March 2, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: N. A. Faris

3.1.1

Subject: The New Columbian Minister to Washington.

[Information obtained from As-Sameer, of Brooklyn, of February 24, 1942.]

1.v Columbia (Latin)

Dr. Gabriel Travei (?), the new Columbian minister to the United States, is of Lebanese parentage. His arrival in this country evoked the applause of the Arabic-speaking community in this country.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE - 18-R

Latin America
Syria

Rec'd
MAR 10 1942

Princeton, N. J.
March 8, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-18-R

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: A Syrian "Führer" in Buenos Aires

[Azzaubaha, an Arabic paper published in Buenos Aires by Jubran Massuh, a Christian Syrian; Jan. 15, 1942.]

An unsigned article, propbably by the editor, discusses the different types of leaderships among the Syrians, including the religious, the personal, the provincial, the tribal, and the national. All but the last are condemned, and the name of Antone Sa'adah is put forth as the only rightful leader, the founder of the so-called Nationalist Syrian Party.

Antone Sa'adah is a young man in his middle thrities, a graduate of the American University of Beirut, almost unknown outside the ranks of his followers. It is however certain that he has been a regular visitor to Rome, Berlin, and of late Madrid.

He himself claims that he had laid down the principles of his Nationalist Syrian Party in 1932. These principles were first published in the Arabic press in 1935; printed in a booklet form in 1936 and again in 1939.

The slogan of the Party is "Syria for the Syrians". By Syria they mean the region bounded by the Taurus Mountains on the North, the Suez Canal on the South (the Sinai Peninsula included), the Mediterranean Sea on the west, and the Syrian Desert and the River Tigris on the east. All the Arabic-speaking poeples: Syrians, Lebanese, Palestinians, and Transjordanians constitute the population of this enlarged Syria, and share its common citizenship. The Jews, however, are excluded. This Syria should assume the leadership of the other Arabic-speaking countries, including Egypt, Iraq, and Arabia proper. A common religion should replace the present conflicting religions.

The supreme leader of the party and, indeed, its founder is Antone Sa'adah. But he is rarely referred to by name. He is called "al-Za'im", the Arabic for Der Führer. He has likened himself to Sir Oswald Mosely and to Hitler. The organization of the Party, its programme, aims, and slogans, as well as its religious and racial doctrines reflect a Nazi pattern.

E

Near East
Lebanese

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
MAR 20 1942
NE-18-R

Princeton, N. J.
March 15, 1942

RECEIVED
MAR 17 1942
(26)

To: DeWitt C. [illegible]

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Lebanese versus Syrian in the New World

[Al Kustas, Lebanese Arabic paper in Mexico City; March 2, 1942.]

Incensed by As-Sameer's proposal for a United States mandate over the Near East, including the Lebanon, the editor of al-Kustas reminds the world that the Lebanon is an independent country, capable of directing its own affairs, and asserts that if the other neighbouring Arabic-speaking countries now enjoy a certain measure of independence it is the result of Lebanese effort and labour. In particular the editor of al-Kustas resents the use of the term Syrian which the "unionists" employ to indicate the region between the Taurus Mountains and the Sinai Desert (the old geographical term for the land).

Indeed all has not been well between the two sister republics. The recent tariff war between them all but wrecked the economy of both. The French administration, then, did nothing to remove the obstacles. The conflict between the two republics has its origins in the long history of Christian Lebanon and the neighbouring Moslem regions. [Please see my report of Feb. 15, 1942, for a sketch of the bases of the conflict.]

Feb. 15
Syn. and L. R. in N.Y.

Princeton, N. J.
June 2, 1942.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR.
IN OUT
JUN 3 10 28 AM '42
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

Subject: Arabic Broadcasts in South America

[As advertised in Assalam, Arabic paper published in Buenos Aires.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
JUN 8 1942
NE-18-R

From Montevideo, Uruguay:

The Lebanese Hour - Station C. X. 34, Radio Artigas
Saturday, 18:00 o'clock

The Moslem Arab Voice - Station C. X. 42, Radio Sonora
Sunday, 9:15-10:15 o'clock
Wednesday, 22:00-23:00
Friday, 22:00-23:00

From Buenos Aires, ~~Brazil~~ Argentina:

The Arab Voice - Station L. S. 8
Sunday, 8:00 p.m.

Ḥayāh (Life) - Station L. S. 9
Thursday, 21:30-22:00

Al-Fann al-Sharqi (Oriental Art) - Station L. S. 8
Sunday, 13:30

The Nile Hour - Station L. R. 8
Sunday, 12:00

Presumably these are all local, not short wave, since on checking the list with White's Radio Log, June, 1942, none were found included. In all likelihood, short wave broadcasts are emanating from Buenos Aires, but I have no way of ascertaining that. I have one source of information which I shall try, and will forward any additional news I might obtain.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 14 1942
NE-19

Near East

C. O. I. - F. N. - MASTER COPY
Document Number
Destination:
Original Mr. Poole April 8, 1942
Copies D.C.I. F.N.13.

Weston Howland

Mr. DeWitt C. Poole

On Friday, April 3, the writer had lunch as the guest of Mr. Mokarzan, editor of Al-Hoda. Mr. Kalnay of Colonel Buxton's staff was also a guest at the same luncheon. Mr. Mokarzan is a Lebanese.

Mr. Mokarzan spoke of mistakes that were being made by official and semi-official American organizations in their dealings with the Lebanese and the Assyrians, and the Arab world in general. An example of his thoughts in the matter is the fact that the Red Cross had in its solicitation for funds treated the Lebanese and Assyrians as though they were one group by asking that the work be done by Assyrians for both countries. He went on to say that the projected agricultural mission to Ibn-Saud# in Arabia Saudi would be a magnificent and valuable gesture if the personnel were selected with sufficient care. He took the position, however, that such a visitation would be very harmful if the very definite peculiarities of Saud were not most thoroughly appraised. He took a very strong position that any contacts with Saud and his world should be most specific and not made by people who had any other interests, that Saud would be easily offended by being treated other than as an individual worthy of very personal attention.

Interview with Mokarzan on Arab problems (1 p.) Memo: Howland to Poole 4/8/42

I suggest for consideration that someone be delegated at once to have a long conference with Mr. Mokarzan, the purpose of which would be to issue, after proper crosschecking, a memorandum from the Foreign Nationalities Branch covering the Arab world and the proper approaches and disclosing so far as possible the pitfalls attendant on negotiations both here in this country and abroad. It does not seem to me important whether this is done by Professors Hitti and Faris or Mr. Kalnay, because the results would be good in any case. There is, however, the possibility that it should be done by Hitti and Faris because of their past and continuing interest.

Initialed WH

NY - JNB - Int 2 Box 172

A:A&F

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-20

February 27, 1942

Professor Benjamin D. Meritt
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Meritt:

The Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress has furnished us with the enclosed lists of Arabic newspapers and editors; also of leading personalities linked with the Near East.

Perhaps Professor Faris might be asked to check these lists and let us have his comments.

Sincerely yours,

D. C. Poole

Enclosures
dcp/jc

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Lists of Arabic newspapers, editors and leaders, personalities in U.S. and Latin America supplied by H.J. Award, Ed. Henry Field. Ed. letter and comments by Faris. Recd.: Poole to Meritt 2/27/42

A:A&F-Int-2

From Henry Field
Feb. 21, 1942.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Legislative Reference Service

Rec'd
FEB 23 1942
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-20

ARABIC NEWSPAPERS AND EDITORS

[Arabic newspapers represent different groups of oriental religious and political affiliations.]

3.1 general
1.8 general

(Maronite) Salloum A. Mokarzel
Editor and publisher of Al-Hoda
55 Washington Street
New York City, N. Y.

(Greek Orthodox) Elia D. Madey
Publisher and editor of As-Sameer
109 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

(Greek Orthodox) A. A. Haddad
Publisher and editor of As-Sayeh
303 5th Ave.
New York City, N. Y.

(Maronite) J. G. Raphael
Publisher and editor of AL-Akhlak
59 Washington Street
New York City, N. Y.

(Orthodox) Naseeb Arida
Editor of Meraat ul-Gharb
80 Washington Street
New York City, N. Y.

(Orthodox) Najib Badran
Editor of An-Nasir
109 Atlantic Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

(Druze) Armeen David
Publisher of Al-Bayan
216 West 18th Street
New York City, N. Y.

1.13

[Dr. Habib J. Awad,
Defense Service Section,
February 9, 1942]

From Henry Field
Feb. 21, 1942
Rec'd

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FEB 23 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-20
1.1
1.3
1.9
1.13

LEADING CHRISTIANS, DRUZE AND MOSLEMS WHOSE TIES ARE LINKED WITH THE NEAR EAST

Christians

1. Monsignor Abraham Assemany
Syro-Maronite Church
Michigan City, Indiana

2. Dr. Kalil Assaf Becharah
Boroughhall, Brooklyn, N. Y.

3. Monsignor Francis As-Shemalie
41 Cedar Street, Buffalo, N.Y.

4. Archbishop Antonius Bashir
Brooklyn, N. Y.

5. Mr. Ayub Risk
3130 Woodland Drive
Washington, D. C.

6. Dr. Philip Hitti
Princeton University
Princeton, N. J.

7. Dr. Risk Al-Haddad
Boroughhall, Brooklyn, N. Y.

8. Alexander Antoun
55 Washington St.
New York City, N.Y.

Druze

1. Ameen David
1605 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

2. Abbas Nasrallah
Danbury, Conn.
[Can also be reached at
Al-Bayan, 216 West 18th St.,
New York City]

3. Mahmoud Hamady
Flint, Michigan
[Can also be reached at
Al-Bayan, 216 West 18th St.,
New York City]

4. Dr. Rachid Taki-Addin
Al-Bayan, 216 West 18th St.
New York City, N.Y.

5. Farid Abu-Moslah
Detroit, Michigan
[Can also be reached at
Al-Bayan, 216 West 18th St.
New York City]

Moslems

1. Imam Kalil Bazi
Detroit, Michigan
[Can also be reached at
Al-Hoda, 55 Washington, St.
New York City]

2. Joe Howar
Linnean Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

3. Nazim Al-Adhami
216 West 18th St.
New York City, N.Y.

1.7 Syria

Diplomats

1. Dr. N. G. Barbour, Representative of the Lebanese Government
 82 Schermerhorne Street
 Brooklyn, N. Y.

2. Hosny, Hassan, Attaché
 Royal Egyptian Legation
 Washington, D. C.

3. Monsignor Istephan Ad-Douaihi
 Representative of the Maronite Patriarch of Lebanon. Pastor of the Syro-Maronite Church
 Boston, Mass.

Syro-Lebanese men of letters

1. Mashoud Samaha
 1606 Upshur St., N. W.
 Washington, D. C.

2. Father Joseph Awad
 Syro-Maronite Church
 Los Angeles, California

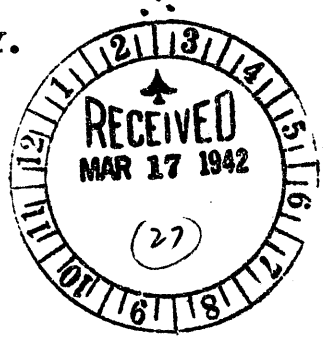
3. Father Stephan Awad
 Toronto, Canada

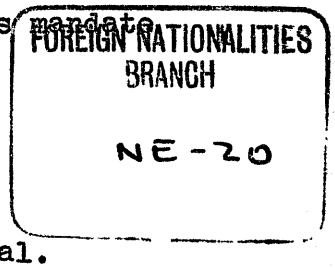
[Dr. Habib J. Awad, Defense Service Section, February 9, 1942]

March 16, 1942.

This is a list of Arabic newspapers in the United States, revised by Nabih Amin Faris to supplement and bring up to date the list prepared by Dr. Habib J. Awad of the Defense Service Section for the Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service under date of February 9.

Arabic Newspapers





3.1 1.8

Al-Hoda, 55 Washington Street, New York City, N. Y.
Ed. Salloum A. Mokarzel; daily
Lebanese
Maronite
Separatist

3.1 1.8

As-Sameer, 109 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ed. Elia D. Madey; daily
Syrian
Greek Orthodox
Nationalist. Advocate of United States mandate over Syria and the Lebanon

3.1 1.8

As-Sayeh, 303 Fifth Avenue, New York City? N. Y.
Ed. A. A. Haddad; semi-weekly
Syrian
Greek Orthodox (Russian education)
More of a literary organ than political.

3.1 1.8

Meraat-ul-Gharb, 80 Washington Street, New York City, N.Y.
Ed. Naseeb Arida; three times a week
Syrian
Greek Orthodox (Russian education)
Middle of the road in politics.

3.1 1.8

Al-Nasr (The Syrian Eagle), 181 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Ed. Najeeb G. Badran; semi-weekly
Syrian
Greek Orthodox
Nondescript

3.1 1.8

Al-Akhlak, 59 Washington Street, New York City, N. Y.
Ed. J. G. Raphael; semi-weekly
Lebanese
Maronite
Separatist, but not as rabid as al-Hoda

3.1 1.8

Al-Bayan, 216 West 18th Street, New York City, N. Y.
Ed. Amin David [Fayyad]; three times a week
Syrian
Druse
Nationalist

3.1 1.8

Al-Sabah (The Morning Tribune), 533 Orleans Street, Detroit, M[illegible]h.
Ed. J. S. Kahwajy; weekly
Nationalist

E

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE - 20

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF HUMANISTIC STUDIES

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 10 1942

April 3, 1942

RECEIVED
APR 6 1942

DeWitt C. Poole, Esq.
c/o Coordinator of Information
25th and E Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Poole:

Since I last wrote to you about the list of Arabic newspapers which you sent to me as received from the Office of Facts and Figures, Faris has paid me a visit and he and I have discussed them together. He is now engaged in finding out what he can about each paper named in your list and I shall give a report to you as soon as I have it from him.

At the same time I have received from Faris a list of Arabic newspapers from Argentina, Mexico and Cuba which he is reading and on which he is making reports when there is anything that deserves comment. This list I enclose on a separate sheet here (in duplicate for you.)

Very sincerely yours,

B. D. Meritt

B. D. Meritt

Enclosure

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-20

Arabic Newspapers in Argentina

La Union Libanesa, Reconquista 1010, Buenos Aires
Ed. Rachid Rustom

Azzaman, Reconquista 862, Buenos Aires
Ed. Samra Brothers

Al Istiklal, Maipu 735, Buenos Aires
Emir Emin Arslan

Al-Mursal, Paraguay 834, Buenos Aires
Ed. Maronite Lebanese Missionaries

Assalam, Paraguay 485? Buenos Aires
Ed. W. Schamun

Al-Jaridah al-Suriyah al-Lubnaniyah, Reconquista 1038, Buenos Aires
?

Azzaubaha, Monte 1405, Buenos Aires
Ed. Yubran Massuh

Mexico

Al Kustas, P.O. Box 7860, Mexico City
Ed. Alfredo Slim

Cuba

Sawt al-Sharq, Bernaza # 110, Havan, Cuba
Ed. Bishara Costandi

A:A to F

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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NE JUL 14 1942 21-R
PLEASE RETURN TO LIBRARY
APEX BUILDING 153

PRESS READINGS: NEAR EAST

SUBJECT: THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS
AL*HODA VS. AS-SAMEER

3.1.1
3.3
4.1.2

Problem of foreign language press in U.S.
"al-Hoda vs. "al-Sameer". (6 pp.)
Press readings by Faris. 4/18 - 5/31/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 24 1942
NE-21-R

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APR 21 1942
19

Dear Earl

Princeton, N. J.
April 18, 1942.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Foreign-Language Press

3.1.1

[Al-Hoda, New York, April 14, 1942.]

In a long editorial, al-Hoda treats of the subject of the contemplated legislation whereby all foreign-language newspapers will be banned. It appreciates the difficulties which the government faces, especially when the freedom of the press, a phenomenon so characteristic of the United States, is often abused. It hopes, however, that whatever regulations or restrictions the government may impose would not result in punishing the loyal along with the disloyal.

[Language is not the proper test of loyalty. Social Justice is not a foreign-language paper. Such papers are more dangerous than any foreign-language publication, the readers of which are, of necessity, limited in number.

More important, however, is the service which these foreign-language papers do fulfil, regardless of loyalty. They are our main instrument of keeping in touch with what foreign-language groups in this country are thinking. To ban these papers is to destroy this instrument and to loose its important service. Handling these languages, with the possible exception of Japanese, is not impossible. A small, but sufficient, number of men so equipped exists in the country.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 1 1942
NE-21-R

RECEIVED
APR 29 1942
77

Near East

Princeton, N. J.
April 25, 1942.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Future of the Arabic Press in the United States

3.1.1

[Al-Bayan, New York, April 21, 1942.]

In an editorial entitled "The Future of the Foreign Press in the United States", al-Bayan appreciates the difficulty which faces the Government, namely of maintaining the freedom of the press and at the same time insuring the safety of the State. The loyalty of the Arabic press is declared beyond reproach, and the promise is made that it will abide willingly by whatever law the Government sees fit to impose for the general welfare and safety of the State.

[The Arabic press is apprehensive lest the United States follow the example of Brazil and outlaw all foreign language papers. Such a law will be unwise. (See my report on "The Foreign Press", April 10, 1942.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 18 1942
NE - 21 - R

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MAY 14 1942

Princeton, N. J.
May 10, 1942.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Al-Hoda versus the other Arabic Papers.]

Near East

[Al-Hoda, New York, May 5, 1942.] 1.8 3.1 Mokarzel

The controversy beween the editor of al-Hoda and the other papers continues unabated. In a lengthy editorial, he accuses both As-Sameer 3.1 and As-Sayeh 3.1 of being the enemies of the United States, because they defend the Grand Mufti. As-Sameer (May 6) retorts that al-Hoda is the viper of the Arabic press, while As-Sayeh (April 30) has already stated that the editor of al-Hoda was insane.

[The charges of al-Hoda, as already stated in my report of May 4 (The Mufti and the Arabic Press in the United States), have no foundation. The enmity between these editors is purely personal (see my special report of May 2). While such a personal feud should have no bearing upon the war effort, and while the charges of al-Hoda deserve no attention, the situation resulting from the controversy is not conducive to unity. Unless the verbal battle should stop soon, it might be advisable to suggest, informally, to those concerned that more useful issues await their attention. This, however, might not be necessary.]

Princeton, N. J.
May 17, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 22 1942
NE - 21 - R

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MAY 20 1942
18

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Al-Hoda versus As-Sameer

[Al-Hoda, New York, May 9 & 11; As-Sameer, Brooklyn, May 11 & 12.]

Near East

The controversy between the editors of al-Hoda and As-Sameer continues. Al-Hoda again accuses As-Sameer of defending the Mufti and of being disloyal to the United States. As-Sameer replies that if anyone should be deemed disloyal, it should be the editor of al-Hoda for his obstructionist policy first in regard to the Red Cross effort and second in regard to the United States mandate over Syria and the Lebanon. Furthermore, As-Sameer denies categorically that he has defended the Mufti. As-Sameer has supported the Arabs of Palestine before the Mufti came to power, and would continue to do so. But it is not responsible for the Mufti's policies nor is it sympathetic with him in his support of the Axis. As-Sameer continues to support the Red Cross campaign and to advocate United States mandate over Syria and the Lebanon, although this might result in irritating the separatist sensibilities of al-Hoda.

[As I have already stated in my previous reports the bases of the present controversy are mainly personal. The facts of the case favour As-Sameer whose loyalty cannot be questioned. Denouncing the Mufti AL-HUSAYNI does not seem to be a good test of loyalty. In fact, there is no such thing as a Mufti case or cause. The cause which the majority of the Arabic press supports is that of the Arabs of Palestine. This could hardly be called disloyal.

Al-Hoda versus As-Sameer (cont.)

Just as most of the Irish-Americans sympathize with the De Valera regime, even in its stand, past and present, against the British government, so do most Syrian-Americans with the Arabs of Palestine. But both peoples have, almost to a man, been loyal Americans. De Valera's stand has probably been more harmful to the United Nations than anything the Mufti did or could do. Yet his American sympathizers are not disloyal. The fact remains that even As-Sameer, whose sympathy with the Arabs of Palestine is well-known, disapproves of the Mufti's Axis relations. It does not need denunciation to prove either his disapproval of the Mufti or his loyalty as an American. Unlike the editor of al-Hoda he has addressed himself to the positive side of loyalty, and has supported personally all relief and Red Cross campaigns and led the Syrians of Brooklyn in the presentation of an ambulance car to the Red Cross Branch in Brooklyn (see Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, May 15, 1942, where a photograph of the ceremonies appears; the editor of As-Sameer is third from the right in the photograph.)

1.8
E.D. MADEY

The two editors are known to me personally. Of the two I would trust that of As-Sameer, whose loyalty goes beyond articulate speech, more than that of al-Hoda, who is first and foremost a mercenary.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
JUN 5 1942
NE-21-R

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR.
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Princeton, N. J.
May 31, 1942.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Arabic Translation in Government Offices.

[As-Sameer, Brooklyn, May 31, 1942.]

A criticism of Arabic translations of government and military circulars is made on the ground that in many cases the English content of the original is entirely lost in the Arabic translation. An example is offered in the circular issued to the Arabic papers and published by them on Friday, May 22. The circular was issued by Lt. General Hugh Drum in connexion with the "Dimout" of the Atlantic seashore.

Another objection is raised on the ground that many of these circulars go outside the United States to lands where Arabic is spoken and written. Corrupt Arabic would make a bad impression. Furthermore, we should compete with the Axis which circulates its propaganda in good Arabic and thereby gains a better hearing.

[Judging from the examples cited by As-Sameer, the translations are indeed poor and fail to give the desired meaning. It is, I believe, possible to avoid such errors by sending to the Arabic press the circulars in English, and requiring them to make the translations themselves. A better alternative is to have a competent translator, familiar with the idiom of the language. If such a procedure is followed, I can suggest the names of a few able to do the work well.]

A:A to F

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APEX BUILDING 153

PRESS READINGS: NEAR EAST

SUBJECT: AXIS PROPAGANDA

3.1.1

Axis propaganda to Arabic-speaking peoples in Near East and Latin America. (8pp.)
Press readings by Axis. 1/28-5/24/42

Near East FN (1) Rec'd 1/30/41 B

Arabic in the Arab press. L 16

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

January 28, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-22-R

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: S.D.Meritt

Subject: Pro-Axis Propaganda in Buenos Aires

3.1.1 Argentina (Blue)

(Information furnished by Nabih Amin Faris from the Arab paper Al Istiklal of Jan. 15, 1942)

1.1 Argentina (Blue)

An editorial by the Emir Emin Arslan, editor and proprietor of Al Istiklal, a bi-weekly Arabic paper published in Buenos Aires, dwells on the surprises of the present war, notably the fall of France despite all expert predictions of German collapse and French victory. The editorial goes on to warn against rash predictions concerning the war with Japan, and to advise people "to wait and wee," suggesting that herein also the war might spring upon us new surprises favoring the Japanese, who, we are reminded, embarked upon this enterprise fully prepared for all eventualities.

4.8.1 in U.S.A by axis (Blue)

1.1

The Emir Emin Arslan is the cousin of the Emir Shakib Arslan, for years a resident of Geneva and an active supporter of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

4.9

S.D.Meritt

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

FN Report #8 made from these reports March 12, 1942

Reed (8) C

MAR 10 1942

Princeton, N. J.
March 8, 1942

Neas Cat
Listen
Answers

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-22-R

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Will Hitler be the next Caliph of Islam?

3.1.1 (Argentina) Blue 1.8 Argentina (Blue)

[Azzaubaha, an Arabic paper published in Buenos Aires by Jubran Massuh, a Syrian Christian; Jan. 15, 1942.]

In a feature article by the editor the dissension between the Moslems and the non-Moslem Syrians in the Republic of Argentina is deplored, and the blame is laid at the threshold of the Moslem community which, according to the editor, is lending itself willingly to Axis propoganda.

4.1.2 Argentina (Blue)

The most spectacular item in the Axis propoganda among the Moslems of the Argentinean Republic, circulated by Moslem agents, is the report that Hitler has already embraced Islam, and that he is waging this war not for the sake of Germany, but rather for the glorification of Islam. He has not declared his Islam openly because the German nation by whose might he hopes to conquer the world is Christian. But the moment that victory is attained, he will declare his Islam and will impose it upon the conquered nations as well as upon Germany.

4.1.2.4

This type of propoganda might sound clumsy, especially when we consider the small number of Moslems in Argentina. But the real purpose behind it is to use the Moslems of Argentina for the spread of such propoganda, since a Moslem is more likely to believe a Moslem than a non-Moslem. The Axis agents in Argentina may arrange for one of these Moslem mercenaries to perform the pilgrimage and there in Mecca spread his propoganda among an international Moslem audience.

This particular type of propoganda recalls the attempt of Napolean during his Egyptian campaign to convince the Moslems of Egypt and the Near East that he was engaged in a holy war for the spread of Islam which he had secretly embraced. It also emphasizes the importance which the Axis Powers attach to Moslem opinion.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 2 1942
NE - 22-R

Near East

Princeton, N. J.
March 29, 1942

RECEIVED
APR 1 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Axis Propoganda in Iraq

3.1.1

[As-Sameer, Arabic-speaking daily, Brooklyn; March 24, 1942.]

Under the title "Iraq's Oil Wells", as-Sameer features the interview which Dr. Calvin K. Staudt, principal of the American School for Boys in Bagdad, gave to the New York Times (March 22, 1942), and singles out the alleged far-reaching influence of Axis radio propoganda in that land. The statement is made that the masses in Iraq, particularly the ignorant, are, as a result of that propoganda, partisans of Germany.

4.1.1

4.10

[] Dr. Staudt's statements are very misleading. The ignorant poor classes in Iraq have no access to radios, and are, therefore, not exposed to German or any other radio propoganda. The masses, like most of the leaders, are definitely not pro-German, although they dislike and distrust Britain. This fact must be born in mind always.

Furthermore, the influence of radio propoganda seems to be greatly exaggerated. Few, very few people, have radios, and those who possess them must obtain a special government license. These two factors render radio propoganda of no effect.

In this connexion, it must be remembered that, with very few exceptions (notably Van Ess of Basrah, now in Princeton) missionaries have failed to understand the people among whom they are supposed to labour, or to guage their sentiments

113

Axis Propoganda in Iraq (cont.)

and reactions.

To base our policy on the assumption that the people of Near East, including Iraq, are pro-German, is as dangerous as assuming that they are pro-Allies. They are anti both, since both are non-Moslem and "foreigners". But on the principle of the devil we know is better than the devil we do not know, the odds favour the Allies and Britain. The present administration in Iraq is definitely pro-British. The thing to remember is not Rashid 'Ali's rebellion, but the little popular support it received. The same is true of the Iran incident. In both cases, the situation would would have been far more serious if the masses were what Dr. Staudt would have us believe.[]

E

Princeton, N. J.
~~May 17, 1942.~~

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 22 1942
NE-22-R



To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Axis Propaganda in Syria and the Lebanon

311.6

Near East

[Al-Hoda, New York, May 11, 12, 1942.]

An airmail letter to the editor of al-Hoda, dated Beirut, March 15, 1942, speaks of the increased activity of Axis agents in Syria and the Lebanon. Their propaganda has centred on two points: the existence of a rift between the British and the Free French authorities in the Near East, and hopelessness of the Allied cause. This has led the authorities to issue a declaration on March 1, 1942, warning the people against such false rumours, and announcing that the authorities have taken into custody, for the duration, several notables who were found in possession of written documents implicating them in the spread of Axis inspired rumours. The arrests were made on the night of February 28.

[I am inclined to believe that the venders of this Axis inspired propaganda are partisans of Vichy. The fact that this propaganda has seen fit to emphasize the existence of a rift between the Free French and Britain with the implication that the latter is already thinking of post war influence in a territory traditionally Franco-phile supports this contention. Such propaganda will be effective in the Lebanon. For Syrian consumption the second point is emphasized, namely the hopelessness of the Allied cause. The Allied Nations cannot afford to relax their watch for such rumours. The sooner we expose Vichy's

Axis Propaganda in Syria and the Lebanon (cont.)

duplicity in the matter the quicker will its influence fade, as the people are basicly not favourably disposed towards the Axis.]

Princeton, N. J.
May

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 28 1942
NE-22-R

RECEIVED
MAY 28 1942
17

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Japanese Propaganda in Arab Lands

Near East

3.2.1

[Al-Hilal, Cairo, Egypt, January-February, 1942.]

The article studies the Japanese propaganda in the Arabic-speaking countries, how it differed from that of the German and the Italian, how it used the distribution of gifts and medals as a means for buying favour, how it exploited the pan-Islamic aspirations of the Moslem world, and how it financed the Iraqi rebellion of Rashid 'Ali al-Jilani.

Unlike the propagandists of Germany and Italy who disguised themselves as diplomats, travellers, journalists, merchants, scientists, and professors, the Japanese went always under the guise of merchants and artisans. Again, unlike their European partners, they never depended on native agents and "quislings"; they did the work themselves.

They too distributed many gifts and medals, hoping thereby to enlist the sympathy of the recipients. They too tried to exploit such slogans as "Asia for the Asians", and endeavoured to sway Moslem opinion by pretending to be favourably disposed to pan-Islamism, and circulated the report that the Japanese government had recognized Islam as one of the official religions in the realms of the Mikado. Finally they financed the rebellion of Rashid 'Ali and tried to spread it elsewhere. Here they dropped discretion and operated openly. With the collapse of the rebellion, the restored government of Iraq severed relations with Japan and ousted all ~~their~~ its agents.

Japanese Propaganda in Arab Lands (cont.)

[The Orient for the Orientals has for long been the most persuasive slogan in Japanese possession. After the Russo-Japanese war, at least one major Arab poet composed a long ode in praise of the Oriental accomplishment. But this weapon lost its edge when Japan embarked upon her Chinese venture. It is now just another imperialist power, feared and hated.

Japan's pan-Islamic sympathies have never been convincing. They are less so now, because of the damage done to many of the Moslems in Java, the Philippine Islands, and China. Many of the Moslems of Java have South-Arabian connexions; their reports have unmasked Japanese designs.

Japanese activities in Iraq both for its own interests and on behalf of the Germans and Italians have already been alluded to in my report of March 8, 1942, on "Vichy France and the Iraq Rebellion of 1941". The rounding up of all Japanese nationals in the Near East, however, has put an end to these activities. Incidentally, the most dangerous agents in the Near East are those of Vichy France, for the most part Franco-phile Syrians and Lebanese. Fortunately their number is very small.]

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For use in the case of Registered Letters (If unregistered, insert "NONE")

Registered No.

Serial No.

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Near East

Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated)

TO—

file under: 11 argentina (Chile)
ANTUN SA'ADEH

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JUN 8 1942
NE-23

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COMMENT

Span
4.6.1

4.6.1

Division (or section) | TABLE | EXAMINER | D. A. C. | DATE

Spanish government approves [illegible] of
[illegible] between Axis & Party in Spanish Affairs,
(5 pp) Intercept to Antun Sa'adeh, 1/1/42

NC Form No. 8
December 12, 1941

(275)

Photo. No.

Records No.

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Serial No.

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Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated)	

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COMMENT

cont.

M. Stevens, with the Ang of Ost. Lot. [illegible] to be in touch with you for all the [illegible] on behalf of M. Ramses and myself.

Enclosed is a copy from the letter I received from Mr. Ramses De Rolfe dated 27th Nov. last. [illegible] understand exactly how my negotiations are to be with Mr. Ramses. He says that I should have [illegible] with him or with the Government concerned [illegible] to say."

M. Ramses informed me that [illegible] his Excellency the Minister of Interior [illegible] order or refuse both of us the [illegible] offered for negotiation.

[illegible] me to write, in order to [illegible] earliest.

[illegible] all [illegible] the Ost [illegible] one [illegible] please to [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Division (or section) | TABLE | EXAMINER | D. A. C. | DATE

NC Form No. 8
December 12, 1941

NATIONAL CENSORSHIP

Mail No.	Registered No. Serial No.

FROM—	TO—
Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated)	

PREVIOUS RECORDS, IF RELEVANT Nos.	For interoffice use by A. C. or D. A. C. only.	Allocation of this comment sheet:

Whether to be photographed— If so, to whom photograph is to be sent—	DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL LETTER— Released, held, condemned or sent with comment to—

COMMENT

Division (or section)	TABLE	EXAMINER	D. A. C.	DATE

NC Form No. 8
December 12, 1941

Mail No.	Registered No. Serial No.

FROM—	To—
[illegible]	[illegible]
Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated)	

PREVIOUS RECORDS, IF RELEVANT Nos.	For interoffice use by A. C. or D. A. C. only.	Allocation of this comment sheet:
Whether to be photographed— If so, to whom photograph is to be sent—		DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL LETTER— Released, held, condemned or sent with comment to—

COMMENT

COPY

We are rewarded with approval, and that is it intended to view the work we are doing in a favourable manner. In any case, when His Excellency returns from Berlin, I will [illegible] the question. Syrian Nationalist Party. I am very happy indeed that I am [illegible] to present to the Syrian Government an expression of feelings of sincere friendship and mutual consideration. In answer to your paragraph, I consider that in order to carry out the negotiations and give real support to the hands which Iran is extending, it would be preferable for His (Iran) to give you or me a document authorizing us to [illegible] correspondence in Iran name, and to follow the basic principles which he himself would point out. In this way the document will assume an official character, and certainly will be efficacious for the Cause which we are all defending. A visit is granted today to the Syrian Nation, as well as Syria in the national sense where the Arab race still preponderates.

However, I will [illegible] an official account of the visit we premised to Iran (with whom I identify myself) [illegible] memorandum matter, by sending a note to [illegible] Personal Secretary of His Excellency the Minister.

Inquire to keep you conversant with the result of my future [illegible] and news from you I await with [illegible] pleasure.

[illegible]

P.S. As you know well the [illegible] Nazmi Orphanage is under the [illegible] which was raised [illegible] and [illegible] of Iranian [illegible] of the sum of 5 pounds, I would be very pleased if you would [illegible] to this [illegible] a photograph of myself, [illegible] to be [illegible] in the waiting [illegible] of the Nazmi Orphanage [illegible].

C.P.

Division (or section)	TABLE	EXAMINER	D. A. C.	DATE

NC Form No. 8
December 12, 1941

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Photo. No.

Records No.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
NATIONAL CENSORSHIP

Mail No.

For use in the case of Registered Letters (If unregistered, insert "NONE")

Registered No.

Serial No.

FROM—	TO—
Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated)	

PREVIOUS RECORDS, IF RELEVANT Nos.	For interoffice use by A. C. or D. A. C. only.	Allocation of this comment sheet:
Whether to be photographed— If so, to whom photograph is to be sent—		DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL LETTER— Released, held, condemned or sent with comment to—

COMMENT

Division (or section) | TABLE | EXAMINER | D. A. C. | DATE

NC Form No. 8
December 12, 1941

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-24

War East
Arab

D. C. Poole

February 27, 1942

Mr. William A. Kimbel

Contacts with Arabic World

With your memorandum of January 31 you sent me an interesting paper by Mr. Timothy Pfeifer on contacts with the Arabic world.

Mr. Pfeifer's paper was submitted to Professor Faris of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at Princeton. A copy of the comments by Professor Faris is attached for such interest as it may present.

D. C. Poole

Attachment

dcp/jc

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH

Report by Timothy Pfeifer on contacts with Arab world with comments by Faris. (15pp)
Memo: Poole to Kimbel, 2/27/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-34

B.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Rec'd FEB 21 1942

February 20, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-34

My dear Poole,

I enclose the remarks of Faris on the memorandum by Timothy Pfeiffer. Also, I enclose the receipt for the first $75 we have paid to Faris.

Hitti and Faris are arranging now for the complete coverage of Arabic language opinion that we desire. I shall see that Reynolds meets them while he is here.

Sincerely,

B. D. Meritt

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

1.13

Remarks by Nabih Amin Faris on

Memorandum by Timothy Pfeifer

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-24

Rec'd
FEB 21 1942

C

It is not at all helpful, and perhaps even harmful, to confuse the Arabic-speaking world with the so-called Arab world. The first is a concrete reality, analogous to the English-speaking world. Arabic is spoken as a mother tongue in North Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and the Trucial States. There are, of course, dialectical differences among them; but all share in the common heritage of a common language. But there is no such thing as an Arab world, any more than there is an English world. These peoples who speak Arabic have their own national aspirations, prejudices, interests, and shibboleths. The Lebanon, for example, is Christian and separatist, and boast of Phoenician heritage; Egypt is, likewise, separatist, though dominantly Moslem; it likes to think of its "Pharaonic" heritage. The gap which separates Syria from Saudi Arabia is too wide to be bridged by the mere magic of the Arabic language. One is a fairly progressive republic, the other is still a backward, half nomadic conglomeration of tribes, welded together only by the strong hand of Ibn Saud himself. What appeals to one region is anathema to the other. Other than the common tongue, the only tie that binds them together (the Lebanon excepted) is Islam. What many writers refer to as pan-Arabism is in reality pan-Islamism.

4.1 4.2 4.11.1 1.1

With this as a background let me proceed to consider the programme proposed in the memorandum.

In the first place it must be remembered that in the Near East radio is not the all important vehicle for the dessemination of news and views. The majority of the population is in villages where electricity is not used; and wherever electricity is found radios are not many, because these things are still a luxury in those lands. Government control also militates against a wider use of the instrument.

4.10.3

Taking the different items one by one, I wish to make the following remarks:

I & II Such a study would be helpful, though the reaction will not be an Arab, but Lebanese, Syrian, Egyptian, etc. This is true of all but one question, Zionism. Arabic-speaking opinion is here unanimous.

III These are indeed controversial, and require very careful treatment. No unanimity on "Arab" nationalism; unanimous hostility to Zionist political aspirations.

IV Throughout the Arabic-speaking world literary Arabic is the only thing which will gain a hearing. Broadcasts in dialects are definitely harmful.

V This may be very helpful, since America and the Americans enjoy a special position of respect.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Broadcasts direct from America may be more fruitful than British or other broadcasts.

VI This is of dubious value, since listeners in the Arabic-speaking world are apt to judge a statement, not by its validity, but by the person who says it. Few Arabic-speaking persons in the United States enjoy such measure of confidence which will make their statements of sufficient value. The only person who enjoyed universal esteem among the Arabic-speaking world is dead. He was the Syrian-American writer Ameen Rihani.

VII This is also of dubious value. The Arabic-speaking world cannot be frightened by the horrors of Nazi rule. They reason that things cannot be worse than what they are at present. Our appeal to them should be one of hope not of fear.

VIII Unnecessary. People in the Arabic-speaking world believe their eyes more than their ears. An American battleship in the waters of Haifa, or a flying fortress alighting in the airfield of Ramlah, needs no introduction. They speak for themselves.

IX This may have an adverse result, by making listeners think that the United States is trying to place them under an obligation. The people of the Near East can never forget American philanthropy during the World War I, particularly through the Near East Relief. They were and are still grateful; but constant reminders might hurt their pride, a human trait which they share with other peoples.

X The remarkable thing is not the success of Axis propaganda, but its failure. We do not need to refute a discredited thing; we need a positive propaganda which will convince the Arabic-speaking world that America will see it through, no matter how long it may take; that America is fighting for the Atlantic Charter, the principles of which embrace the Mediterranean world as well.

4.9

Remarks on special division

I Study of Arabic-speaking opinion in this country is necessary. Note, however, that it is not Arab, but Syrian, Lebanese, etc. Over eighty percent of Arabic-speaking immigrants in this country are of Lebanese origin.

II No Arabic-speaking individuals or groups have any knowledge of strategic points which is not already known, perhaps in greater detail and accuracy, to military experts and the like. Port facilities, overland transportation, and general means of transportation have been exhausted by Bible dictionaries, historical geographies, archaeological surveys, etc. in a way far better than any Arabic-speaking individual or individuals could offer.

Persons who could be relied upon to cooperate with American activity could be located by American institutions already in those countries, particularly the American Universities of Beirut and Cairo.

III This is both useful and necessary. Such information should cover all Arabic-speaking countries.

IV The legend of the Geopolitik Institute in Berlin is unknown among the Arabic-speaking community in this country. It could be safely said that no Arabic-speaking individual in this country has any connexions with that Institute or any other German agency. Again the Grand Mufti has neither followers nor sympathizers in this country. In South America, however, the number of Arabic-speaking individuals in touch with German and Italian agents, and in sympathy with the Mufti may be worthy of further investigation.

I may add to these particulars that the writer of the memorandum under discussion has underestimated the importance of the Arabic press in this country, in South America, and the Near East. It is perhaps more influential than the radio, still in its infancy in the East. The printed word has a special appeal among a people the majority of whom are the People of the Book. It is true that the great majority in the Near East are not literate. But what a literate man reads is widely and rapidly disseminated through the bazaars and the Friday meetings in mosques. One pamphlet is better than ten radio programmes.

Faris Emin Faris

P.S. I note that Mr. Pfeifer is a graduate of Princeton, Class of 1937, and has spent two or three years of teaching in Beirut. While in Princeton he took one of our courses.
N.A.F.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

FEB 2 1942

MEMORANDUM

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-24
answered
2/2/42

To: MR. DeWITT C. POOLE

JANUARY 31, 1942

From: WILLIAM A. KIMBEL

Subject: "REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARAB WORLD IN AMERICA AND THE PRESENT WAR"

THE ATTACHED PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARAB WORLD IN THE PRESENT WAR WAS PREPARED BY MR. TIMOTHY PFEIFFER, A MEMBER OF THE STAFF OF THE LIAISON OFFICE. HE WAS AN INSTRUCTOR IN A COLLEGE IN BEIRUT AND HAS, THEREFORE, PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF GENERAL CONDITIONS AND IS ACQUAINTED WITH SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHOM HE MENTIONS IN THIS MEMORANDUM. THIS MAY CONTAIN IDEAS AND MATERIAL OF INTEREST TO YOU.

MR. PFEIFFER WOULD BE AVAILABLE SHOULD YOU WISH TO DISCUSS IT WITH HIM AT YOUR CONVENIENCE.

W.A.K.

E

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-24

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARAB WORLD IN AMERICA AND THE PRESENT WAR

The remarks on these pages are based on a belief that there are individuals in America with origin in the Arab World, who are of potential value to the Allied war effort. I believe that what Arabs here have to offer may be put to good use, if individuals are approached and considered a core around which can grow an increasing number of useful representatives of the Arab World. I further believe that the knowledge and ability of persons composing such a group may be foreseen to come within categories appropriate to particular divisions of the Office of the Coordinator of Information: The Foreign Information Service, Special Divisions.

RADIO SERVICES TO THE ARAB WORLD

In considering parts to be played by Arabs in America in radio services to the Arab World these possibilities come to mind.

I. A study of pertinent British broadcasts by Arabs here, and a careful consideration of their conclusions.

II. Reprints of past and considered American broadcasts to be passed to Arabs here for

study and comment.

III. Arab opinion on such controversial subjects as Arab Nationalism and Arab-Jewish problems to be consulted before broadcasts dealing with these problems are written.

IV. i. The direction of broadcasts to specific parts of the Arab World in such a way as to insure that persons in specific locales feel that they are being directly addressed.

ii. Consultation with Arabs here as to how dialect and references to local problems may be best used.

V. i. Arab students in the Near East have listened to British and Axis broadcasts in succession, and then stated that they believed neither.

ii. Verifications of news releases (particularly those pertaining to events within the United States) by statements prepared by Arabs here. Documentation of the statements by references to some personal knowledge of the event, and mention of the place in the Arab World from which the verifier came.

VI Statements prepared by Arabs here as to what part they are taking in the war effort, and their accompanying reactions; these statements including place of origin and enough reference to that place to insure the statements' acceptance as genuine. 4.8.2 4.9.2

VII Statements by Arabs here who are familiar with life in Axis countries; these to include comparisons of experiences in Axis countries and Merica.

VIII References to American military equipment now in the Arab World, and comments prepared by Arabs here who have worked

on similar equipment in American production centers.

IX. References to American food supplies now helping to feed the Arab World, with comments as to how Arabs here took part in producing the food.

X. Refutations of Axis propaganda directed to the Arab World, prepared from an Arab viewpoint by Arabs in the United States.

Note: Quite likely Arabs in Latin America are capable of playing a part in the war along lines similar to the ones outlined above.

SPECIAL DIVISION

These points come to mind as ways in which knowledge in the possession of Arabs in America can be of use to Special Divisions of this office.

I. i. A study of Arab opinion here with the purpose of determining the reaction to: Military operations in the Arab World during the present war. Political efforts made in the Arab World in the present war by interested nations.

ii. A request to Arabs here to draw conclusions from such a study that would be of value to contemplated American activity in the Arab World.

II. i. An approach to selected individuals with the idea of ascertaining precisely which Arabs here have knowledge of strategic points in the Arab World and the world at large.

ii. A record of Arabs here acquainted with strategic points, together with an indication of the kinds of information they would be likely to have.

iii. A gathering of information thus indicated, relying upon the personal experience of the Arabs approached to augment existing data on:
port facilities.
present means of overland transportation.
means of transportation that might meet with success.
persons who could be relied upon to cooperate with American activity, and how they could do so.

III. An approach to selected Arabs here, designed to augment existing data on key personalities and groups in the Arab World.

Ibn Saud
Emir Abdullah
Rashid Ali
The Grand Mufti

The Husseini family
The Nashashibi family
Extreme Arab Nationalists
Groups in North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula.

IV. i. A study of possible Arab connections in this country with:
The Geopolitik Institute in Berlin
The Grand Mufti and other extremists.
ii. A further study concerned with possible operations of Axis agents in this country covered by Arabs here.

In preparing the above remarks, I have had in mind my own connections with Arabs in this country. These constitute a small group, but represent varying backgrounds and occupations. I believe that working through them, or others,

it would be entirely possible to cover the suggestions outlined above.

It would be a pleasure for me to discuss, both what I have written here, and details of fab connections in this country.

Recd 1942 IF

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

INTEROFFICE MEMO

NE-24

FROM: Estelle B. Frankfurter **DATE** [illegible]

TO: De'itt C. Poole

SUBJECT: "Representatives of the Arab World in America on the Present War"

I am sorry that I neglected to mention Professor Faris' comments in my memorandum of March. I am grateful to you for sending them.

ESF

G

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

DATE: March 6, 1942

To: Miss Estelle S. Frankfurter

FROM: D. C. Poole

SUBJECT: "Representatives of the Arab World in America and the Present War"

C. O. I. - F. N.-MASTER COPY
Document Number
Distribution:
Original
Copies

Reference is made to your office memo dated March 5. In sending Mr. Poynter the material respecting the Arab world, we wished to call to his particular attention the contents by Professor Faris, of Princeton.

eco

H

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

INTEROFFICE MEMO

NE-24

FROM: Estelle S. Frankfurter **DATE** 5 [illegible]

TO: DeWitt C. Poole

SUBJECT: "Representatives of the Arab World in America at the Present Day"

Thank you for the copy of the accompanying memorandum "Representatives of the Arab World in America at the Present Day" which you sent to Mr. Poynter.

Mr. Poynter had already received a copy of this from Mr. Kibbel. It was suggested to him that Mr. Pfeiffer might be interested in calling in his Mr. [illegible] Field who has already obtained most of the material contained in Mr. Pfeiffer's memorandum for our records.

57

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

L 1 B

I

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-24

Near East

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

INTEROFFICE MEMO

FROM: William L. Langer **DATE** February 5, 1942

TO: Mr. Wiley

SUBJECT: Representatives of the Arab World in America and the Present War

The attached has been forwarded to me by Mr. Kimbel and I am passing it on to you inasmuch as I believe it will be of interest to you.

William L. Langer
Director of Research

Attachment

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

J

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-24

MEMORANDUM

JANUARY 31, 1942

To: DR. LANGER

From: WILLIAM A. KIMBEL

Subject: "REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARAB WORLD IN AMERICA AND THE PRESENT WAR"

THE ATTACHED PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARAB WORLD IN THE PRESENT WAR WAS PREPARED BY MR. TIMOTHY PFEIFFER, A MEMBER OF THE STAFF OF THE LIAISON OFFICE. HE WAS AN INSTRUCTOR IN A COLLEGE IN BEIRUT AND HAS, THEREFORE, PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF GENERAL CONDITIONS AND IS ACQUAINTED WITH SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHOM HE MENTIONS IN THIS MEMORANDUM. THIS MAY CONTAIN IDEAS AND MATERIAL OF INTEREST TO YOU.

MR. PFEIFFER WOULD BE AVAILABLE SHOULD YOU WISH TO DISCUSS IT WITH HIM AT YOUR CONVENIENCE.

wak

W.A.K.

Lib.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-24

John C. Wiley

February 27, 1942

Dr. William L. Langer

Contacts with the Arabic World

With your memorandum of February 5 you sent me some comments which you had received from Mr. Kimbel respecting the Arabic world. These were prepared by Mr. Timothy Pfeifer. Subsequently we have submitted them to Professor Faris of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at Princeton. A copy of Professor Faris's comments is attached for such interest as it may present. A copy is being sent also to Mr. Kimbel.

(Signed) JOHN C. WILEY
John C. Wiley

Attachment

dtp/jp

C. O. I. - F. N.-MASTER COPY
Document Number.....
Distribution:
Original ..Langer.....
Copies ..Kimbel, FN.....
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A:AGE

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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APEX BUILDING 153

PRESS READINGS: NEAR EAST

SUBJECT: INDIA.

3.1.1
4.3

Attitude towards India. (6 pp.)
Press readings by Faris, 3/21 - 5/14/42

Latin America
Near East

Reid
MAR 3 1942

B

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Princeton, New Jersey
March 2, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE- 25-R

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: N. A. Faris

Subject: Britain's Good Faith Doubted in Buenos Aires Arab press.

3.1.1 Argentina (blue)

[Information obtained from Al Istiklal, of Buenos Aires, of January 15, 1942; quoted from al-Bayan of New York.]

Discussing the extent of the aid given to Britain by Indians and other colonials, an unidentified writer reminds his readers of Britain's broken promises after the World War I, especially to the Arabs, and concludes that, judging by past performances, it is extremely doubtful that Britain has any intention of fulfilling her present promises, particularly to India.

India
4.1.1
4.4
by Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 24 1942
NE-26-R

RECEIVED APR 21 1942 33

War Ent

Princeton, N. J.
April 18, 1942.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Failure of the Cripps' Mission to India 3.1.1

3.1.1 3.1.1

[As-Sameer, Brooklyn, April 11, 1942; al-Akhlak, New York, April 3, 14; al-Hoda, New York, April 11, 13; Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, April 13; al-Bayan, New York, April 11, 14.]

The failure of the Cripps' Mission to India has been featured in all the Arabic papers in New York and Brooklyn. All but one have withheld their editorial comments, being content in carrying the accounts transmitted by the Associated Press and the United Press. Al-Bayan, the only paper to discuss the subject editorially, states, "We do not, we cannot, understand why Britain does not heed the legitimate demands of the Indians. What, after all, is the difference between granting India her independence now and between granting it at the conclusion of the war? We are certain that this time British pledges and promises will be different from those given the Arabs during the last war. But it is apparent that the leaders of Indian resurgence demand deeds rather than words, independence rather than promises. Haply they have some excuse, while proffer blame."

[Both by what al-Bayan says and by what it leaves unsaid, it probably echoes the sentiment prevalent among the Arabic-speaking press. The failure of the other papers to comment editorially on the outcome of the mission should be interpreted as a sign of disappointment. Furthermore, the failure of al-Bayan, a paper which represents the pan-Islamic and pan-Arab aspirations of many Arabic-speaking communities, to mention

The Failure of the Cripps' Mission to India (cont.)

or defend the stand of the Moslem League of India is very significant. Arabic-speaking peoples, particularly the Moslems, favour the All-India Congress, several Presidents of which, including the present one, 'Abd-al-Kalam Azad, were Moslems. They feel that Britain has deliberately encouraged these and similar minorities to remain separate; and they always point to Hindu-Moslem co-operation in the All-India Congress and to Moslem-Christian (Coptic) united efforts in the Wafd of Egypt as proof that, left alone, majorities and minorities are able to come together and transcend their differences for the national cause.

Arabic-speaking opinion was disappointed with the outcome of the negotiations, but they do not blame India. The tendency is to blame Britain, for India became a symbol by which British sincerity regarding the purpose of this war, namely the preservation of the democratic way of life, is tested. The question is often asked, "How does Britain expect to enlist the aid of the Indians and win their active support for the defence and preservation of democracy, and at the same time denying the same democracy for which they are to shed their blood?" They are reluctant to blame India's disinclination to accept "post-dated cheques", and point to the promises made during the last war to the Arabs. In short neither the Indians nor the Arabic-speaking peoples are ready to accept British promises without American guarantees.

Their faith in the United States was, however, a little shaken as a result of the reported stand which Mr. Louis Johnson,

The Failure of the Cripps' Mission to India (cont.)

the President's special envoy to India, has taken. The belief persists that Johnson told the Congress leaders that the United States has given Britain a free hand in the Indian problem.

But these peoples, Indians and Arabic-speaking, look to the United States for the solution of all their problems on the basis of detached justice removed from political considerations of empire. They expected the United States to exert its influence on the side of Indian demands, and were ready, in return, to give the United Nations the same type of support and loyalty which the Philippines gave to the United States.

They also believe that at the present time and in the face of the Japanese threat the Indian problem ceased to be a British concern only. It concerns all the United Nations, and should be approached from the standpoint of these partners, including China, whose cause is very popular among Moslem and Arab nationalists.

In the light of these developments, the Johnson mission has been embarrassing to the United States, not indeed for what Johnson did or failed to do, but for what he was expected to do.

Princeton, N. J.
May 10, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 18 1942
NE-35-R

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Gandhi and the United States

[Al-Bayan, New York, May 7, 1942.]

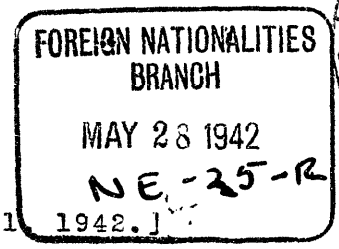
In a signed letter by Farid abu-Muslih of Detroit, Mich., the attitude of the Indian leader towards the United States is studied, especially his unfavourable reaction to American troop reinforcements in India. Why does Gandhi, it is asked, so react, when he knows that the United States has no territorial ambitions or designs? The answer is found in two things: The first is the high expectations which the Indian placed in the United States as an intermediary, and the second is the often irresponsible pronouncements of the American press. In the first place the United States was expected to perform a miracle: to reconcile Indian and British antagonism. In the second place the American press, in the sight of the Indians, has supported Britain without regard to the legitimate demands of India.

[The tone of the article is sober and thoughtful. I think the writer is correct when he states that Indian disappointment stems not from what the United States did or failed to do, but from what it was expected to do. The American press may have also contributed to the formation of Gandhi's attitude. The Indian problem was approached and viewed almost solely from the standpoint of Britain-- perhaps because of the desire to view it from the standpoint of the war effort. (See my report of April 18, on The Failure of the Cripp's Mission to India.)]

E

Princeton, N. J.
May 24, 1942.





To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Japanese Threat to India

Near East

Near East

[Al-Bayan, New York, May 21, 1942.]

An article by Farid abu-Muslih of Detroit, treats of the Japanese threat to India, and dwells on the failure of Britain to solve the Indian problem. The articles attempts most fairly to determine the reasons for that failure, and sets forth the arguments of both the British and the Indians. It ends with the suggestion that the British approach was wholly governed by military considerations, and did not make any real effort to solve the problem of Indian aspirations at all.

[There is nothing in the article itself which might be regarded anti-British. But the impression it leaves is one which might be so construed. It has become fashionable to protest loyalty to the American way of life, and at the same time point out British shortcomings. This line of thinking is the result of a deepseated distrust for Britain, and conceals a desire for American guarantees for British pledges. The Indian problem and its solution or lack of solution have become a symbol of British sincerity or lack of sincerity. The failure of the Cripps' mission has, indeed, left behind it a cloud of disappointment. Since the fate of India is closely linked to the fate of the United Nations, and the Indian problem has ceased to be a British concern only, many feel that the United States is faced with a responsibility which is difficult to accept or to decline.]

A:A to G

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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APEX BUILDING 153

PRESS READINGS: NEAR EAST

SUBJECT: POST-WAR AIMS, CHRISTIAN--MOSLEM PROBLEMS

3.1.1
4.1.1
4.2
4.12.4
4.3
4.12

Post-war aims. Fear of secret treaties. Christian-Moslem problems. (8 pp.) Press readings by Axis. 3/42 - 5/10/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Received MAR 3 1942

B

War East

Princeton, New Jersey
March 2, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-256-R

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: N. A. Faris

Subject: Pan-Arab Conference in Cairo.

3.1.1

[Information obtained from the Mir'at al-Gharb, Meraat ul-Gharb of New York, of February 25, and the Al-Hoda, of New York, of February 24, 1942.] 3.1.1

Some of the Arabic-speaking papers in New York have given prominent space in their columns for a special cable reported in the New York Times, Feb.21, 1942, purporting to the proposed conference to be held at Cairo [Feb.26] for the standardization of educational syllabuses throughout the Arabic-speaking world.

Hitherto pan-Arab conferences were held for political purposes of immediate nature. This particular conference seems removed from politics. It might, however, prove more far reaching than all previous conferences, since its ultimate aim is to weld the different parts of the Arabic-speaking world through a uniform and unified system of education. The basis of the so-called Arab Awakening has been cultural in the main. The chances for the success of the conference are, therefore, bright, although there will be some dissenters, particularly the Lebanon, which prefers to remain outside any pan-Arab system, no matter what that system might be.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 2 1942
NE-26-R

RECEIVED
APR 1 1942
3

Near East

Princeton, N. J.
March 29, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Fear of Secret Treaties Concerning the Fate of the Near East

3,1.1

[Al-Hoda, Lebanese Christian Arabic daily in New York, March 20, 1942; and al-Bayan, Druse semi-weekly, New York, March 21, 1942.]

Speculation concerning Turkish intentions in the present conflict agitates the Arabic-speaking press in this country. Turkey's strategic position is evident to both the Allies and the Axis Powers. Rumours persist that both are trying to secure Turkish aid through promises at the expense of the Arabic-speaking world.

[The persistence of such rumours is not helpful to the cause of the Allies. The experience of the Arabic-speaking world with similar promises during the last World War makes the peeples of those lands extremely apprehensive, and, likewise, susceptible to Axis prpoganda. Anything to dispel their fears and confirm their faith is worth doing. Nothing which Britain might do or say will [redacted] be of much avail, since its past record in the Near East is against it. The United States should take the initiative; it alone can convince the Near East that the fate of its peeples will not be decided by secret treaties.]

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 18 1942
NE-26-R

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APR 15 1942

Near East

Princeton, N. J.
April 10, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Liberation of Islam is Bound with Axis Victory

3.1.1 Argentina (Blue)

[Al-Fitrah al-Islamiyah, Arabic bi-weekly, Buenos Aires, February 19, 1942.]

1.1

Commenting on the activities of the Grand Mufti AL-HUSAYNI and Rashid 'Ali al-Jilani as they move between Berlin and Rome, the editor of al-Fitrah states that the liberation of Islam and the restoration of the Arabs to their rightful place in the world are bound with the victory of the Axis.

[Al-Fitrah claims to be the organ of the Moslem communities in the New World. It represents, however, extreme pan-Islamism, which is anti-British, primarily because Britain is non-Moslem. Normally it would be anti-Axis as well. But like many Moslems, it reasons that those who are opposed to Britain are of necessity pro-Moslem.

This position can be countered by emphasizing the loyalty of the Moslems of the Philippine to the American flag, because the United States rule, though non-Moslem, has safeguarded Moslem interests. In contrast twenty years of Italian misrule in Lybia resulted in the decimination of 50 % of the Moslem population.

The services of Moslem leaders in Russia, where several millions of Moslems live in prosperity, should be secured. Recently the Grand Mufti of Russia issued a declaration calling upon his co-religionists to support the Democracies. Such pronouncements should be given ample publicity among Moslems throughout the world.]

Russia 4.13.4

E

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 7 1942
NE-26-R

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1942
17

Princeton, N. J.
May 4, 1942.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Are the Christians an Obstacle against Arab Indpendence?

3.1.1 Argentina (Letter)

[Al-Jaridah al-Suriyah al-Lubnaniyah, Buenos Aires, Feb. 26, 1942.]

Near East

In reply to an article by one who signs himself "al-Sha'ir al-Qarawi (The Village Poet), and which appeared in another Arabic paper in Buenos Aires, probably al-Istklal, al-Jaridah al-Suriyah al-Lubnaniyah cites the examples of Algeria and Morocco where there are practically no Christians and where the yoke of foreign rule is firmly fastened, and Egypt where a sizable Christian (Coptic) minority exists and where this minority has laboured side by side with the Moslem majority and made Egypt the leading Arabic-speaking country. The paper also cites how under the rule of Feisal I and the Nationalist Committee Christian-Moslem co-operation reached its height in Syria.

[The traditional struggle in the Near East has been Moslem-Christian. One of the main reasons why the Lebanon is separatist lies in the fact that it is predominantly Christian in the midst of a Moslem sea. Christians throughout the Arabic-speaking world have consistently been apart from the nationalist movement, although in instamces they supplied the cultural leadership of such movements. They have also attached themselves to foreign powers, the Maronites of the Lebanon to France, the C[illegible]rthodox to Czarist Russia, and the few "Protestants" to Brita[illegible]. The Moslems alone remained un-reconciled, primarily because of the[illegible] exclusive religio-political society. The latter, furthermore, were and are the majority. European powers, too, seized upon the opportunity thus offered to further their spheres of influence in the then Ottoman Empire.

4.10.3

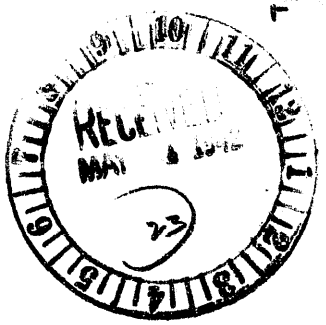
Are the Christians an obstacle against Arab Independence? (cont.)

Thus the charge is not without foundations. Events of late, however, have greatly modified the situation. Under Zaghlul Pasha of Egypt the Wafd Party sought to remove the question of the protection of minorities from the political scene. The progress made there is both genuine and great. Throughout the other Arabic-speaking world, however, the situation remains almost unchanged. It will be sometime before the Christian minority will trust the Moslem majority. Only in Palestine (other than Egypt) do we see Christian-Moslem co-operation, imposed, of course through the influence of Zionism which both fear and distrust. Elsewhere the Christians still suffer many disabilities.

The religious ties in the Arabic-speaking world, despite the surge of nationalism since the last war, are still the dominant and determining factors.]

Princeton, N. J.
May 10, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 18 1942
NE-26-R



War Cont

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Post-war Status of the Lebanon

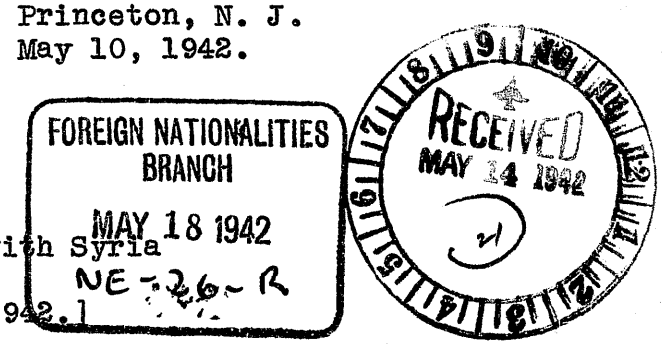
3.1.1

[Lisan al-Hal, Beirut, September 16, 1942.]

In reply to a questionaire by the Lisan al-Hal, leading Arabic daily in Beirut, Dr. Joseph Hitti 1.9 states that since ethnic origins, language, mentality, and tradition are the basic and determining factors in the political status of nations, and since these factors are common to the Lebanon and its neighbouring Arabic-speaking countries, the Lebanon's post war political status should be similar to those adopted by Syria and the other neighbouring Arabic-speaking peoples. While each country could and should enjoy local autonomy [states' rights in American political jargon], a unified monetary system as well as a unified system of law and education should prevail. Furthermore, all tariff obstacles between the different countries concerned should be permanently removed.

[Dr. Joseph Hitti is the brother of Professor Philip K. Hitti of Princeton University. Like his brother, Dr. Joseph is American educated, and is at present on the Faculty of Medicine in the American University of Beirut. He is highly respected and influential. His ideas for the post-war status of the Lebanon betray American influence. What he advocates is a federation of the Arabic-speaking countries. This does not represent dominant Lebanese opinion, which is overwhelmingly separatist. But it represents the opinion of the liberal element among the educated class.]

Princeton, N. J.
May 10, 1942.



Near East

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Union of Jabal al-Druz with Syria

[Al-Ho a, New York, May 4, 1942.]

In a special air mail message to the editor of al-Hoda, its Beirut correspondent writes of the recent ~~of the~~ Druze assembly at al-Suwaydā', and of their unanimous decision to become an integral part of the Republic of Syria. The meeting was presided over by Hasan Bey al-Atrash.

[The Druze, an ultra-Shi'ite sect, settled in the southern part of the Lebanon, has been a separate government since the revolution of 1925-7. Previous to that it enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. Traditionally the Druzes are friendly to Britain. The present action should be viewed side by side with the decline of French influence, which had carved Syria into five independent states. It is probably not accidental that Hasan Bey al-Atrash who presided over the assembly when it voted union with Syria, has recently been made minister of defence in the new Syrian cabinet (see my report on A New Cabinet in Syria, April 25). Through this union the Druzes will share in the responsibility of the government, and will most certainly check any dormant pro-Vichy influence which may still exist. Furthermore, it will , on the positive side, enhance the British influence. It will also sharpen the demarkation between Syrian and Lebanese, since the latter fear and mistrust the Druzes more than anything else.

Union of Jabal al-Druz and Syria (cont.)

This fear and mistrust dates back mainly to the 1860 massacres. In any scheme of union, the Lebanon will probably remain aloof.

A: A&C

Near East

2-15
2-15
1-1

Damascus Fraternity
261 Henry Street
Brooklyn, New York

A. Barsa
261 Henry Street
Brooklyn, New York

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 18 1942
NE-27

Lebanon League of Progress
55 Washington Street
New York, New York

S. A. Mokarzel, President
55 Washington Street
New York, New York

The Syrian Lebanon American Brotherhood
2245 East Riverside Drive
Indianapolis, Indiana

Grand Sons of Lebanon American Society
410 Elm Street
Lawrence, Massachusetts

Lebanese American Federation
356 Common Street
Lawrence, Massachusetts

Syrian Lebanese American Federation of the Eastern States
60 State Street
Boston, Massachusetts

United Lebanese American Association
100 Suffolk Street
Lowell, Massachusetts

Syrian American Auxiliary
40 Allendale Road
Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Mrs. Samuel George, Secretary
40 Allendale Road
Pittsfield, Massachusetts

From the Treasury Department
May 9, 1942

Sons of Lebanon Society
12 Lebanon Street
Quincy, Massachusetts

Southern Federation of Syrian Lebanon American Clubs
C/O Dr. N. A. Elkouries
1625 - 12th Avenue, South
Birmingham, Alabama

List of Syrian + Lebanese organizations in U.S. (4pp) from Treasury Dept + newspaper clippings, 5/9/42

From the Treasury Department
May 9, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 4 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-27

DIVISION OF PRESS INTELLIGENCE
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Herald News (I)
Fall River, Mass.
Circ. 30,511
DATE
MAR 27 1942

Near East

Syrian-American Groups Give $153 to Red Cross

The Syrian-American Association and its Ladies' Auxiliary today donated $153 to the American Red Cross, the proceeds of the concert conducted recently for that benefit, Chairman Fred S. Feisal announces.

Mr. Feisal also made known that Americanization classes have been started at the association hall on Flint Street and are being conducted Tuesdays and Fridays from 7 to 9 P. M. Mrs. Mary Meagher is in charge.

It is expected that Wednesday nights will be added in the near future and that morning classes will be held Tuesdays from 9:30 to 11:30. The classes are open to anyone. They have been conducted at the Syrian-American quarters for several years with the result that 250 persons have received citizenship papers and 300 others have signified their intentions of becoming citizens.

Members of the association have purchased $29,500 worth of bonds from the unit to date, it was also made known, surpassing the pledge of $10,000 worth made last November.

Red Cross Committee Chairman Feisal and Co-Chairman Elias Kazen express thanks to members of the committee, especially to Mrs. Elizabeth Razook, for the work accomplished for the worthy cause.

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SYMBOL
Sun (I)
Lowell, Mass.
DATE MAR 31 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
VE-27
APR 6 1942

Syrian Lebanese Session to Be Held Tomorrow

LOWELL—There will be a very important meeting of the Syrian and Lebanese American association tomorrow night, at 7.30 sharp, at the International Institute on Palmer street, at which all members of the organization are urged to be present. The session will be primarily devoted to the revision of plans for a post-master function. The change in the preparations is caused by an unexpected development, over which none of the members had control. It is urgently hoped that all members will be in attendance at this meeting which is scheduled to start promptly at the 7.30 o'clock.

It is expected other discussions of paramount importance to all constituents of the Syrian and Lebanese American association will take place. President Frank Matta will be in the chair.

C. O. I. - [illegible] COPY
Document [illegible]
Orig. S.C.P. Poole F.N.B.
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APEX BUILDING 153

Ernest
Mean Cant

June 29, 1942

Dear DeWitt:

I enclose herewith a memorandum from Allen Dulles. I have discussed it by telephone with Wallace Murray, who is very much afraid that in the absence of some clear cut statement on the part of the American Government toward Zionism, etc., it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to rally Arab-Moslem sentiment in favor of the United Nations. Nevertheless, Wallace was a little bit intrigued by Aglion's suggestion. I mentioned to him that you were in Princeton and that you might be in a position to sound out Hitti and Faris. He greeted this with enthusiasm and asked to be informed of the results.

If you find it entirely convenient, will you see what you can learn in the matter.

Sincerely yours,

(Initialed) J. C. W.

John C. Wiley.

DeWitt C. Poole, Esq.
30 Boudinot Street
Princeton, New Jersey

JCW:EM

(Attachment--memo re Raoul Aglion's suggestion for meeting in NY. to rally Arab feeling in favor of United Nations. He is Free French rep. in N.Y. and was Fr. expert for many years in Near East, Syria, etc. Mokarzel might help -- a Syrian

NY-JWB-Box 2

Box 1 f 2

24 B

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JUN 26 1942 AM '42

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE - 28

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. John Wiley

FROM: Allen W. Dulles

France
1.1

Raoul Aglion, Free French representative here in New York and who was for many years French expert in the Near East, Syria, Egypt, etc., suggested that it might be desirable to organize a joint Arab, Syrian, Lebanese meeting here to help rally Arab feeling in favor of the United Nations. He suggested this in view of reports as to Arab uprising in Egypt, etc. He suggested that Mokarzel, prominent Syrian editor here, would be glad to help organize the meeting.

El Hoda
Lebanese

I told Aglion that this was not within my jurisdiction but that I would pass the idea on to you. I suggested that any such gathering as he contemplated might easily end in a riot and do more harm than good. To this he replied that arrangements could easily be made for only trusted persons to attend the meeting, and that the resolution of support would be a unanimous one.

I am not at all clear as to the feasibility or utility of Aglion's suggestion, but I pass it on for your consideration.

A.W.D.

C.C. Mr. Hugh R. Wilson

Aglion proposes a joint Arab, Syrian, Lebanese rally. Opinions of Davis and Hatch. (Spp)
Letter: Wiley to Poole 6/29/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
NE-28

July 8, 1942

C. O. I. - [illegible] MASTER COPY
Doc.
Or
Cop
Murray S.C.P. F.N.B.

Dear Wallace:

On June 29th we spoke by telephone of a proposition of Raoul Aglion, Free French representative in New York, that it might be desirable to organize a joint Arab-Moslem meeting in order to rally Arab feeling in favor of the United Nations.

We now hear from Nabih Amin Faris, an instructor in the Department of Oriental languages at Princeton University -- a Druze --, that after consultation with Professor Philip K. Hitti, professor in the Department of Oriental languages -- an American citizen for many years and interested in the Arab National Movement --, it is felt that such a meeting would be extremely unwise. They both agreed that the idea probably originated with S. A. Mokarzel of al-Hoda for publicity purposes; that no unanimity could be obtained in the absence of some clear cut statement on the part of the American Government toward Zionism, etc.; that the majority of the Arabic press will oppose the conference if Mokarzel were to organize it or have anything to do with it; and, finally, that it would be wiser to let sleeping dogs lie. Mokarzel was described by Faris as a Lebanese separatist, so extreme as to be annoying to the majority of the Lebanese themselves.

With best regards -

Very sincerely yours,

(Initialed) J. C. W.

John C. Wiley.

Wallace S. Murray, Esq.
Department of State, Room 336

Washington, D. C.

Tew-BM

Letter to Murray from Mr. Wiley 7/8/42. 31

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

SUMMER SEMINAR IN ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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PHILIP K. HITTI, *Director*
MORTIMER GRAVES, *Consultant*
NABIH A. FARIS, *Secretary*

July 5, 1942.

Professor DeWitt Clinton Poole
Washington, D. C.

Dear Professor Poole:

At long last I was able to see Professor Hitti and take up with him the question which we discussed together at your home on Wednesday last. He concurs with us that it is extremely unwise to hold such a meeting as that proposed by the Free French representative. He agrees with me that the idea has most probably originated with Mr. S. A. Mokarzel of al-Hoda for publicity purposes; that no unanimity could be obtained for the reasons pointed out by Mr. Murray; that the majority of the Arabic press will oppose the conference if Mokarzel were to organize it or have anything to do with it; and that it is wiser to let sleeping dogs lie. Mokarzel, you will remember, is an extreme Lebanese separatist. His separatism is even annoying to the majority of the Lebanese themselves.

With best wishes and regards, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Nabih Amin Faris

Nabih Amin Faris

A. A&H

PRESS READINGS: NEAR EAST

SUBJECT: U.S.MANDATE OVER SYRIA AND LEBANON

3.1.1
4.2
4.3

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Proposed U.S. mandate over Syria and Lebanon.
(8 pp.) Press readings by Foreign, 1/31 - 6/28/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-29-R

B

January 28, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: B.D.Meritt

Subject: United States Mandate over Syria and Lebanon

(Information furnished by Nabih Amin Faris from the Arab paper As-Sameer, of Jan. 16, 1942 - 311.8

A call for a United States mandate over Syria and Lebanon was voiced by Elia D. Madey, editor and proprietor of As-Sameer, an Arabic daily published in New York City. Reference was made to the King-Crane plebiscite in 1919 when the overwhelming majority of the population voted for a United States mandate over the country. Reaction to this call has not yet crystallized, although a few favorable replies and communications have been received by the editor.

B.D.Meritt

Rec'd MAR 3 1942
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

C

Near East

Princeton, New Jersey
March 2, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-29-R

To: DeWitt C. Poole
From: N. A. Faris

Subject: United States Mandate over Syria and the Lebanon.

[Information obtained from As-Sameer, of Brooklyn, of February 24 and 26, 1942.]

This subject is still agitating a section of the Arabic-speaking press in New York. This week's letters to the editor favour the proposition and stress the special relationships which bind the Near East to this country.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Near East

Rec'd MAR 10 1942

D (11)

Princeton, N. J.
March 8, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-29-R

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: American Mandate over the Near East, Ibn Saud, and Zionism.

[As-Sameer, Arabic daily published in New York by Elia A. Madey, a Christian Syrian; March 4, 1942.]

In a letter to the editor the idea of the American mandate is favoured on the ground that the United States, unlike other western powers, has no territorial or imperialistic ambitions. In evidence of this fact the action of Ibn-Saud in granting the oil concessions in his kingdom to American concerns, despite larger offers from Britain, Germany, and Japan. 11

The writer proceeds to alley the fears of those who might object to an American mandate on the ground that the Zionist influence might be greater in the United States than it is in Britain, and points out that the "Arab's" right in Palestine has already been acknowledged by all, and that so long as Palestine remains the birthplace of Christianity and the cradle of Islam it will remain an "Arab" land. 4/15

The importance of the letter lies in the fact that it echoes the special position which this country occupies in the minds of the Arabic-speaking poeples, particularly because of its freedom from imperialism as they know it, and reflects the esteem with which Ibn Saud is regarded throughout the Moslem world. Furthermore the letter stresses one of the common points on which all Arabic-speaking poeples and Moslems agree, namely their hostility to the political aspirations of Zionism.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAR 20 1942
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Princeton, N. J.
March 15, 1942

RECEIVED
MAR 17 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: How to combat Axis propoganda in the Near East?

[As-Sameer, Arabic daily in Brooklyn; March 11, 1942.]

Dispatches from Syria and the Lebanon indicate unrest as a result of intensive Axis propoganda among the inhabitants. British attempts to counteract this propoganda has failed and is destined to fail because the inhabitants have lost faith in Britain. The only power which still enjoys the confidence of the poeples of the Near East is the United States of America. Since it is important to enlist the active support of the natives in those regions, and since United States troops are eventually going to be there, why could it not be possible to place these lands under the administration of the United States as well -- sending administrators as well as troops? This is the safest and the best way to win the confidence of the dissatisfied inhabitants.

4.9

[This is just another approach to the question of a United States mandate over Syria and the Lebanon, which the same paper was the first to propose. With the exception of the separatist Lebanese, the reaction to the proposal has been rather favourable among the Arabic-speaking groups in this country. It is, however, impossible to guage the reaction of the poeples themselves, although a favourable reaction should not be unexpected. At present the United States enjoys the genuine respect and confidence of the poeple; but once this nation becomes an active factor in the affairs of that "polyglot", the situation will probably change.]

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APR 21 1942

Near East

Princeton, N. J.
April 18, 1942.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: United States Mandate over Syria and the Lebanon.

[Azzaman, Buenos Aires, March 11, 1942; As-Sameer, Brooklyn, April 13, 1942.]

In an editorial, Azzaman attacks the suggestion, set forth by the editor of As-Sameer [see my reports on the same subject on Jan. 16; Feb. 1, 8, 22; March 8], that both Syria and the Lebanon be placed under a United States mandate. Azzaman charges that As-Sameer is either joking or does not know what it is talking about. For how could a people so spiritual be placed under the political tutelage of a power so far gone in materialism as the United States of America? As-Sameer retorts, in defending the United States, that no other country has entered the war for the defence of an idea but the United States.

[Azzaman, as a Lebanese paper, is committed to the separatist position, and will summon any argumenet in support of its stand. It is also, like most Lebanese newspapers, pro-French. Most Lebanese papers reconciled their love of France, which dates back to 1860, when France came (rather too late) to the aid of the Lebanon, with genuine loyalty to the democratic cause by siding with the Free French. Few, however, still root for Vichy France. One of these seems to be Azzaman. This is why it is openly opposed to the United States. Most Lebanese, however, are partisans of de Gaulle. Another reason for this antipathy might perhaps be the United States failure

United States Mandate over Syria and the Lebanon (cont.)

to recognize the independence of the Lebanon. More likely it is the first reason, coupled with the misconception, encouraged by Vichy and ultimately Axis inspired, that the United States is sordidly materialistic, believing only in "the dollar politics."]

Near East

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 1 1942
NE 29-R

Princeton, N. J.
April 25, 1942.

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APR 29 1942
49

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Isolation and United States Mandate over Syria and Lebanon.

[As-Sameer, Brooklyn, April 23, 1942.]

As a result of the rejection of isolation by the Republican party and its support of an active post war policy in foreign affairs, as-Sameer takes up his proposal for a United States mandate over Syria and the Lebanon again, and states that now it will receive universal support, since most of the objections were based on the assumption that the United States policy was against such "entanglements". He, therefore, sets the proposal anew, and hopes that the United States might be induced to shoulder the responsibility.

[The peoples of the Near East will undoubtedly favour a United States mandate. American prestige is indeed high. Would it, however, remain so after the United States becomes, should it accept such a mandate, actively engaged in the affairs of those peoples? All look to the United States for the solution of their problems and the fulfilment of their aspirations. Will the United States be able to reconcile the conflicting views of Lebanese separatism, Syrian pan-Arabism, Jewish Zionism (in Syria, as-Sameer includes Palestine), etc. ? Will it as well be able to maintain its good name and reputation? All these questions will have to be answered before anything is done. Above all what will be the reaction of Britain and France to such a scheme? The United States can best promote the welfare of these regions by being in this particular case isolationist. This is also better from the standpoit of the United States itself.]

(31) 4

Princeton, N. J.
June 28, 1942.

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: United States Mandate over Syria and the Lebanon

Near East R

[As-Sameer, Brooklyn, June 25, 1942.]

Another letter of support for the idea first voiced by As-Sameer comes from Alabama. The writer asserts that the United States of today is different from that of 1918, and that it is now ready to shoulder its international responsibilities. In support of his contention, the writer quotes Governor Dickson of Alabama, who delivered a speech on June 16 before some group, and urged that in the post war period the principles of self-determination drawn out by the late Woodrow Wilson should govern the United States active policies.

[Nothing important or new in this incident save that the question of a United States mandate over the Near East is still alive in the minds of the Arabic-speaking community. What they really expect is that the United States be the godfather, as it were, of their national aspirations. They distrust other powers, and trust, perhaps too much, the United States. Therefore, they expect much.]

A:AGS

PRESS READINGS: NEAR EAST

SUBJECT: ATTITUDE TOWARDS PALESTINE, ZIONISM AND JEWISH PROBLEM

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Attitude towards Palestine, Zionism and Jewish problem. (21 pp.) Press readings by Faris, 3/22 - 6/28/42

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Box #1

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAR 25 1942
NE-30-R

B

princeton, N. J.
March 22, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Near East

Subject: India and Palestine: Britain's biggest problem.

3.1.1
[Al-Hoda, New York, March 12, 1942.]

The pages of al-Hoda carry the translation of an article from the English, unsigned, which enumerates the different problems facing Britain in this war, and singles out the problems of India and Palestine. These two problems loom more important than ever, because of the Japanese threat to the former and the latent trouble involved in the latter, especially because of the widespread sympathy of the "Arab" states with the Arabic-speaking majority of Palestine in its fight against political Zionism.

4.3
H.15

It is stated that while the Moslem world in general and the Arab world in particular have shown some sympathy with the cause of the democracies, they are not actively hostile to the Axis Powers, primarily because of grievances against Britain. None of these states has yet declared war against any of the Axis Powers.

4.2

The conclusion is reached that Britain should reassure both India and the Arabic-speaking world, lest it should have to fight Germany in the west and Japan in the east, while a fire rages in its backyard.

India and Palestine (cont.)

Note. I do not presume to talk about India and Indian affairs. The Palestine problem, however, seems to have become to the Moslem world the symbol of Britain's broken promises. There is a good deal of sentimentality in the Moslem world regarding Palestine: it is the second cradle of their faith; Jerusalem is the third hoilest spot in all Islam, the first qiblah towards which they prayed. Furthermore, Moslem resentment against non-Moslem rule, and Islams hostility to other religions find a focal point in the Holy Land, where "Christian" British rule and"Jewish" Zionism seem to confront them. 413.4

Then there is the rise of nationalism, which among Moslem peoples is apt to be saturated with pan-Islamism. All in all, the Moslem world is too ready to judge Britain on its record in Palestine. The only issue on which all the Moslems lands agree is Zionism, to which they are hostile.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 2 1942
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Princeton, N. J.
March 29, 1942

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APR 1 1942
4

Near East

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Zionism, Palestine, and the Arabic-speaking World

3.1.1

[Al-Bayan, Druse Arabic-speaking semi-weekly in New York; March 24, 1942.]

Commenting on some statements made in the House of Lords in favour of Zionism, al-Bayan regrets the necessity of opening the Zionist question to discussion, but feels that continued Zionist influence in Britain and "in some government circles in the United States" makes the matter a duty. The paper further warns that, while the "Arabs" are not hostile to Britain or to the Jews, they are definitely hostile to any power that desires to enslave them. If Britain should persist in favouring the Zionists in Palestine and ignoring the legitimate rights of the Arabs, the situation in the Near East might develop along the same lines it followed in the Far East, and the consequences be as grave.

Jewish t. by Arabs

[As stated in several previous reports, Zionism is the only issue on which all the factions in the Arabic-speaking and Moslems worlds agree. They are all opposed to it. See my report: India and Palestine, March 22, 1942, last two paragraphs.]

D

Near East
Latin America

Princeton, N. J.
1942

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APR 9 1942
NE-30-R

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APR 8 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Palestine and a Vatican Mandate

3.1.1 Chile (blue)

[Al-Islah, Santiago, Chile; January 31, 1942.]

Under the title "Palestine on Auction Sale", al-Islah reports that Winston Churchill has offered the Vatican the mandate over Palestine, but the Holy Father has refused, because he has no desire to intervene in the affairs of a land the future of which belongs to its Arab population.

[As a matter of fact the Holy Father will not view with disfavour such an offer. His interest in the Holy Land is not unlike his interest in Ethiopia. To that end Italy's conquest of Abyssinia received the silent blessing of the Vatican, while Italian propoganda in Palestine, prior to the war, worked through Italian missionary schools, such as the Opera Cardinal Ferrari. Scions of notable Moslem families were taken to Italy every year. There they spent two months sight seeing and receiving instructions in Fascist ideas and ideals. The whole trip from Palestine to Italy and back to the Holy Land, including the two months stay, cost each "visitor" thirty dollars. Several of my own acquaintances made the trip.]

E

Mid East
Press

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 1 1942
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Princeton, N. J.
April 25, 1942.

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Jewish Army

[Al-Bayan, New York, April 18, 1942.]

Commenting on the recent meeting of fifty-seven Jewish rabbis representing the different parts of the country, and their declaration against the formation of a separate Jewish Army in Palestine, al-Bayan welcomes the statement of these rabbis, and reminds the Zionists that the Arabs were not and are not anti-Semitic, because they themselves are Semites. Furthermore, Jews in every age lived among Arabs and Moslems free of persecution, unmolested. The Arabs, however, are definitely opposed to Zionism, political Zionism, which hopes to make Palestine Jewish.

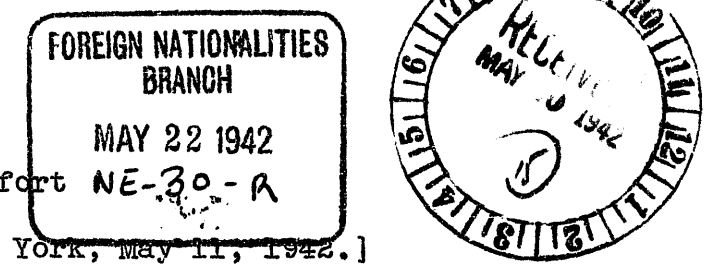
Jewish 4.7.2

4.16

[Al-Bayan has stated with unusual restraint the re-action of the overwhelming majority of the Arabic-speaking people to the question of the Jewish Army. On this issue as well as on the wider issue of Zionism, Arabic-speaking opinion is almost unanimous. They are opposed to both. That the Arabs are not anti-Semitic in the accepted sense of the term is also true. They themselves are Semites. They are fanatically anti-Zionist. Under Arab and Moslem rule, and later in their midst, Jews fared much better than did the Christians. The struggle was Moslem versus Christian, not Arab versus Jew. Only after the advent of Zionism did the Arabs become conscious of the presence of a Jewish problem. (See my report on The Jewish Army, Feb. 22.)

F

Princeton, N. J.
May, 17, 1942.



To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Palestine War Effort

3.1.1

[Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, May 11, 1942.]

Near East

4.7.2

News of the formation of volunteer army in Palestine, including up to date about ten thousand Jews and about six thousand Arabs is featured in the Meraat-ul-Gharb.

[This is welcome news (see my report of May 10 on "Terrorism in Palestine", p. 2, paragraph 2). This may be the manner in which Britain is answering the insistant demands of the Zionists for the formation of a Jewish Army in Palestine. Side by side to a Jewish Army an Arab Army is formed. The one serves as a check on the other, while at the same time Britain and the Allies gain a little help. It may also serve in bringing the two elements closer together. As such it is welcome news. The fact that the armies thus formed are entirely volunteer armies is quite important, since it reveals the willingness of both peoples to help in the defeat of the Axis. The motives may not be completely idealistic. Both groups may want to record, in blood, their aid, so that in the future settlement both may be able to back their claims with the fact of their participation. At any rate, the immediate result is salutary, and the future outcome has a good chance of being wholesome too, especially because already a joint group is earnestly endeavouring to reconcile the differences which have kept the two elements fighting each other and the government for the last two decades. The success of these efforts

Palestine War Effort (cont.)

will be greatly aided if Zionists, particularly in the United States, will desist from further agitation for a Jewish Army in the Holy Land. The Palestine administration is better able to deal with the situation than a free for all conference in New York or Chicago.]

PRESS

G
(5)

Princeton, N. J.
May 31, 1942.

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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
JUN 5 1942
NE-30-A

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The United States and Palestine

[Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, May 27, 1942.]

Under the title "Roosevelt Revives Zionist Hopes", the Meraat-ul-Gharb reports the proceedings of the meeting of the American Palestine Committee, particularly the message of President Roosevelt to the gathered members in which he is reported to have reaffirmed the United States interest in the establishment of the Jewish National Home. (Cf. New York Times, May 27, 1942.)

[While the Meraat-ul-Gharb does not comment editorially on the message or the meeting, the title under which the story appears could be taken as an editorial comment. The New York Times reports the event under "President Offers Hope for Palestine". The word "revives" which appears in the Arabic version, implies a polite reproach. Like the majority of the Arabic-speaking peoples, the Arabic-speaking community in this country is not favourably disposed towards political Zionism, and hold that the Jewish problem could not and should not be solely a Palestinian problem. Builders of the National Home will have to take into consideration not only the present critical situation but also the fact that 70% of the present population of the Land are not Jewish and are not favourably disposed towards a project which they believe ignores their rights and violates the elementary principles of democracy for which the United Nations are fighting, and for which they are called upon to fight.]

16

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BR.
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Princeton, N.J.
June 7, 1942.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
JUN 12 1942
NE - 30 - R

War Cont
Press

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Palestine Problem

[Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, June 3, 1942.]

Under the title "The Palestine Problem" and the subtitle "The Words of a Wise Rabbi", the Meraat-ul-Gharb, in an editorial, quotes the words of Rabbi Morris A. Lazaron of Baltimore in which he assails both the Zionist leaders and their agitation for a Jewish Army in Palestine. The editorial goes on to state the difficulties of the Palestine problem and the desirability of seeking a solution, not now when Britain and the United Nations have their hands full with more vital and urgent issues, but later on when conditions more conducive for a peaceful settlement without embarrassment to Britain prevail. The editorial condemns Zionist desire to strike a bargain when Britain is in the midst of grave difficulties, and, in contrast, commends the Arabs who have decided to desist for the present from anything which might be embarrassing to the Allied cause. The Arabs, according to the editorial, know that the Atlantic Charter promulgated

The Palestine Problem (cont.)

by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill will include the Arabs of Palestine, especially because theirs is a right not a claim. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the four freedoms preached by the President of the United States will be withheld from them. Above all the Arabs of Palestine have cast their lot with the democratic nations. The Meraat-ul-Gharb concludes the editorial with praise for Rabbi Lazaron's words, and adds:

> "It is, therefore, superfluous to state that the ultimate good which the leaders of the world, like the wise President Roosevelt, are now planning for the entire community of nations militates against such avaricious greed with which the Zionists continue to render the Palestine problem more and more difficult. They approach the question from their own particular standpoint, without any regard to the general interest and good."

[This is the second editorial on the general subject of Palestine written by the Meraat-ul-Gharb (see my report of May 31, 1942, on "The United States and Palestine".)

The Palestine Problem (cont.)

Rabbi Morris A. Lazaron spoke at a meeting of sixty Reform Rabbis which represents the non-Zionist Jewish element in this country. The Zionist element has hitherto been more articulate. The unwisdom of their continued agitation for the national home and for the Jewish Army in Palestine at this critical moment has moved the non-Zionist element to speak out its warning, first against the untimeliness of this agitation and secondly against the very Zionist platform. I quote Rabbi Lazaron:

> "As responsible teachers of Israel and who have dedicated our lives to its faith, we have not only the right but the duty to consider our stand not only on the practical aspects of the Zionist claims, but also on the wisdom and wholesomeness and truth of their philosophy. ... The resolutions of the Zionist congress meetings reveal inconsistencies which are hard to reconcile. They proclaim unreserved support of the United Nations, yet continue to agitate for a Jewish Army. They declare for cooperation with the Arabs, but demand that the Jewish Agency have full control of immigration. They deny nationalism for the Jews, but, demanding international status for the Jewish people, call upon Jews who are citizens of other countries to work for a political goal related to a land other than their own. No

The Plaestine Problem (cont.)

stable future for the Jew in Palestine or anywhere else can be built on such foundations."

It must be remembered that it was these same apprehensions on the part of non-Zionist Jews that induced the authors of the Balfour Declaration to qualify the "promise" with two clauses the second of which reads as follows: "... it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice ... the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in anyother country."

It is evident that Zionist leaders have neglected to remember this clause, just as they have neglegted to remember the one pertaining to the "civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." The Palestine problem is not a conflict between British interests and Zionist aspirations. A third group is involved, even in the Balfour Declaration, namely the "existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." These existing non-Jewish communities, inaccurately referred to as Arabs, are th native population of the land, and comprise Moslems, Christians and native Jews. The Moslems and Christians are Arabic-speaking but not really Arabs. The distinction is all-important. Furthermore, this native population, in the main, antedates any Jewish or even Hebrew penetration before the Christian era. The Zionists who appeal to history and base their claim on a Hebrew conquest some three thousand years ago, admit the right of conquest, and forget that they themselves

The Palestine Problem (cont.)

were, in turn conquered. Those who resort to religion and rest their claim on the fact that Jerusalem is the birthplace of their faith, must not forget that the Christians, and even the Moslems to whom the Holy City of Jerusalem is the third holiest spot, can assert the same. Similarly the Christian Scientists could claim Boston, the birthplace and centre of their faith. Those who make the Balfour Declaration their charter should remember not only the circumstances under which it was made, but also the counter promises made by Britain to the so-called Arabs as well as the clauses which pertain, in the Balfour Declaration itself, to the "existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." These existing non-jewish communities in Palestine numbered ninety per cent of the entire population prior to the influx of immigration, and even now constitute seventy per cent of the whole population.

These considerations may seem at the present juncture academic. What is the best available solution under existing conditions?

No permanent solution is now possible. That must await the final victory of the United Nations. For the present it is best to "freeze" the existing status, and await more conducive conditions for the working out of a solution. Such a solution must take into consideration not only the plight of Jews throughout the world, but also the rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. For ultimately Palestine cannot offer

The Palestine Probelm (cont.)

asylum to all the Jews -- sixteen millions of them. The solution of the Jewish problem is not solely a Palestinian issue. Only when the Axis Powers are completely defeated could the world become safe for minorities, including the Jews. Jewish 4.17

It is because continued agitation for a Palestinian solution of the Jewish problem is inimical to the best conduct of the war that Rabbi Lazaron and his fifty-nine colleagues have raised their voice. For this same reason the Meraat-ul-Gharb has taken notice of the issue, and in one week has written two editorials on the subject. There is indeed a genuine desire on the part of the Arabic press to avoid raising the issue now, lest it prove embarassing to Britain and the United Nations. They resent, however, the repeated charge made by the Zionists that Britain is appeasing the Arabs. These so-called Arabs are the native population. Any solution which hopes to be practical and enduring, not to mention just, must take them into consideration. If, because this native population happens to be Moslem, and has, therefore, enlisted Moslem sympathy for its cause, we cannot blame it. But neither Moslem nor Jewish or any other sympathy should be allowed to interfere with the successful conduct of the war. The Palestine issue as well as the Jewish problem itself is indeed of secondary importance in the present crisis. It is hoped that the coming elections and the desire of candidates to please the voters will not result in careless and irresponsible statements which will only add to the difficulty of the problem.]

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Princeton, N. J.
June 14, 1942.

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Jewish National Home in Palestine 3.1.1

War Inf. Press

[Al-Bayan, New York, June 6 & 9, 1942; As-Sayeh, New York, June 8, 1942.]

Both papers feature the speech which Lieut. Governor Charles E. Poletti of New York delivered on June 4, at Town Hall, N.Y., at a meeting under the auspices of the American Jewish Legion and the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs. Among the salient points quoted are the following: "The restoration of the Jewish homeland in Palestine must be made one of the peace aims of the United Nations." And, "Only recently President Roosevelt took occasion to pay tribute to the reconstruction of Palestine as an example of what can be accomplished in a democracy. The President's statement directly linked the future of Palestine with the establishment of the four freedoms throughout the world."

As-Sayeh makes as yet no comments. But al-Bayan comments twice on the subject. In the issue of June the sixth, where the report is made, the following note appears: "We do not know what these freedoms of which the partisans of Zionism speak, or that democracy of which they sing, in order that a land be taken away from its own people and given to them instead. In this connexion, we look up to the spirit of democracy and the four freedoms in the hope that that spirit might enlighten

The Jewish National Home in Palestine (cont.)

the just among those in authority concerning our Arab cause so that a nation with the right on its side might not be sacrificed for another which has no right in Palestine.

Al-Bayan follows up this short note with a long and angry editorial in the issue of June 9, 1942. The editorial exclaims that it is impossible to understand how Zionist extremists can prevail over notables and individuals in positions of authority in the different Allied governments and induce them to make such statements and espouse a cause contrary to the spirit of the war upon which the United Nations have embarked for the defence of the principles of freedom. Zionist aspirations, al-Bayan states, are contrary to human rights on every score, because they aim at taking away a land from its own people, a land sacred to the Christians and the Moslems alike. Why, the editorial asks, should the Jews, who failed to live in harmony among all peoples, be given Palestine as a national home when the whole world was and is their national home? Still more, how could the Zionist blind themselves to the dangers which engulf the world at thepresent moment, and attempt to focus attention upon a policy which might endanger the peace of the world, when one of the main goals of the Allies is to do away with the causes of war?

Jewish 4.15

The editorial goes on in the same vein, and ends with the following: "We Arabs look up to the guardians of freedom and democracy who are fighting for their very existence against Fascism

The Jewish National Home in Palestine (cont.)

and Nazism in the hope that they will sympathize with the people of Palestine, and will not permit that this war should end by forcing the rightful people of the Holy Land to relinquish their rights for others who have no right therein."

[Neither Lieut. Gov. Pletti's speech nor this editorial have anything to contribute for the final solution of that most difficult problem. If fact, both, especially the Poletti speech, render the problem more difficult, and the solution more remote. It arouses the fears of a people with a cause and a grievance at a time when their goodwill is all important for the war effort. In my report of May 10 on "Terrorism in Palestine" and my report of May 17 on "Palestine War Effort", I showed how, left to themselves, the Arabs and Jews in Palestine have been working together, and how external agitation of whatever source would only hamper the efforts of Arab and Jewish leaders there in their endeavours for a reconciliation. In my report of June 7 on "The Palestine Problem" I discussed the possibility of a solution and the nature thereof, and expressed the hope that no careless statements for the voters' consumption will be made and, therefore, render the problem more difficult. Unfortunately, what I feared came to pass. It does seem strange for the Arabs of Palestine and their Moslem co-religionists and sympathizers throughout the Near and Middle East that the four freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, as interpreted by Poletti

The Jewish National Home in Palestine (cont.)

and the extreme Zionists, do mot apply to them. Because Lieut. Gov. Poletti occupies an official position, his statements might be regarded by Arabs and Arab sympathizers as the official position of the United States government. This is dangerous in its effect upon the Arab and Moslem opinion which looks up to the United States and expects from it guarantees that their cause will, in Palestine and elsewhere, be disposed in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms. During the last war, Wilson's fourteen points were a factor in bringing the Arab and Moslem worlds to the side of the Allies. When after the war the principles of the fourteen points were not adhered to, especially in the matter of self-determination, cynicism replaced enthusiasm and hope. This is why that part of the world has been, despite its dislike to the Axis, rather lukewarm towards the Allied cause, and skeptical about their goodfaith; that is why they look up to the United States for guarantees. Such statements as the Poletti speech, especially because of his official position, undermine confidence in the United States and cast doubts upon its disinterestedness. It is indeed most unfortunate. (See my reports of June 7, 1942, on "The Palestine Problem".)]

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Near East R

Princeton, N. J.
June 28, 1942.

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Palestine After the War

3,1,1
[As-Sameer, Brooklyn, June 26, 1942.]

With the speech of Mr. Sumner Welles on May 30, 1942 wherein the Under-Secretary of State declared that the days of empire are gone for ever, and that the small nations will be allowed to determine their own fate and future after this war, with this speech in mind, the 1,3 Rev. Mikha'il Dhibah, incumbent priest of the Syrian-Orthodox Church in Atlanta, Georgia, addressed a letter to Mr. Welles, commending his speech, and inquiring whether or not, when he said these words, he had, along with the other small nations, Palestine in mind as well. Mr. Wallace Murray, in replying for Mr. Welles, assured the priest that Palestine was indeed included. The correspondence is published in its entirety in As-Sameer under the headline, "Glad Tidings for the Arabs".

[Mr. W. Murray's letter is couched in diplomatic words, but, as translated in As-Sameer, gives the unmistakable impression that Mr. Welles' words do include Palestine. Will this letter become a "Murray Declaration" which the Arabs can quote in the post war period, just as the Zionists quote the Balfour Declaration? (Of course I have no access to the original, but the translatiion seems accurate enough.) The more important point, however, is that the Arabic-speaking elements here, like the Arabic-speaking peoples throughout the world, look towards the United States for the fulfilment of their national aspirations; similarly they

Palestine After the War (cont.)

trust the United States while distrusting Britain. That is why the priest asks, "Would the [United States] government permit the British government to embark upon a renewed struggle with the Arabs after the war?"

The Palestine problem has become, as I have stated before, the acid test of the United Nations good faith in their struggle for the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the four freedoms, and the Welles' speech. The Arabs expect these principles to include them alomg with all the other small nations. That is why the correspondence is featured under the headline, "Glad Tidings for the Arabs".]

Princeton, N. J.
June 28, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Dr. Magnes on the Palestine Problem

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[Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, June 17, 1942.]

In an editorial, the Meraat-ul-Gharb applauds the article which appeared in Problems of Today, by Dr. Judah L. Magnes, Chancellor of the Hebrew University, and rebukes the extreme Zionists for their continued agitation for the national home, and their ceaseless efforts to discredit the Arabs and their cause especially before the United States.

[The Meraat-ul-Gharb represents the middle of the road position among the Arabic press in this country. There is a growing feeling, however, among the Arabs that the Zionists are bent upon discrediting the Arab cause and forming through propaganda a strong sentiment in the United States for Zionism. The Arabs are especially afraid lest the United States government commit itself in favour of Zionism without fully acquainting itself with the facts of the case, particularly as it pertains to Arabs. Such fears should be allayed, since they are not conducive to confidence in the disinterestedness of the United States. This confidence is the best asset we have in the Near East and the Arab world. (See also my report of June 21, 1942, on "Arab-Jewish Coöperation in Palestine.")

Report by Dr. Mehmed A. Simsar, Philadelphia

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IRANIAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

A. Statistical Data.

1. Approximate number of Iranians in the United States:

Pure Iranian element

250 few naturalized

Of Assyrian, Armenian, Jewish & other origin

10 and 11,000 almost all naturalized

OSS ARCHIVES

2. Centers or towns in which they are gathered

New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, New Haven, New Britain, New London, Bridgeport (Conn.)

3. Particular country of origin (province).

Azerbaijan, Kashan, Meshhed, Isfahan, and Kerman.

OSS ARCHIVES

Remark: The great majority of them are laborers in factories; a small minority are merchants who import Persian rugs, antiques, raw skins and hides, and raw materials of all kinds. There are a few importing firms with resources ranging from 250,000 to 500,000 dollars. There are 10-20 families who have been in this country for nearly a generation, but probably none who have been here for more than two or three generations. There are also a number of physicians, and dentists and engineers. Government officials and Trade Representatives of the Iranian Ministry of Finance and Economics are not included in this account.

B. Outstanding Iranians in the United States.

1. American citizens:

Mr. Mehdi Dilmaghani; in this country for 20 years; President of Mehdi Dilmaghani & Co. Inc., 261- 5th Avenue, New York; native of Tabriz, Iran. No political affiliations, but influential in business circles among the Iranians in New York.

Mr. A. Avakian; President of the firm of Avakian Brothers, 10 West 33rd St., New York; of Armenian origin, native of Tabriz, Iran; very highly respected

by his compatriots in New York.

Mr. A. Sohrab: Native of Isfahan and one of the founders of the New History Society, a Baha'i organization. In this country for more than twenty years and influential among the Bahais. Not a political but a religious leader.

Dr. A. Musa: A socially prominent physician in Newington, Conn.; in this country for more than twenty years.

Dr. J. Malick: A socially prominent dentist in New York.

2. Non-American citizens

Mr. A. A. Kiachif: President of Iran Industries Corp., native of Kashan; in this country for 16 years; formerly commercial attache, and one of the delegates to the Sesquicentennial of 1926 in Phialdelphia. No political affiliations but influential in the business world in New York and in Iran.

Mahmoud Saghafi: Prince, a member of the former Kajar dynasty; native of Tehran; 25 years in this country; formerly Council General in New York; retired from politics many years ago, now active in literary and art circles.

C. Societies

1. Names

a. The Iran Society, b. The New History Society, c. Baha'i Assembly.

2. Headquarters

a. 40 E. 62nd St., New York. b. 132 E 65th St., New York. c. 119 W. 57th St., New York.

3. Number of Chapters

One in each

4. Number of members in each chapter

a. 30-40 b. 50-75 c. 40-60

(These figures are approximate and are based on my knowledge of five years ago.)

5. Officers

a. President, Dr. Moghtadir; Sec., Prince Saghafi.

b. President, Mr. Sohrab; other officers not known.

c. President, Dr. Ali Kuli Khan, others not known.

6. Purpose and activity, political if any

a. A literary society incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, which since the outbreak of the War in 1939 has ceased to be active.

b & c. Religious ; aim to promote Baha'ism.

7. Is there any undeclared connection with foreign or domestic political organizations? Any under ground political activity?

No. (This applies to all three).

8. Wealth and sources of it

a, b, & c sustained by the contribution of members.

D. Transient Iranian population

1. Iranian students

25-30 (No government students).

2. Other catagories

20-25 (Mostly refugee merchants from Europe).

E. Commercial and financial establishments

1. Banks
None
2. Other forms of business (see answer A 3. under Remark).

3. Their possible contacts with Iran, other countries

Home offices in Iran, branches in Iraq, Turkey, England, Germany and other European countries.

F. G. & H.

None

4 (under H) Present political views of the majority, regarding:

a. The Allied cause ; sympathetic

I. Sources of Information

Based on my own knowledge and investigations.

Iranian Element in U.S. (3 pp)
Report by Dr. Mahmud A. Sunisan, rec'd 5/14/42

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Armenia

Special Meetings

May 10, 1942 2 P.M. at Hotel Bredford

Trement St. Boston, Mass.

Meeting for Defense of our fatherland

Speakers: Editor of "Lraper" 31

and Badrig Selian 11

Motion Picture (The land of Happiness)

Sunday May 17, 1942 3 P. M.

High School Auditorium

Haverhill, Mass.

The Armenian press in America. (5pp.) Unsigned report. rec'd 5/12/42.

NY-FNB-INT-2 1 of 2

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B

B.3
3.1

THE ARMENIAN PRESS IN AMERICA

The year 1942 is the fifty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the first Armenian newspaper. Also the thirty-fourth year of "Asbarez" the oldest newspaper in the west.

In New York 1887 Haig Eginian published the first Armenian new monthly paper "Arevag (The Sun); in 1890 the "Azodoutun" (Liberty); in 1898 "Digris" a weekly paper; in 1903 at Frezno, Cal. the "Kagakasy" (Citizen); and finally in 1915 in New York he published "New Life". All these papers stopped by the death of Mr. Eginian in 1919. The present "Groong" a weekly paper continued as a result of Mr. Eginian's tireless zeal to educate and Americanize the adult Armenians who came to the shores of the United States lacking the knowledge of English language. Also on March 29, 1942 "Asbarez" celebrated its thirty-fourth anniversary.

Simon Vratsian was the principal speaker of the day and George Mardigian was the chairman of this celebration. The two living founders of "Asbarez" are Avedis Tufankjian and Levon Hagopian who also spoke. Then Thomas Charshafjian and Simon Vratsian explained the main purpose of the publication of the "Asbarez" as being only to serve and educate the Armenian colony in California. It was not published for profit or business, but for education. One hundred subscriptions were donated by those who were present. One part to their friends and one part was left to the judgment

of the publisher to be sent to persons or places where it would do good to make them better citizens to the country that they chose and came to live, and adapt themselves to the customs of the communities.

Ninety per cent of the Armenian publications are weekly or monthly papers, because their circulations are small and the result of the financial difficulties prevent their prequent publication, but there is one newspaper published in the Armenian language that is published every other day in spite of having only one or two paid advertisements that appear daily. It is not a popular paper among Armenians. This paper cannot be called a pure Armenian paper. Its language and attitude is radical as everything indicates foreign origin and may possible be financed by outsiders for propaganda for communists or nationalists.

There are frequent publications in "Lraper" that other Armenian papers can not tolerate so controversies arise. For example "Lraper" more than a month ago published articles for Erle Browder the beloved comrade's secretary of the communist party who was sent to the federal prison in Atlanta over a year ago. Three million American citizens are demanding Erle Browder's release from jail to fight against Hitler. Even one third of 190 violator in New York state in fraudulent in passports crimes are not brought into judgment "Lraper" says. The president of the parliment of Cuba and the governor of

Havana telegraphed to President Roosevelt that he should release Erle Browder. Since the entrance of Russia in the war against the Axis, many school teachers who were suspended from New York schools. Their judgment is stopped. Why should Erle Browder not be released as he really was imprisoned as a communist. 31

The "Heirenick" Hairenik paper says that Erle Browder should stay in jail for the duration of the war if not forever. Browder should be held as an hostage to be released only when certain "democrats" now in exiled or jailed in the U.S.S.R. are also freed, says "Lraper." When over three millions Americans have loudly demanded Browder's release not even one thousand have raised their voices in behalf the fifth columnist imprisoned in the Soviet Union. "Lraper" calls them quizzlings who do not agree with him for the release of Browder and papers are blackmailed as defeatist used by Turks against Armenians in their regim.

Another controversy that developed recently is that question when finally democracy is victorious, will Soviet Russia to liberate the Armenians as a free nation. Such an idea says "Lraper" is a fifth columnist idea among us. But there is a note of hope in this dark symphony. As President Roosevelt said, "if we can get rid of the sixth column, those who listen to and repeat the words of the fifth column the latter will have lost its usefulness."

The small Armenian republic famous in peace time chiefly for its agriculture is now producing the most complex arms--in addition Armenia is producing a large quantity of raw material particularly copper for the war industry.

Mr. Ababian a Soviet Architecture says, "I saw how the Armenian peasantbrought wool to town and turned it over free of charge to the military authorities. Thousand of patriotic citizens contributed their valuables to the People's Defense Funds shouting, "our lions are off to the front to bead Hitler.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 2 1942
NE-33

RECEIVED MAR 30 1942

Armenia

Princeton, N.J.
March 29, 1942.

From: B. D. Meritt
To: DeWitt C. Poole

Subject: Armenians in the United States

(Information from Rev. Herbert Kalajian 1.13, Princeton, N.J.)

There are not more than 80,000 Armenians in the United States, and ninety percent of these immigrated to escape persecution after World War I from that part of Armenia which is now in Turkey. For the most part the Armenians are along the eastern seaboard and in California, those in the east being largely in trade or factory work and those in the wesr being generally farmers, particularly near Fresno in the San Joachin valley. In the east Boston has the largest number, then New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Worcester, and [illegible]y.

4.1.2

The immigrants from Turkey came to the United St[illegible]es "to make their home here never to return." They have no political aspirations except as Americans and are completely loyal. As an example, Rev. Kalajian cites the Armenian Victory rally of Jan. 10 in the San Joachin Valley when Rev. Papazian 1.3 addressed a meeting of 1500, 235 of whom bought defense bonds worth $126,000. The colony had previously purchased bonds to the amount of $300,000.

Rev. Kalajian estimates that about two percent of United States Armenians are communist, who came from what is now the Russian part of Armenia, and that about an equal number are revolutionist. These parties are represented by the communist newspaper Lraper 3.1 of New York and the revolutionist party organ Asbarez 3.1 of Fresno. The persecution of the Armenians, guilty and innocent alike, after the last war, he blames largely on the

4.14

riotous excesses of the revolutionist party. These and the communists are now united in opposition to nazism.

B. Bennett

Armenians in the U.S. Report by Rev. H. Kalajian. (PPP) Memo: Merritt to Poole, 3/29/42

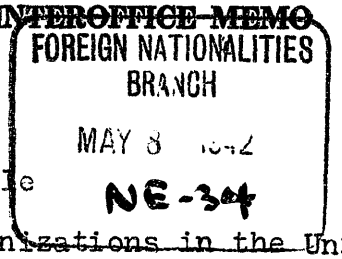
Armenia

L



COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

~~INTEROFFICE MEMO~~



FROM: G. T. Robinson **DATE** April 21, 1942

TO: Mr. DeWitt C. Poole

SUBJECT: Armenian Organizations in the United States

Would you by any chance be interested in the enclosed letters? So far as I can remember, I have never seen Mr. Herald's name before, and certainly I know nothing whatever as to his reliability. Still I thought you might possibly be able to get something out of him.

4.5

G. T. Robinson

G. T. Robinson

Enclosures - 2
Letters of April 13 and 17
from Leon Herald

Leon Herald accuses Tashnag group of subversive activity in U.S. (3pp). Memo: Robinson to Poole, 4/21/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-34

B

727 Greenwich Street,
New York City, N.Y.,
April 17th, 1942.

Geroid T. Robinson,
Office of the Coordinator of Information,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Robinson:-

Enclosed herewith is a letter which I wrote you and mailed to the Office of the Coordinator of Information here in New York City. I assume that it will be forwarded to you - but to make sure I'm sending you this copy.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Very truly yours,
Leon Herald.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

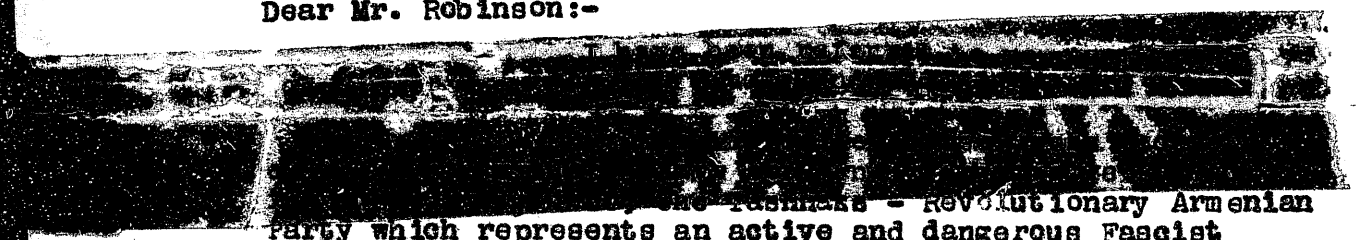
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-34

C

727 Greenwich Street,
New York City, N.Y.,
April 13th, 1942.

Gerold T. Robinson,
Office of the Coordinator of Information,
New York City, New York.

Dear Mr. Robinson:-



[redacted] - Revolutionary Armenian Party which represents an active and dangerous Fascist group who work among the Armenian communities.

Tashnags

I am not exaggerating when I point out to you that the Tashnak leaders right here, at this writing, are carrying out orders direct from Nazi sources with great tenacity, daring and fanaticism, and from all appearances they go about this evil business unmolested by our F.B.I.

I feel that it is my duty to bring this business out into the light so that something can be done about it. Malcolm Cowley (who knows me and my writing) suggests that it's well worth passing on to you. I should like to talk with you to elaborate on what I have given you here.

I also wish to discuss with you some ideas I have on how to combat this Tashnak activity right in its own back yard. As you perhaps know the Tashnaks in this country weild a powerful influence among the Armenian newspapers. Practically all the publishers with the exception of perhaps one, are cowed by this powerful group and nothing thus far has been done to expose them. Now it's my belief that releasing corrective and enlightening publicity to these newspapers will do as much to combat the Tashnaks as any strong-arm methods. And too, I know that such publicity from a U.S. Government Agency backed by our government would be welcomed with open arms.

3.1

Please arrange an appointment to discuss this matter at your own convenience and drop me a line.

Very truly yours,

1.13

Leon Herald

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 15 1942
NG-35

RECEIVED APR 13 1942

Armenia

Princeton, N. J.
April 10, 1942

To: B. D. Meritt
From: H. Kalajian

Subject: Armenian groups pledge loyalty to United States.

2.1

The Armenian Progressive League of America, at a mass meeting held at Manhattan Center in New York City on March 1, 1942, sent a resolution, unanimously adopted by the 1,000 Armenians present, to President Roosevelt expressing loyalty to the United States and pledging full participation in the war effort. Speakers for the evening were Rev. Thomas Spanks, representing Bishop Manning, and Mr. Stanley Isaacs of the City Council and president of the Armenian Progressive League of America.

At recent meetings of Armenian "V" Committees throughout the country, specifically in Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Patterson, N.J. and Fresno, California, similar assertions of loyalty and pledges of support have been made, with speakers urging those present to participate in such worthy causes as war relief and Red Cross.

B D Meritt

Armenian Progressive League of America pledges loyalty.
(1p) memo: Kalajian to Meritt, 4/10/42

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
MAY 18 1942
NE-36

M - Armenian Circle, Inc.
657 West 189th Street
New York City, New York

Ous Yeterian, Secretary
657 West 189th Street
New York City, New York

Colored cards only C.C.

M - W - Armenian Progressive League of America, Inc.
40 East 12th Street
New York City, New York

M Martic T. Martentz, Secretary
40 East 12th Street
New York City, New York

M - W - Lebanon League of Progress of New York
55 Washington Street
New York, New York

S. A. Mokarzel, Editor
55 Washington Street
New York, New York

List of Armenian organizations (P)
from Treasury Dept. 5/9/42

From the Treasury Department
May 9, 1942

NE-37-R

A:A-C

Armenia

AMERICAN DEFENSE

HARVARD GROUP

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
APR 14 1942
NE-37-R

3 April 42

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Committees and Chairmen
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R. M. GUMMERE
Medical Service
REGINALD FITZ
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PAYSON S. WILD, JR.
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Military and Technical Training
RALPH BEATLEY
Naval Training
DELMAR LEIGHTON
Morale and National Unity
DUMAS MALONE
Correspondence
CRANE BRINTON
Registration and Personnel
G. W. COTTRELL, JR.

Mr. Ralph Barton Perry
American Defense Office
Widener Library

Dear Mr. Perry:

Enclosed are two copies each of Report 1 and 2 of the Armenian press and a memorandum on Armenian political parties which are to be transmitted through your office to Washington.

3.1.1
3.3

Sincerely yours,

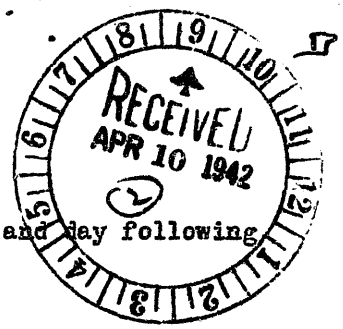
Matthew N. B. Smith

For Mr. Griscom

Report on Armenian political parties and press. Readings from latter (18pp) Harvard Defense Group. 4/3/42

NY-FNB-INT 142 "AB"

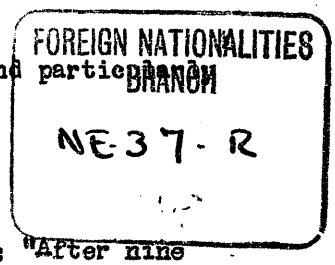
REPORT NO.1



3,1,1

Hairenik. Organ of "Tashnag" group. Issued daily except Monday and day following holiday. Summary of news from December 7 to January 1. 1942

General composition. (1) Brief reports of international and war news taken from American newspapers, especially New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, Christian Science Monitor, Evening Post (?E.P.) and United Press. Reports of the war in the Pacific are given more fully than those of the war in Europe and Africa. (2) Local Armenian news as well as news from Armenian colonies in different parts of the world. (3) Leading articles and editorials.



General attitude. Loyalty to democratic institutions and participation to the United States.

WAR WITH JAPAN. First war news published on December 9: "After nine months' negotiations, finally Japan, with a treason peculiar to that country attacked the United States in the Pacific, without any warning - as it had done in 1904 against Russia - bombing by air and by sea American ports, airports, warships, and transport ships, following a plan which had obviously been prepared beforehand." Follows a summary of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Dec. 10, 1941. Editorial. Japan's action shows complete disregard for international law and morality. Japan tried to deal a death blow to America but instead of that it brought about a closer unity of the American people than had ever existed before. Appeal to all national, religious and racial groups to give their full support to the United States, "the most sincere and trustworthy friend and protector of small nations." The time has come for all foreign borns to repay for the freedom, prosperity and hospitality they have enjoyed in this country. "There are no longer natives and foreigners in America, but one people, one country, one fatherland."

Dec.12, 1941 Editorial. "Duties of everyone, whether citizen or not" - All those

who live in this country form part of the army, directly or indirectly. As such they must stand by the government, contribute to the defense of the country, execute every order, give material and moral support to all organizations working for the defense of the country. They must do all this willingly and in full measure.

4.3

Dec.18, 1941. Editorial. "Japan's mistakes." Comments on Secretary Knox's report. The damage done at Pearl Harbor was smaller than was feared at first and certainly smaller than what Japan had hoped. Two vital mistakes made by Japan. First, by attacking the United States instead of the British and Dutch possessions in the Pacific they created absolute unity of opinion in America. Second, if Japan had attacked immediately after the fall of France, Great Britain and Holland were then too weak and unprepared to put up adequate defense.

4.1.✓

Dec.24, 1941 Editorial. Proclamation of the Central Committee of the Tashnags. The world is now divided between the forces of evil and destruction and those fighting for the freedom and independence of nations. In this war, as in the last one, the Armenians are closely united with the Allies. Recalls duties of Armenians especially towards the United States. "The Armenians are deeply grateful; they can never forget the great help given by the people and government of America during the last war nor the hospitality they have enjoyed here. All must help with all they have."

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRESIDENT. Great admiration expressed for his qualities as a man and as a leader. This theme is taken up especially in the article written on the occasion of the President's birthday.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS LABOR. Dec.9, 1941 Editorial. Criticizes the Smith plan adopted by Congress, "a plan to which all the friends of Labor, and chief among them President Roosevelt, had long been opposed."

Dec.23, 1941 Editorial. Recalls the legislation passed by Congress, which was extreme in many ways, but shows that circumstances are different, now that the

country is at war. "There is no doubt that both employers and employees will have sufficient patriotic feeling and a sense of their civic duties and that they will not try to take advantage of the war in order to improve either their personal position or their class position." Summary of President Roosevelt's words addressed to the industrial and labor leaders.

Comments on Censorship. Dec.23, 1941. Editorial. Liberal regulations which apply only to the publication of such military information as might be helpful to the enemy. The press, aware of its responsibilities, will, of its own accord, be reserved, objective and careful and will do everything to facilitate the task of the government.

4.14

ATTITUDE TOWARDS RUSSIA. Opposition to communism finds an expression especially in articles relating to Soviet Armenia, which will be summarized below, under a separate heading; in some articles concerning Russia and also in an indirect manner. For instance the serial story which runs through the December numbers is a novel entitled, "Inside the Red Line." The hero is a member of the "Tashnag" who had fought against the Turks immediately after the Russian Revolution, and who is now seeking to flee from the Bolsheviks who have overthrown the national government and occupied Armenia. The cruelty and tyranny of the Communists are stressed throughout.

Russia 4.1

for Armenia

Dec. 20, 1941. Editorial. Russian successes due to the force of their attack. They may be due, in part, to the fact that the Germans are retreating in order to establish shorter lines which could be more easily defended. Speculation about the different plans which the Germans may be preparing: 1. invasion of Turkey to reach Iran and Iraq; 2. occupation of Portugal, Spain, and North Africa; 3. invasion of England; 4. move into Caucasus (less likely). Meanwhile the Russians are playing the decisive role in the destruction of Hitler.

Dec.23, 1941. Answer to a report published in "Pravda" stating that the "Tashnags" are helping the Nazis in Iran because they have been assured that a Great Armenia will be created by them (the Nazis) to the detriment of Soviet Russia and Turkey.

4.2

The article recalls similar legends which have appeared in American newspapers: that the Armenians constitute a fifth column element in Turkey which is helping Russia; that they have entered Russia and are working there for the Nazis (article by Dorothy Thompson); that they are helping the Nazis in Syria. These contradictory statements, according to which the Armenians are working both for and against the Russians, are pure calumnies. The Armenian people and especially the "Tashnags" have carried on for more than half a century the struggle against tyranny, they have been constantly on the side of the democracies, they made this clear even when Armenia, as a member of the Soviet Union, was a friend of the Reich. They have no thought of a large Armenia.

Dec. 30, 1941 Editorial. "The Soviet Union and our attitude." For years the "Tashnags" have carried on an ideological war against the Soviets and Communism, but since, today, Russia is fighting at the side of the democracies against the common enemy, they are willing to help them morally and materially. However this does not mean a change in the fundamental attitude. Just as Great Britain and the United States are military allies of Russia but have not changed their attitude towards Communism, so also the willingness of the "Tashnags" to help the Red Army does not mean that they have any friendly feelings towards Communism.

Dec.31, 1941. Translation of an article by Max Eastman entitled "Stalin's American domination," published shortly before America's entry into the war (The name of the magazine is not given). The foreword gives a brief biography of the author and states that the article has been translated in order to show how the Communists are deceiving the American people and taking advantage of their humanitarian feelings in order to create sympathy for Bolshevism.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS TURKEY. Very skeptical about any real changes in Turkey leading to a more democratic organization and general distrust of Turkey's attitude in the present war.

Dec.11, 1941. Editorial "Has Turkey changed?" Comments on letter by Dr. Gates,

former president of the Robert College in Constantinople, (New York Times, Dec.7) which stressed the need of helping Turkey. The answer states that Turkey's waiting attitude does not differ from that of 1914 when after receiving a large loan from France it entered the war against the Allies. The Turkish mentality has not changed, they cannot understand democratic principles. In the earlier part of the article attention is called to the discrimination made between Moslems and non-Moslems. The latter have been enlisted but are not allowed to bear arms.

4.1.1

Dec.19, 1941 Editorial. "Turkey again 'neutral'". Criticism of the report published in the New York Times on Dec.17 stating that Turkey's renewal of her declaration of neutrality is a diplomatic victory for the Allies. Turkey by remaining neutral is not living up to her commitments to Great Britain. The favorable interpretations of her action show that the menace of Turkey's joining with the Axis is so great that Great Britain and the United States are forced to bribe her constantly. "It would be unpardonable to forget that Turkey got the Sanjak of Alexandretta from France and gave nothing in return, that she received from Great Britain large sums and large quantities of arms, machinery and all kinds of assistance and has given nothing in return, so far. What proof have we that Turkey will be less ungrateful in return for the armaments and help she has received or will receive from the United States, and some day may not even go over to the side of the enemies of this country?"

ARMENIAN QUESTIONS

1.8

Dec.11, 1941. Article by H.S. Levonian entitled How to help Armenia. Expresses regret that division among the Armenians has prevented the organization of a unified body to help Armenia. Proposes that the Armenian Red Cross ask the American Red Cross to send to Armenia medicine, milk, warm clothing which would be bought with contributions made by Armenians.

Dec.19, 1941. Publication of an appeal made by the "locum tenens" of the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin (head of the Armenian church) to all Armenians living abroad.

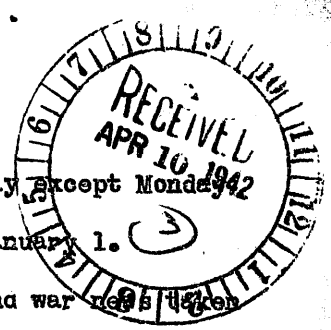
This appeal recalls that Armenians have always fought for religious freedom and freedom of thought. The Fascists who are attacking Russia - hence Armenia which is part of Russia - are the enemies of freedom, culture, the Christian religion and plan to enslave Russia and Armenia. False rumors have been spread abroad that the Soviets are destroying Etchmiadzin, the center of the Armenian church. The Soviets do not interfere in religious affairs; their tolerance is proved by the National-Ecclesiastical meeting held recently at Etchmiadzin with the participation of delegates from Armenian colonies abroad. Their tolerance is also proved by the fact that there are Armenian churches in many cities of the Soviet Union. "To collaborate with the Soviets is to help Armenia, the victory of the Soviets is also the victory of the Armenian people."

4.12

Dec.21, 1941 Editorial. Comments on the above letter of appeal. Satisfaction is expressed that after twenty years there is at least an attempt to break down the moral and spiritual barrier, artificially erected by the Soviet power between the people of Armenia and the Armenians living abroad. It is significant that Etchmiadzin is now able to speak of the cause of freedom which indicates an improvement in the state of affairs in Armenia. The Soviet Union, who is now fighting together with the democracies, has become through the force of circumstances, a decisive ally for all those who fight for freedom. The Armenians living abroad, and particularly those living in the United States, by making all possible sacrifices for the democratic cause, will have also helped the fight for freedom of the peoples in the Soviet Union, and especially that of the Armenians.

Dec. 24, 1941 Editorial. Takes issue with the passage in the letter sent by Etchmiadzin stating that there is religious freedom in Russia. It is known to all that the Soviets are enemies of the Christian religion, that they have constantly worked against it. The miserable condition of Etchmiadzin is only one proof of this among many.

REPORT NO.2



3.1.1

Baikar. Organ of "Democratic-Liberal Union." Issued daily except Monday and day following holiday. Summary of news from December 7 to January 1.

General composition.(1) Brief reports of international and war news taken from American newspapers, especially New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, Christian Science Monitor, Evening Post (?E.P?) and United Press. Reports of the war in the Pacific are given more fully than those of the war in Europe and Africa. (2) Every day an editorial from either the New York Times or the New York Herald Tribune is fully translated. (3) Local Armenian news as well as news from Armenian colonies in different parts of the world. (4) Leading articles and editorials.

General attitude. Loyalty to democratic institutions and particularly to the United States.

WAR WITH JAPAN

December 10, 1941 Editorial. The Japanese attack produced at once unity among the American people. For two years many members of Congress had been blinded and had tried to make the people blind to the danger which was obvious. They claimed that the two oceans protected America and all the country need do was to provide arms for the others. But now it is America's war as much as that of any other country and every man must do his part by taking part in civilian defense, by buying defense bonds, by watching enemy subversive actions and by living as men in a country at war must live. From now on they must consider their lot to be that which Churchill said to his people "Blood, sweat, tears and work."

December 10, 1941. Comments on Aldous Huxley's words who expressed surprise at the indifference of the people in America about the serious international situation. The situation here may be compared to a certain extent to that which existed in England before the Germans began their serious bombing. Now that Japanese

planes have attacked American naval and air forces one can be sure that the American people will show the determination and iron spirit which characterized the British.

December 11, 1941. Full translation of an article by Walter Lippmann "Wake up America," published on December 9.

December 12, 1941 Editorial. "Total War." Japan, Germany and Italy dared to declare war on America because they knew that the country was not yet fully prepared. Japan was able to attack separately the American, British and Dutch forces because no concerted plan of action had been prepared between these countries. America is confronted with total war on two fronts at a time when the preparation of this country had hardly scratched the surface. Knowing this, everyone must cast aside the dreams of yesterday's life and face the blows directed against the country with enthusiastic work and a fighting spirit. This is total war, directed against this country more than any other for the enemy has for long been envious of the "privileged" life of the American people. All those who have enjoyed the benefits of this "privileged" life should not forget this.

1:8

Series of articles by Samuel H. Toumayan entitled "Why did Japan attack the United States." December 14, 1941. (1) Japan's method of attack shows that the war against the United States had been prepared for a long time. Why did Japan declare war? Main reasons are: 1st, desperate situation of Japan ever since exports of raw materials to this country had been stopped; 2nd, the ambitions of the military war party in Japan; 3rd, American help to China (less important than the other two reasons). Japan began by attacking American possessions so as to prevent the American navy from coming to the help of the British and Dutch, however the main objectives of Japan were to be the Dutch Indies and the British possessions in the Pacific. The principal question is the following: What is the importance of Japan's initial successes and how long will these successes last?

December 17, 1941. (3) Survey of American feeling and opinion. The treachery shown by Japan revolted and aroused everyone.

December 18, 1941. (4) Though there can be no doubt about the issue of the war one must keep in mind that the Japanese are a warlike people and will fight with great determination and Japan, just like Germany and Italy, has been preparing for many years. The United States needs time and one should expect many set-backs at first. But the outcome is the important thing and America possesses all that is needed to bring about the final success. The war will doubtless be a long and hard one and we must all be prepared for it.

December 17, 1941. Editorial on Secretary Knox's report on Pearl Harbor. "The report of the Secretary of the Navy Knox, arouses in us two contradictory feelings - disappointment and bitterness because naval and land commanders were not on the alert, and hatred and anger because of the treachery with which the enemy had prepared this unexpected attack." Of these two feelings the first must be forgotten and only the second retained, for hatred is not inhuman when occasioned by such treachery and such action directed against the freedom and life of an entire nation.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PRESIDENT

December 11, 1941. Editorial entitled "The Commander in Chief has spoken." Summary of President Roosevelt's radio address and comments. "If any words were needed which would go directly to the heart and the mind of the American people and would make them understand what happened on Sunday, December 7, on American soil, against American lives - that which has been happening for years on the soil of other peoples and against the lives of other peoples - these words were uttered by President Roosevelt on Tuesday evening." One could feel that the President was sharing the suffering of all those whose sons and dear ones have fallen on the battle front. "In these days of heavy anguish it is a source of great comfort and reassurance to have a commander in chief who not only possesses such sensitivity but the iron strength indispensable for victory." The President said that the war will be long

and difficult, it started with heavy reverses but it will end with our victory. This is what the commander in chief promised us, it is now the duty of every man to work for victory together with him.

December 12, 1941. Short article referring again to President Roosevelt's radio speech. "As American citizens it is our duty to obey the words of our president and fulfill our duties as citizens with calm and wisdom." Urgent appeal to buy Defense bonds.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS LABOR

December 16, 1941. Editorial entitled "Heroes at the front, heroic work by labor." After speaking of the heroic action of American flyers, Lieutenant Kelly and others, attention is turned to those who are not in the fighting forces but who should be animated by the same heroic spirit. It is a sad contradiction however to see the forty hour ruling maintained and additional pay granted for overtime. "There is no time and a half for overtime for those who are fighting twenty-four hours a day in the Philippines, at Wake Island and there is not enough money in the world to compensate for Kelly's life" - "Additional pay, half-hearted work, laziness are a menace to America's hope of speedy victory and they are not proofs of real feeling and understanding among "people who are at war."

4.13

December 19, 1941. Editorial in favor of the anti-strike bill which had been passed by Congress and about the new measures taken by the President. The home front is as important as the war front; employers and employees must forget personal gains and work together for victory.

December 18, 1941. Editorial on Censorship. Even the strictest censorship, when applied to military information, cannot be resented by the newspapers since their first duty is to help win the war and not to satisfy the curiosity of the readers. The censorship, as a whole, will doubtless be applied in the same spirit as it has been in England and will not interfere with real freedom.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS RUSSIA

December 14, 1941. Article on the meeting organized by the New England Committee for help to Russia. The heroic resistance of the Russian people has aroused profound admiration everywhere. The majority of the American people favour help to Russia and the activities of the above mentioned committee have received the support of all the important Boston newspapers. As Armenians and as American citizens it is our duty to help. Armenia is a part of the Soviet Union, so that every enterprise which is undertaken to help Russia should also be considered as an enterprise undertaken to help Armenia.

December 23, 1941. Soviet Successes. At the end of six months' war between the Nazis and the Soviets two important facts stand out: the failure of the Germans to seize Moscow; the recapture of Rostov by the Russians. These are of great impertance, but after thinking that the Russians were about to be conquered one must not go to the other extreme and think that the Nazi armies are defeated. Their offensive power has been weakened and one may look to the future with optimism and wait for an Allied offensive in Africa, in the West and in the Atlantic which will open the way for the decisive Soviet offensive.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS TURKEY

1.8

December 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31. Several articles by Vahan Mirakentz, entitled "The Wolf comes to the help of the lamb." Those who think that Turkey has become civilized present as a strong argument the news that Turkey is helping the starving Greeks. One must be willfully blind to believe such a thing and not recognize Turkey's hypocrisy. Deceit has been Turkey's chief instrument and she succeeded in deceiving her neighbors. Turkey signed an agreement with Greece promising that she would oppose by armed force any attack on Greece, but she did not keep this promise and allowed Greece to be conquered. Explanation of the reconciliation of Greece and Turkey in 1930. Study and praise of the character and personality of Venizelos. The leaders may have been hopeful and may have

trusted the Turks but the people were never deceived and kept their mistrust. After the alliance Turkey did not have a better attitude towards the Greeks of Constantinople, nor did she allow the return of the Greeks of Asia Minor. Furthermore Turkey demanded that the Greek government take strong measures against all those who were not friendly to the Turks, they had in mind the Armenians as well as Turks and Circassians who were opposed to Mustapha Kemal and had sought refuge in Greece. Follows the story of some of the leaders of the anti-Mustapha Kemal group.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS ARMENIA

December 10, 1941. Criticism of an article in "Husaper" an Armenian daily published in Egypt, organ of the Tashnag party in that country. That article, after referring to the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration promising liberation to all the conquered European nations, stated that the Armenians are also among those peoples, deprived of freedom despite all their sacrifices, deprived of a country, despite their historical rights. The criticism emphasizes that these are erroneous statements for the Armenians have their country which is part of the Soviet Union, they have benefited in every way from this situation. It compares the position of Armenia, as a member of the Soviet Union, to that of one of the states in the United States. It is to be hoped that such sentiments as are expressed in the article of "Husaper" will be forgotten and that the Armenian people will be cheered by the existing reality, which is Armenia, and they will have confidence in their national future.

December 10, 1941. Article entitled "News from Soviet Armenia," sent from Moscow by A. Terzibashian. Enthusiastic report about the cultural interests in Armenia. Speaks of the activities of the Armenian Academy and its six institutes. Brief account of the celebration of the thousandth anniversary of the writing of the epic poem "David of Sassun" and of the literary congress held in Moscow at which many Armenian writers were present.

December 18, 1941. Comments on Ambassador Litvinoff's words: "we are all in the same boat." Armenia, as part of Russia, participating in the war with a contingent

of 150,000 men, is also in this same boat. During the last war Armenian volunteers fought in the Allied armies; the Armenians were called the "little allies" but at the time of the peace treaties there was nothing but disappointment for them. Now Armenia is in a better position as part of Russia. As long as Russia is victorious, Armenia has nothing to fear.

December 21, 1941. Article by Samuel Toumayan on the movie "Land of Joy." The writer expresses his enthusiasm and happiness at seeing the various aspects of life in Armenia and, after passing them in review, concludes: "In these twenty years the Armenian has rebuilt his country and, pleased with the result of his work, his face is wreathed in smiles. Armenia has really become a 'land of joy'. Our compatriots who yesterday were poor and sad are now well to do and gay. Yesterday's sorrow has been replaced by the smile which gives new meaning to life. Soviet Armenia - Land of Joy."

December 23, 1941. Article on the detailed report published by the "Armenian Church" in New York concerning the National Council held at Etchmiadzin in April to elect the new catholicos (supreme head of the church). The writer (A.N.Nazar) points out that this meeting shows that the Soviets do not persecute the church. The false report has been spread abroad for twenty years that in the Soviet Union, hence also in Armenia, those who go to church are subject to persecution. If this had been true none of the forty laymen, some of whom are prominent men, university professors etc., would have dared to go to the council as special delegates.

December 30, 1941. Call by the Boston branch of the Armenian war relief. Large funds are needed to help: 1. The Armenians in France; 2. the Armenians in Armenia who are in a life and death struggle against a ruthless enemy - the Nazis. Armenia needs medicine, medical instruments and warm clothing for the soldiers.

December 30, 1941. Religious ceremony in the Armenian church of Lowell for the twentieth anniversary of Armenia. Summary of sermon, appeal made to all Armenians to help Soviet Armenia, regardless of their political opinions.

ARMENIAN QUESTIONS

December 11, 1941. Long article entitled "The concert of the national (Armenian) Prelacy and its importance." The Prelacy is the center at which all the elements of the Armenian people can unite. All must help so that it may develop its program of national and religious culture. If every individual recognized his duty and realized the importance of the work done by our national center there would be great improvement in our churches, our schools, our national unions. Church and school are our closest ties.

December 28, 1941. Short article entitled "A question" relating to the editorial of December 21 in Hairenik and a lecture by Tarpinian on "the war and our duty." Both in the editorial and the lecture the Red army was praised and designated as a decisive factor in the fight for freedom. How is it then that shortly after the war had started between Germany and Russia, this same lecturer, Tarpinian, could have written these words: "Fortunately the Soviet Union is so weak that it will be shattered very quickly by the Nazis?" Are we not justified in doubting the sincerity of Tarpinian?

December 31, 1941. Editorial in answer to an article published in Hairenik, entitled "The Soviet Union and our attitude." After reprinting passages which praise the Red Army and explain the new position of the Tashnags to the Soviets, that is support of the Soviets who are fighting on the side of the democracies by continuation of their negative or inimical attitude towards communism, the writer of the editorial expresses doubts about the sincerity of the Tashnags. He wonders whether this new attitude should not be explained by the fact that the Tashnags are skillfully following the general current of sympathy for the Soviet army, which has found vigorous expression even in the United States' Senate. For twenty years the Tashnags have confused communism with the political power, that is the Soviet Union, which is an absolute necessity for the physical and social existence of the Armenian people, and they have fought this political power under the pretext of fighting communism. They have never wished to acknowledge that the Soviet

NND 803100 DECLASSIFIED By ____ NARS, Date 11/14/80

19 Tarpinian
TARPINIAN

Union is a reality and that the fate of our people is tied up with it. One may wonder whether the Tashnags will not go back to their former position, once the war is over, a position which has done great harm to our inner life. Hairenik must speak more clearly if we are to take seriously their change of attitude.

Respectfully submitted

Sirarpie Der Nersessian
Wellesley College

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ARMENIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

About the various Armenian parties. There are three important groups: the Tashnag, the Democratic Liberal Union and a third party which has changed its name several times and which is connected with the Communists. The newspapers published in Boston belong to the first two parties. I believe the organ of the third party is published in New York. The Tashnag is, or was, socialist in its leanings and represented the revolutionary element. Their aim before the last war was the liberation of Armenia and the establishment of an independent rule. They came into power immediately after the Russian Revolution and headed the government of the Armenian Republic. Members of this group were in the Armenian delegation to the Peace Conference. The Republic of Armenia was overthrown by the Bolsheviks and the Tashnags were ousted by the Armenian Bolsheviks, and it was then that Armenia became a part of the Soviet Union.
I think it is this fact which, more than any other,

explains their hatred of and bitter antagonism to the Communists and hence their criticism of Armenia as part of the Soviet Union. They have been violently opposed to any move or measures which would establish friendly relations between the Armenian colonies abroad and the Armenians in Armenia. As you may have seen from the summary I sent, they seem to have modified their attitude now and claim that since Russia is fighting on the side of the democracies, better relations should be established with Armenia. However, their general attitude is still very critical.

The Democratic Liberal Union was known earlier as the Democratic Union, but twenty years ago they merged with the Liberal Union. I know hardly anything about the latter but the Democratic Union represented the more conservative element and was supported generally by the Armenian bourgeoisie. Strangely enough it is this group which seems to be more friendly towards Soviet Armenia. Although they do not sympathize with the Communist doctrine, I think their feeling is that since the only national and more or less independent government is that of Soviet Armenia one should have friendly relations with this group and, instead of encouraging further divisions among the Armenians, try to support and encourage the national life in Armenia. They have favored sending money for cultural activities as well as helping the reconstruction in Armenia. They have also sent medical supplies and helped the humanitarian organizations in Armenia.

I know very little also about the Communist organizations except that they have been very troublesome at different times and in their continued struggle with the Tashnags have emphasized divisions and misunderstandings.

As far as the religious attitude of these parties is concerned the Democratic Union has always supported the church and continues to do so. The Tashnags used to be opposed to the church and many of them were free thinkers. From what I could see in reading their paper they seem to be more sympathetic to the church now; perhaps because the church has been persecuted by the Soviets. The Communist party is obviously opposed to religious thought.

Sirarpie Der Nersessian

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August 27, 1942

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILEY:

At the suggestion of Professor Phillip Hitti a Palestinian Arab who is now an American citizen called upon me yesterday afternoon. His name is Shukry E. Khoury and he is a practicing lawyer with offices at 60 State Street, Boston. He came to the United States in 1926, was naturalized in March of 1930, and was graduated from Northeastern University in Boston in 1934. He was employed as counsel by the State of Massachusetts in connection with the liquidation of closed banks after the depression. He visited Palestine for two years in 1935 and 1936, and claims a thorough knowledge of the country and its Arabic leaders and an acquaintance with the Emir Abdullah. He was president of the Syrian and Lebanese American Federation of the Eastern States in 1938 and 1939. He is now vice-president of the International Institute of Boston, and is vice-chairman of the foreign-language group in Massachusetts organized by the Treasury Department for the sale of bonds and stamps.

OSS ARCHIVES

Mr. Khoury has agreed to let me have a statement about Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese organizations in the United States. He has been in Washington recently for consultation with the War Department, so he says, and he has conferred also with Mr. Wilson of Research and Analysis.

Interview with and background of Shukry E. Khoury. (1 p.)
Memo: Meritt to Wiley, 8/27/42

B. D. Meritt

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PRINCETON NEW JERSEY
Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures

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Aug. 20, 1942

Dear Dr. Merritt:

1. Assad George Ferris, Major A.U.S., serial no. 4820[illegible]
2, Army Exchange School [illegible], N.J., is the gentleman I mentioned
in my [illegible] with you. Born in Aussia, Dec., 1895, he
spent 1907-1909 in the Lebanon, the native home of his parents, where he
learned how to read & write Arabic besides speaking it. He served
in U.S. Army 1917-18. He desires service in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq or
Egypt where he can most effectively use his [illegible] — especially because
connected with the Army. Permanent army address:

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Major Assad J. Ferris
A.P.O. 958 C/o Postmaster, San Francisco Cal.

2. You may recall that Dr. K Leisalla promised to visit the
N.Y. and dig up some of the material desired. He occurred to
me since then that matters will be greatly expedited if a check
of $25 or so were sent him for traveling & clerical expenses.

It was a pleasure to both of us to have been in your
company last Monday.

Cordially,

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August 22, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL DONOVAN:

In our search for Arabic-speaking members of the armed forces who may be useful on special assignments, Dr. Merritt has found, through inquiry with Professor Hitti, that Major Assad George Ferris would welcome service in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq or Egypt, where he feels that he could be most useful. Major Ferris is now stationed in the Army Exchange School, Princeton, New Jersey. He was born in Austin, Texas, in 1899, and has visited Lebanon, which was the home of his parents. He there learned to read, write and speak Arabic. He served with the United States Army in 1917-1918. His permanent address is:

Major George Ferris
A.P.O. 958
c/o The Postmaster
San Francisco, California

We are keeping a record of this prospect in case it should seem desirable to make special use of him.

I think the Major's background is that of a Palestinian Christian.

(Initialed) J. C. W.
John C. Wiley

JCW/jc

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Note on Major Assad George Ferris. (RPP)
Letter: Hitti to Merritt to Donovan. 8/20/42

To Col. Donovan

August 15, 1942

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILEY:

The Associated Press dispatch reporting that an Arabian prince had volunteered to fight in the United States Army and is now quartered at Fort Knox, Kentucky, in the officer candidate training school needs some explanation.

His Arabian name is Emir Fuad H. M. Shehab. I am told that this is a Druse name. He was reported in the press to be a prince of the Arab kingdom of Grand Lebnan. Apparently the title Emir has been translated as prince. It means merely that he comes from a family of land owners and probably now may mean only that he is a well-to-do Arab. Nonetheless, he may be a very interesting character and it is well to know where he is.

(Initialed) B. D. M.

B. D. Meritt

note on arabian "prince".
Emir Fuad Shehab
now in U.S. army.
(1p) memo Meritt to
Wiley, 8/15/42

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Princeton, N. J.
August 9, 1942.

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

4.10.3 Braz Radio

Subject: Arabic Broadcasts from Brazil

Some of the Arabic-speaking immigrants in Brazil are reported to have communicated to their relatives in the Lebanon that daily broadcasts will be sent out in Arabic on the short wave radio, twenty-five meters, at 7:00 p.m. Brazil time.

[No more information is available. Perhaps further information can be obtained through the United States representatives in Brazil. This may be quite important.]

arabic broadcasts from Brazil. (1 p.)
Memo: Faris to Poole. 8/9/42.

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July 30, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR ALLEN W. DULLES, Esq.:

Certain papers on his "Iraq Scheme" were handed to John Wiley and me by Mr. Edward A. Norman and were submitted for comment to Professor Philip K. Hitti and Dr. Nabih Faris at Princeton. Copies of the commentaries of these two scholars are furnished herewith for your information. Dr. Faris tells me that he and Professor Hitti formed their judgments independently of each other. However, as you know, they are both Lebanese and tend to a similar point of view.

The memoranda which Mr. Norman gave us were returned directly to him some days ago at his request.

Initialed - D.C.P.

DeWitt C. Poole

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memo to Mr. Dulles 7/30/42 B

Princeton, N. J. from Mr. Poole
July 23, 1942.

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Some Remarks on Memorandum Edward Norman on "An Approach to the Arab Question in Palestine"

Stripped of all embellishments, the scheme is one designed to transfer Arabs from Palestine to Iraq and replace them with Zionists. It is, in effect, a sugar-coated scheme to evacuate the native Arab population of Palestine to aid the Zionists achieve their political aspirations. Behind the scheme, perhaps, is the failure of Zionists to achieve their aim openly through more direct methods. 4.2 4.15

The main falacy of the scheme lies in the fact that it assumes that the Palestine problem is basically and solely an economic probelm: that if the native Arab population should feel economically secure, they would no longer object to political Zionism. This is twice false. In the first place the Palestine problem is first and foremost a national problem. It is the imperious issue of whether a native population, no matter how poor and backward should be displaced by another, no matter how rich and progressive, through the aid of money and politics. In the second place the scheme itself, in so far as it rests on evacuation, admits that no such security is either possible or contemplated for the native population of Palestine.

Jewish 4.2 4.15

Comments by Faris and Hitti on the Norman memorandum to transfer Arabs from Palestine to Iraq and replace them with Zionists. (IOPP) Memo: Poole to Dulles, 7/30/42

Again, and this is exceedingly important for a people and a government committed to the defence of the democratic principles and ideals, this scheme, like the majority of schemes hitherto evolved for the solution of the Palestine problem, makes no mention of the party most intimately concerned, the native population of Palestine. Their fate is to be settled without their knowledge or consent. It is this blindness to the natural rights of the native population of the Holy Land which is responsible for the ills that have afflicted the country since the inception of the mandate. These rights have been acknowledged by the Balfour Declaration where we read, "it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine." These non-Jewish communities constituted ninety per cent of the whole population prior to the influx of Zionist immigration, and even now are still upward of seventy percent of the entire population. 4.1.1

Another false premise is the assumption the the Palestine problem is an Arab problem. It is a Zionist problem, <u>not</u> an Arab probelm. The so-called Arabs of Palestine are the native Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the Holy Land. In the main they ante-date any Jewish and even Hebrew penetration of Palestine before the Christian era. They are the native indigenous inhabitants of the land, their acquired Arabic language not withstanding. Any scheme which so vitally concerns them must have their consent. As for the Zionist problem, which seeks to solve the

the world-wide Jewish problem through political action in Palestine, it should be said, aside from the question of right or wrong, that Palestine cannot offer that solution. The world-wide Jewish problem cannot and should not be solved in terms of Palestine; it should not be made solely a Palestine problem. Persistent attempts to make it solely a Palestine issue will lead no where except to further complications with the Arab and Moslem worlds, and will endanger the well-being of Jews among the Arabs and Moslems, including those of Iraq, Egypt, Syria, and North Africa, where the Jews have found hospitality.

That Iraq has room for expansion is, indeed, beside the point. There is room in Australia, but the Australians do not want outsiders to come in; there is room in the United States, and, likewise, the United States has strict immigration laws. There might even be more room in Palestine itself, which can support a mximum of two millions, but the Zionist are not wanted there because of their political aspirations: of making Palestine as Jewish as England is English. Were the Zionists, however, to reliquish their political aims, they would be welcome, not only in Palestine, but also in Transjordan, Syria, the Lebanon, and Iraq, in the same way the Armenians, who entertain no national aspirations in Syria, no idea of a national home in the land that sheltered them, were welcomed . Over three hundred thousand Armenians have settled in Syria, but we find there no Armenian problem.

This is probably what Tawfiq al-Suwaydi of Iraq and 'Azzam Bey of Egypt have said when they informed the author of the memorandum that the Arab world has room for Jewish enterprize. Indeed it has, but only when the Zionists relinquish the idea of the national home as they interpret it, namely the foundation for a Jewish state in Palestine.

In this connexion it can be said categorically that no Iraq government, no Arab government anywhere, can or will participate in such a scheme if its purpose is in the least way known or suspected. Palestine is a Holy Land, not only to the Jews, but also to the Christians and to the Moslems. To the Moslems Jerusalem was the first qiblah towards which they prayed and the Aqṣa Mosque is the third holiest spot in all Islam, excelled in sanctity only by the Kaaba in Mecca and the Medina Mosque where the Prophet is buried. The spiritual ties which bind the Moslems to Palestine are just as strong as those which bind the Jews to it. Its fate, therefore, is of immediate and intimate concern to all Moslems. The same is true of the Christians, particularly the Roman Catholics. Protestant nations might be indifferent to shrines and sanctuaries, but the Roman Church is keenly interested in the fate of the Holy Land. Preservation of the status quo, therefore, is of vital importance to the Vatican.

One of the most dangerous aspects of the scheme, pressed with vigour as a selling point by its author, is its advocacy

on the ground that Britain should have a loyal population in Palestine, and that the Jews, unlike the Arabs, will never aspire to sever their relations with the Empire. On the other hand the Arabs would, as is the case with Egypt and Iraq. This is a mentality of empire most dangerous to the cause of the Allied Nations, particularly at this time. The United Nations are waging this war not for the perpetuation of empire but for freeing people from fear, want, tyranny, and opression; for establishing the principles of democracy and self-determination. This is the platform on which the United Nations stand, which is reiterated in the Atlantic Charter and Roosevelt Four Freedoms, and with which they hope to enlist the active cooperation of all peoples against the Nazi-Fascist menace. What, therefore, would the reaction of the Arab and the Moslem worlds be to such a scheme? What would the Axis Powers' propogandists do with such ammunition? Axis propoganda has been harping on the idea that if the United Nations win the Arab world including Palestine would be at the mercy of the 'imperialist Allies."

It is not customary to inject moral principles in power politics. But the United Nations are commited to the task of bringing to an end an order built upon power politics and establishing a community of nations bound with common interests and mutual understanding and respect. In such an order the goodwill of the Arab and Moslem world would bring to Britain and her allies loyal friends, not only in Palestine,

but also in North Africa, Egypt, the Near East, Arabia proper, India, and Malay; and this will be a surer guarantee to the safety of the order we desire to build and for which we are now fighting than all the armies a Jewish Palestine can muster, a Jewish Palestine, it must be remembered, in the midst of an Arab Moslem ocean, extremely hostile.

Hitherto the United States has enjoyed the respect and confidence of the Arab and Moslem worlds. On no other issue are these two worlds as united as on the isuue of Zionism, to which they are unanimously hostile. For the United Nations to attempt to settle the fate of Palestine in London or in Washington, without the consent of its native population, would be most detrimental to that confidence.

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Princeton, N.J.
July 23, 1942

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Philip K. Hitti

Subject: Memorandum by Edward A. Norman on the So-called "Iraq Scheme"

Of all the naïve and fantastic international schemes concocted by human ingenuity - or lack of ingenuity - this so-called "Iraq Scheme" should surely win the prize. To an American it may not look as insensate as all that. Do not farmers move from New York to Arizona, for example, or vice versa? But the Palestine-Iraq situation is radically different. The soil of Palestine is sacred to the Moslem; in fact after the soil of al-Hijaz it is the most sacred soil on earth. This sacredness has been nurtured and cherished by generations of Moslem farmers, going back to "the time of Adam" (as they put it), who tilled the soil and are buried in it and to whose descendants Iraq is as foreign as Mexico is to a United States farmer. Even the rush into America from the Near East, which began in the eighties of the last century, still finds the Moslem peasant apathetic, and deeply rooted in the soil of his land. The Arabic-speaking immigrants in America are mostly Christian Lebanese.

A few Palestinian families or villagers may be induced by the apparently shrewd and underhanded way worked out by the Norman plan to be transplanted to Iraq, but will that make any difference in the general situation?

And even if - let us say for the sake of argument - all Palestine Arabs were transplanted and the vacuum was filled with

new Jewish settlers, will that solve the Jewish problem in the world? Can a Zionist state, even if instituted, maintain itself against a dark hinterland of hostile Islam and in the very midst of an Arab federation of states that is bound to arise after this war?

The whole "Iraq Scheme" is predicated not only on the feasibility but also the desirability if not the necessity, of artifically organizing and maintaining a Jewish state. Is the world convinced of all that? Are not the Zionists themselves beginning to doubt it?

This summer I attended at the University of Chicago an institute of the Norman W. Harris Foundation for the study of International Affairs. The delegates, over seventy, included scholars, diplomats, government officials, business men, missionaries, etc. from Italy, England, France, Persia, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, the United States, etc. So far as I could tell from private conversations, and public utterances hardly a soul - other than the three Zionist delegates - was fully convinced that the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine would be desirable or practical.

Recently the Jews have repeatedly flaunted their devotion to the Allied cause in the face of the apparent Arab lukewarmness. The fact is that if ever there was a single factor which contributed most to alienating Arab sympathies from the British it was the British espousal of the Zionist cause. The German propaganda machine knows that fact and capitalizes on it as it capitalizes on the broken promises made to the Arabs by the British and French. On no other issue does the modern Moslems from Morocco to Malay seem to present a solid united front, not excluding the Caliphate issue.

The congresses on the Caliphate, beginning with that of Cairo in 1926, showed anything but unanimity among Moslem leaders; on the question of Zionism opposition was and is still practically unanimous. The presence at the Round Table Conference in London, 1939, of delegates from al-Yaman, al-Hijaz, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, etc. to discuss with the Jews the Palestine problem; the choice of the precinct of the Holy Mosque in Jerusalem as the burial place for the pan-Arab leader King Husayn and the Indian Moslem leader Muhammad Ali; the attempt of Shawkat Ali of India and others to establish a Moslem university in Jerusalem; the fact that at the Assembly of the League of Nations, September 1937, the two representatives of Egypt and Iraq made themselves on behalf of their countries spokesmen for Palestine -- these and similar facts may be cited in evidence of united and unrelenting opposition on the part of Islam to Zionism.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that of all the Western powers the United States is virtually the only one which still maintains the high esteem and affection of the Arabs and Moslems. To this friendly relation, established through generations of devoted educational, missionary and philanthropic American workers in the Near East and cemented by the existence of hundreds of thousands of American citizens of Arab background, nothing could be more detrimental, I venture to say, than to make it appear as if the Government of the United States were assuming a compromising attitude with regard to Zionism. Now that all the money, and much of the brains with which the Zionist machine is operating come from United States sources the danger is greater than ever.

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Near East

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July 20, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILEY:

Subject: The Arabs

In the issue of the New Yorker for July 18, 1942, there is a short personal sketch about Dr. Clement Dorra. The significant parts of this sketch I have had copied as a memorandum here.

It occurs to me that it may be of interest to you.

B. D. Meritt

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE-43

B

FROM THE NEW YORKER

July 18, 1942

1.8 & Egypt 1.8

"Nobody in town could be more concerned about the turn of events in Egypt than Dr. Clement Dorra, probably the only Egyptian gynecologist now practicing in New York who doubles as a daily short-wave news commentator in Arabic. Having learned that Dr. Dorra was to be seen any weekday morning at Station WCBX and WCRC, Columbia's short-wave outlets, we sought him out last week and found him compiling his script from a pile of news bulletins. He's a small, plump fellow with sleek hair, dark Oriental eyes, and a wide Occidental grin. He performed a plump salaam and proudly showed us his script, which was two pages of Arabic. 'That represents two and a half hours' work,' he said. 'If I wrote it out in English, it would be at least nine pages long.' He was chosen for this job, he told us, because he writes (and speaks) the classic Arabic, which is understood by all his race, although many regional dialects are spoken among the oases. We didn't want to discourage Dr. Dorra by asking how many short-wave receiving sets are in use among the oases.

4.103

"Dr. Dorra arrives at the studio at eight-thirty in the morning and works on his script until eleven-thirty. By then it is six-thirty in the evening in Alexandria, and he steps to the microphone and begins broadcasting with a greeting in Arabic: 'Salamoo Aleïkom wa Rahmat Allah' ('May peace be upon you with the grace of God'). Then, for fifteen minutes, he

speaks on current events, trying to present the American point of view. Lately, of course, he has been emphasizing Egypt's stake in a United Nations victory and urging his countrymen to resist, actively or passively. Concluding with 'Asada Allah Massacom' ('May God give you a happy night'), ...

"Dr. Dorra, whose father was a prosperous merchant, was educated at a French school in Beirut. Just after Munich, he bought a country house near Le Mans, in France, and when the Germans broke through in the spring of 1940, his wife and their sixteen-year-old son were living there. They managed to escape to England, by way of St.-Jean-de-Luz, and have decided to stay where they are for the duration. Dr. Dorra arrived here by way of Bombay and the Pacific, and has taken out his first papers, in the expectation that his family will someday be able to join him here. In spite of so much unhappiness in his own life, Dr. Dorra is worried because the United Nations aren't making their short-wave broadcasts to Egypt funny enough. The B.B.C., for instance, tees off with a reading from the Koran, whereas the German broadcasts are full of ribald songs and jokes -- much more to the average Arab's taste. He would like to make his program funny, though cleaner than the Goebbels product, and to that end is dickering for more time on the air. 'In fifteen minutes I have not time to be funny -- not in Arabic,' he says."

Personal Sketch of Dr. Clement Dorra, broadcaster, from "The New Yorker" (Appl/Memo: Merritt to Wiley, 7/20/42)

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JUL 11 9 12 AM '42
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

July 8, 1942

Professor B. D. Meri t
Office of Strategic Services
Washington, D.C.

My dear Meritt:

In response to your request of July 3rd I spent several hours this morning interviewing William Merhab, described in my last letter, and Fakri (Fakhri?) Malouf (Maʿlūf). I put a number of questions to Merhab. With Malouf I talked only in a very general way, about linguistic problems connected with the emergence of nationalities in the old, inherited, mediæval, Arabic speaking world. Malouf proved to be apparently an intelligent, calm, reasonable and well disposed young man of graduate student status, interested professionally in Physics and Philosophy. I did not put any questions to Malouf at this first interview, but expect to learn more from him later. From him I learned only that:

> Young Syrians like himself regard the Syrian-Americans as lost to them and their national cultural renascence because they are too readily assimilated to American life, have too little interest in Syria, and think of Syria as it was fifty years ago. Arabic language newspapers in New York City, the only ones known to him in this country, contain only stale news and perfunctory, uncritically American editorials.

From Merhab I learned that a certain Shukri (name to be supplied later, after inquiry), who arrived with a certain ʿAlī Muhammad from Iraq in ca. 1935, is still here, and as late as 1940 expressed himself as violently anti-British. He is described as stupid and fanatical, doubtless influential in his conversation and contacts, but not an organizer or deliberate propagandist. I shall try to contact him. Merhab otherwise answered every question in the negative. The Syrians in America seem to be loyal Americans, unaffected by nationalist movements in Syria, except that:

> The opportunistic attitude of Arabic newspapers in Syria is reflected by Arabic newspapers in New York. The attitude is illustrated by the behavior of Turkey at present.

I expect in the near furure to learn whether Malouf has any connections.

With many greetings,

Faithfully yours,

W. H. Worrell

W. H. Worrell

(14) B

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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

2 Hillside Ct.
Ann Arbor, Mich.
July 11, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-44

Professor B. D. Meritt
Coordinator of Information
Washington, D. C.

Dear Meritt:

I have your letter of July 9.

It is a good idea to write to Merhab; but he is slow, busy, and worried about the draft; and we have no Arabic papers here at present.

I will see what can be done about my reading and reporting regularly on an Arabic paper. I have not the time for this at present, but I might have time later.

1.13

Ismā'īl al-Khālidī (Ismail Kaldi etc.) last night said that: 1.1 (active fellow)

al-Hizb al-Qaumī as-Sūrī (which I suppose is identical with your "Syrian People's Party") was founded in Syria by Antun Sa'adah about 38 years old, now a fugitive in Brazil. His party was outlawed in Syria. I could find out nothing about any branch in this country. The party was Syrian and not Arab in its aims; and it was as violent and ruthless as the Nazis. It was evident that Ismail does not approve of the party even as a program; much less does he approve of the Germans or any deal with them. 4.2

Syrian Nationalist Party - 2.2

1.1

Muhammad Shukrī (see last letter) lives at 1213 Willard. phone 22348. I shall try to interview him.

1.13

Miss Dr. Florence E. Day, a pupil of mine, is a good American, born at the American University, Beirut, speaking Syrian like a native, and able to read the papers rapidly. She now has a position at Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 3101 R Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. She might work for you.

Cordially yours,

W. F. Worrell

Information from Merhab and Malouf on Syrian attitudes and nationalism.
mU.S. (rpp.) Letters: Worrell to Meritt,
7/8-11/42

WESTERN UNION
PRESS MESSAGE

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J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
NE -45

SECRET

May 11, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL DONOVAN:

Attached are some notes from one of our contacts based on a conversation with the son of the Turkish Ambassador.

The contact is a reliable source. He also tells me that Spain I.S. Cardenas, the Spanish Ambassador, is giving the Franco Government an accurate picture of the success of the production side of our war effort.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
BRANCH
MAY 13 1942

C. O. I. - F. N. - MASTER (Initialed) J. C. W.
Document Number
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JOHN C. WILEY

Turkish military attachés who recently completed a tour of U.S. defense industries are said to have reported to their government that the progress made here exceeded all their expectations. They were particularly impressed with a new airplane factory which they saw in the process of construction, where new planes were being produced while the plant itself was only partly completed. The same men are said to have made the same tour last November; their report at that time was most pessimistic and they allegedly advised their government not to place too much reliance on American production and defense efforts in general.

Turkish embassy officials voice discreet criticisms of Ambassador Steinhardt. They say that every time von Papen sees Turkish officials he never misses the opportunity of stressing that Mr. Steinhardt, a Jew, is motivated by hatred of Germany and does not represent the "real American" point of view. The German radio beamed on Turkey is said to be taking liberal advantage of Mr. S's racial background. In addition, the Turks recall that Mr. Morgenthau Sr., when ambassador to Turkey, was "responsible for the wave of anti-Turkish feeling" which followed the Armenian massacres. While they disclaim all anti-Semitic feelings they believe that a more fortunate choice could have been made.

Turkey 1.2

When, some three weeks ago, someone was talking to the Turkish Ambassador about the time "when the Russians will march into Berlin", the ambassador vigorously asserted that that would never take place. Two days ago he expressed his belief in the strength of the German army and his belief that it could conquer the Russians, if it really wanted to.

ERTEG

Turkey
4.16
4.3

5.10.42

Attitude of Turkish Embassy officials towards U.S. production, Ambassador Steinhardt, and the Russo-German struggle.
(3 pp) Memo. Wiley to Donovan. 5/11/42

A:ACC

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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
NEW YORK, N. Y.

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April 22, 1942

To: Mr. Weston Howland

From: William H. Vanderbilt

Jubey
1.13

I am attaching hereto memorandum from Mr. Crusius with further reference to Joseph Ajjiman, which I believe is self-explanatory, together with a memo from Mr. J. A. Morrison to Mr. John M. Potter on this same subject.

WHV.

Attach.

Information on Joseph Ajjiman. (Appl.
Memo: Vanderbilt to Howland, 4/22/42

Mr. Howland.

13

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
NEW YORK, N.Y.

April 20, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-46

Memorandum to: Commander Vanderbilt

From: Malcolm A. Crusius

Re: Joseph Ajjiman

As you know, Mr. Howland has suggested that I assist him in trying to secure information on prominent Turkish persons now in this country. I told him that I would try to get in touch with Mr. Joseph Ajjiman after communicating with the Washington staff in order to determine whether Mr. Ajjiman was qualified, and to be informed about his background. I attach a copy of a memorandum from Mr. Morrison to Mr. Potter which is the result of my inquiry about Mr. Ajjiman.

In that memorandum Mr. Morrison suggests that any interviewing of Mr. Ajjiman be done by "a member of the Near East Section of the Division of Special Information" or by some other person who is thoroughly familiar with Turkey." I believe that this suggestion of Mr. Morrison's should be transmitted to Mr. Howland.

Malcolm A. Crusius
Malcolm A. Crusius

COPY

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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
NE-46

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 18, 1942

From: J. A. Morrison

To: Mr. John M. Potter

SUBJECT: Joseph Ajjiman

I have the request from Malcolm A. Crusius to Commander Vanderbilt for information on Mr. Ajjiman's background and the work he has done for the Coordinator.

I note that Mr. Ajjiman told Mr. Crusius that he was "constantly in touch with the Coordinator's office." From what Mr. Ajjiman has told me recently, I suspect that Mr. Ajjiman indicated to Mr. Crusius that representatives of the Coordinator's office had been making a large number of requests of him. I have the distinct impression from Mr. Ajjiman that his time has been taken up by representatives of the Coordinator's office, many of whom have asked for the same information. It should be obvious that a person as busy as Mr. Ajjiman and who is not entirely familiar with the American scene, would be somewhat confused and not a little irritated at the lack of coordination in this organization. Mr. Ajjiman is in a position to supply this office with information regarding Turkey which it is very doubtful could be obtained from any other source in this country. It is, therefore, of great importance that this valuable source should be contacted by as few people as possible and that these few should be well qualified.

In regard to the specific request in the memorandum referred to above, I can state with complete assurance that Mr. Ajjiman is in a position to provide information on prominent Turkish personalities in this country. However, a list of these should be provided.

In regard to Mr. Ajjiman's background: He was born in Monastir, went to Canada before the first World War, where he received an engineering degree at McGill University. He returned to Turkey after the war--in 1922 or 1923--and engaged in engineering and contracting at Ankara. He developed a very successful practice, during the course of which he built a number of government buildings and foreign embassies and legations. This work provided close contacts with the leading personalities of the Turkish government and with foreign diplomats stationed in Ankara.

In addition to his Turkish passport, Mr. Ajjiman also holds a British passport. He left Turkey last September at a time when it appeared that cabinet changes which would increase German influence were imminent. As a leading anti-Nazi, Mr. Ajjiman was advised by his British-American friends to come to this country. Mr. Howland Shaw of the State Department knows him very well and can provide further information if necessary.

So far as I know, Mr. Ajjiman's work for this office has been confined to giving interviews to the several representatives who have called on him in New York. He has not been engaged as a consultant nor am I aware that such engagement is contemplated.

Since Mr. Ajjiman is expected to come here next week, I suggest that any interviewing be done by a member of the Near East Section of the Division of Special Information or by some other person who is thoroughly familiar with Turkey.

I am returning the memorandum addressed to Commander Vanderbilt.

(Signed) J.A. Morrison

(1)

Near East

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON NEW JERSEY
Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures

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Aug. 13, 1942

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Dear Dr. Merin:

1.13
1.14
North Africa 1.14

Confirming our conversation of yesterday, I am writing you about Mr. George Kheiralla, Moroccan Shop, Boardwalk, Atlantic City, who is one of the few educated Arabic-speaking people in this country who visited and knows Northwestern Africa. He showed me a few years ago a MS he wrote on that part of the world which he visited with his son Ali, now a student at M I T (who by the way may be drafted soon). Kheiralla was born in Egypt of Christian Lebanese parents. His father became Baha'i and introduced his religion into America. George is a professed Moslem. He wrote a book on Muhammad the Prophet of Islam and published it a few years ago. He is a good speaker in both English & Arabic, has an M. D. from an American college but does not practice medicine. He knows most of the Moslems & North Africans in this country. He was a member of the Arab National League executive committee in N.Y.C. and fought the Zionists' propaganda. He was not pro-British in pre-war days. Under supervision he could be used to some good purpose. He telephoned me asking about possibility of Government service in N. Africa.

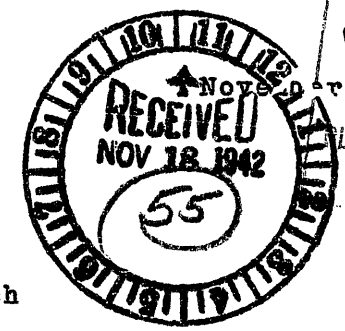
2. Munzer Meshaka, cf. M. Makla, 258 Fifth Ave. (1.13) N.Y.C., now in Jerusalem, graduate of the American University of Beirut, took graduate work in Paris, traveled in Western Asia, Northern Africa, India etc, now of full American citizen, married a Syrian-American girl, fine family (Protestants, from Damascus), grandfather one of the most respected Syrians of last century (consul for Great Britain and I think U.S.A.), can render valuable service. He asked me to recommend him for some government service

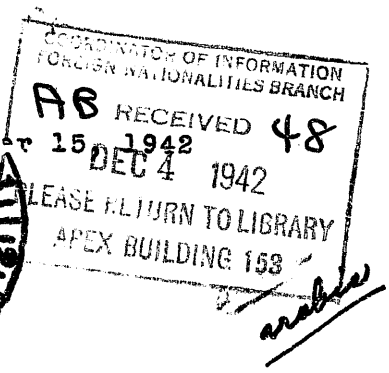
3. The two papers in which items by returned Syrian- or Lebanese-Americans appeared about Syrians or Lebanese in Cameron, Senegal, Algeria are al-Huda (31) (Ed. S. Mokarzel, 55 Washington St. N.Y.C.) (1.8) and Meraat-ul-Gharb (31) (Ed. N. Arida, 80 Washington St. N.Y.C.) (1.8)

from Prof. Hitti

List of possible names in War East and North Africa
(copy) Letter: Hitti to Merrill, 8/13/42

MEMORANDUM





November 15, 1942

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Syria and the Free French

The extent of the term. By Syria, I mean the present political entity, not the common geographical and traditional Syria. The Lebanon is also excluded in so far as it could be excluded.

Background. Syria has been the stronghold of Arab nationalism, and the reservoir of Arab leadership. In language, tradition, and culture, it has been more Arab than any other Arab land, not excluding Arabia proper. Egypt has had its Pharaonic separatist movement, the Lebanon its Phoenician, Iraq its Shiite, and Arabia proper its ultra Arabian-Moslem leanings. But throughout, Syria stood for the revival of Arab power, and has given the Arab world its intellectual and literary leadership. And Arab nationalism has gone hand in hand with Arab cultural awakening.

It was Syria and Syrians that figured most in the Young Turk movement, and among the leaders of the revolution itself, some were Syrians. It was again Syrian leaders who suffered most from Jamal Pasha. In this particular the religious line of demarkation was completely obliterated. Moslem and Christian alike joined hand in the movement, with perhaps a greater zeal on the part of the Christian element.

Post War Period. After the last war Syria was placed in the so-called "A" mandates. Disregarding their promises to the Arabs, the Allies disposed of Syria in accordance with the secret Sykes-Picot

treaty. Needless to say this was contrary to the wishes of the Syrians, and contrary to their expressed preference as gauged by the King-Crane Commission.

It is useless to dwell on this now. France was made the mandatory power, and France ruled the country.

The history of the French mandate in Syria may be divided into four natural periods:

1. 1920-1926
2. 1926-1936
3. 1936-1939
4. 1939-

Before taking up the last period in which we are at present interested, it is necessary to touch on the other three.

The first seems like a dark age of blindness and folly in which the French sowed the seeds of trouble and hate and reaped the harvest of rebellion with which the period ends.

The second was a period of negotiation marked with mutual distrust, in which a chastened France tried to come to an understanding with the Syrian nationalist, but failed.

The third is a period in which a substantial agreement was reached, and the promise of a new era between the two peoples appeared on the horizon.

The fourth was the period of repudiation by France of its policy of reconciliation on the grounds of urgency because of the war. The situation has not changed substantially after the Fall of France and the advent of Joan of Arc in the person of de Gaulle.

To understand the present situation we ought to look into the different Syrian political schools. These are three:

1. Those who advocate Arab unity.
2. Those who advocate a Greater Syria and oppose the separatist Lebanese platform.
3. Those who advocate the present division between Syria and the Lebanon.

The first party depends mostly upon Moslem support and upon the support of nationally-minded Christians. These include Moslem fanatics, whose idea of pan-Arabism is nothing more than pan-Islamism, as well as the Christian intelligentia educated in American universities at home and abroad. They might be described as the Arab nationalists.

The second is the so-called Syrian nationalists, as distinguished from the Arab nationalists. They clamor for a Greater Syria which would include the Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan, but will definitely exclude Iraq and Arabia proper. The extreme among them have been organized in the so-called Iron Shirts, definitely after Nazi pattern. These are, however, very few and most unpopular, although they count among their membership some of the educated youth. Their leader is now in South America, probably on the payroll of the Axis. 4.2

The bulk of these nationalists, however, advocate an Arab confederation of Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine, and Iraq, with a great measure of local autonomy for each of these countries, but with Arab unity as their goal. They wish to attain that unity gradually, and find in their programme the best and safest foundation for their goal. The leadership of this group includes educated

Moslems and Christian alike. The chief obstacle to their plans is the Lebanon and the Maronite Church.

The third party consists of mercenaries whose task has been rendered possible by Lebanese separatism and French might. They are the party at present in power, represented by the President of the Syrian republic, Taj-al-Din al-Hasani. He is most unpopular among the people, and without French support cannot hold his position.

Except for the mercenaries, all parties agree on hostility to France and French rule, Vichy or Free. They all agree on independence as their ultimate goal, and regard France as their major enemy. As such they will not shun outside aid, no matter what the source.

They resent French dismemberment of the country, dividing it into Syria, Lebanon, The Druze Mountain, the Alawaite Mountain; they resent the aggrandizement of the separatist Lebanon at the expense of Syria, the loss of Alexandretta to the Turks whom France tried to appease at the expense of the Arabs; they resent French mentality of empire and the prevalent attitude of the French towards Syria as part of the French Empire.

Syrians make no distinction between Vichy France and the French. To them both are undesirable French. Since the advent of the Free French, however, a new factor entered into the situation. The British have driven Vichy out of Syria; but the French as represented by Catreaux, are exceedingly jealous of the spread of British influence. Britain declared Syria independent, but Catreaux was reluctant to recognize the accomplished fact. The Lebanon was

Hasani
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BY NARA, DATE 1/14/80

declared independent and made the focal point of French influence, in order to perpetuate French interests and block Arab attempts towards a confederation. This confederation has the blessing of Britain -- with reservations.

Recently the Druze Mountain joined the Syrian Republic against the wishes of the French who would rather continue the policy of division. The Druze inclusion would tend to enhance British influence. But British influence is greatly vitiated by Britain's continued support of Zionism in Palestine. Zionism enters every aspect of Arab relationships. In fact it is the only problem on which there is unanimous agreement. All are hostile to it.

The determining factors in the present situation are the British French rivalries and the desire of the Syrians to be rid of both, especially France. But both desire to maintain their influence in the Near East, and both think in terms of empire. The British seem to welcome greater Arab unity as the best safeguard of British interests. The French are determined to keep their foothold in the Near East, first in the Lebanon, and second in Syria. Their Lebanon foothold is designed to perpetuate their influence and block Arab unity. The Free French, like the Vichy French, still regard Syria, the Lebanon, etc. as part of the French empire, the restoration of which is the aim of both.

The question of the Lebanon as will as the question of Palestine have been carefully avoided in these remarks, but no final settlement is possible in Syria without clarifying the position of these two lands. Syrians would agree to Lebanese autonomy but never to Lebanese separation. On the other hand a large minority

in the Lebanon is die hard concerning the separate status of the Lebanon. But Lebanon cannot exist by itself. This is recognized by the Lebanese, and would undoubtedly give the majority, which advocates membership in the greater Arab confederation, the advantage.

The question of Palestine will continue to intrude itself. So long as the United States is non-committal on its policy regarding Zionism, no final peace can be had. The best we can hope for is temporary acquiescence pending final readjustment.

Finally, the present government of al-Hasani does not enjoy the confidence of the people. It is regarded as mercenary. The party that represents Syria best is the so-called National Cartel. It is now all but suppressed. The duly elected President, Hashim al-Atasi, who is also the head of the Cartel, resigned in protest against the repudiation by the French of the 1936 treaty.

We must make it clear to these people that the United States will not countenance the punishment of nationalism among the so-called subject people. We must convince them that just as we expect them, in the words of Mr. Willkie, to stand up and be counted, we are ourselves ready to do the same.

39

Princeton, N. J.
September 13, 1942

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The United States and Syria

[New York Times, September 12, 1942.]

[I might as well report on this item now, since the Arabic press will certainly carry it in a few days.]

Taj-al-Din al-Hasani, President of the Republic of Syria, is reported to have said that ~~that~~ Syria has the right to expect an early recognition of her independent status by the United States.

[Stripped of all the embellishments of diplomatic language, Syrians are disappointed at the failure of the United States to give formal recognition to their independence. Worse still they are apprehensive that this failure foreshadows reversion of Syria to its pre-war status under the French. Whether it is of the Vichy variety or of the Free French variety is not at all important. This failure, too, is placed side by side with the failure of Churchill to include India in the Atlantic Charter, and with the failure of the United States to commit itself on the question of Palestine. The result is ~~a~~cumulative. These people are kept in the dark as to their fate, and are, therefore, apprehensive. The United States is looked up to as the guarantor of all Allied commitments. Failure of the United States to give its approval, diplomatically, to an action taken by the British who declared Syria independent, might be construed as disapproval, and ultimately

The United States and Syria (cont.)

a factor of doom. The explanation given by Syrians is equally dangerous. It is said that the Free French are thinking in terms of empire, and have prevailed over the United States to withhold its approval. It is also said that the United States is trying to appease Vichy, to keep it from all-out collaboration with the Nazis. As a concession to Vichy, which also thinks of its empire and the restoration thereof, the United States is withholding its recognition from Syria.

Doubt and suspicion envelop the whole Near East. Mr. Wilkie may have succeeded in impressing the people there of the magnitude of United States preparations and of its determination to win this war. But these will not alley the fears of the people. Were it not for the traditional respect with which the United States is held the people of ~~the~~ Syria would have been more outspoken in their disappointment. How far can we along the road of indecision regarding Vichy, India, and Syria, etc. and still maintain the good will of the Near East is quite a delicate question.]

Near East

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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
DEC 18 1942
A.B. 250

D. C. Poole

December 10, 1942

Dr. James Grafton Rogers

Fr. Nat. 1.1 3.1

Regarding the suggestion made to me recently by M. Aglion that the Arabic language newspaper Al-Hoda be made available in North Africa, Professor Meritt, who knows this newspaper and its editor very well, recommends caution while the situation in North Africa continues in its present delicate state.

Mr. Meritt recalls that Mr. Salloum Mokarzel, editor of Al-Hoda, has been for sometime in very close touch with the Fighting French. As long as the collaboration in North Africa continues to be chiefly with Admiral Darlan, the appearance of Al-Hoda on North African newsstands might be an occasion for unnecessary disturbance.

As I stated in my original memorandum to Colonel Donovan, the selling of Al-Hoda in North Africa was banned sometime ago by the Vichy authorities.

Initialed - D.C.P.

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Memo to Dr. Roper from Mr. Poole 12/10

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES



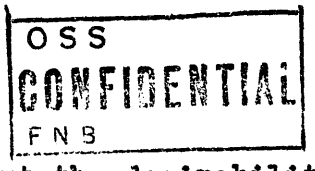
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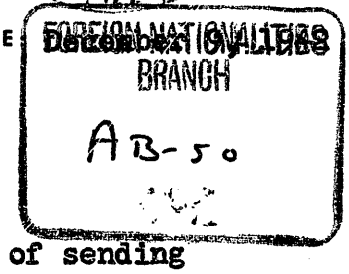
FROM: B. D. Meritt

DATE: December 9, 1942

TO: Mr. D. C. Poole

SUBJECT:





Your inquiry about the desirability of sending the Arabic-language newspaper Al-Hoda to North Africa leads me to make these observations:

1. The editor of Al-Hoda, Mr. Salloum Mokarzel, has been for some time in very close touch with the Fighting French. Mr. Aiglion to my knowledge has been in touch with him and has represented the Fighting French in Arabic gatherings where Mr. Mokarzel has been prominent.

2. I should recommend extreme caution in view of the delicate situation now in North Africa as between the Fighting French and the collaborators with Admiral Darlan before deciding to send a newspaper which may inject an unnecessarily disturbing political element.

3. The sending of Al-Hoda, which I understand to have been banned by the Vichy authorities, would seem to me an appropriate gesture on the North African Front after the Government of the United States has come to a more open understanding with the Fighting French on the whole question of North Africa.

B.D.M.

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Princeton, N.J.
June 22, 1943.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: A Moslem "Chaplain" in the United States Army

Shaykh Khalil al-Rawwaf is the only Saudi Arabian in the United States. At present he is in the United States Army . He is at this moment receiving his basic training at Camp Lee, Virginia.

I understand that there was some difficulty in connexion with his enlistment. He had some scruples about it; but now that he is convinced that Ibn Saud and the United States are on the best friendly terms, he seems very proud of being in the Service. He might, on the other hand, be making virtue of necessity.

At any rate, I suggest that the subject of appointing al-Rawwaf as Moslem "Chaplain". There may or may not be a sufficient number of Moslem soldiers in the United States Army that would warrant such a step on purely financial basis. But the propoganda value of such a step is indeed immense. Could the OSS take the matter up with the proper authorities? This is only a suggestion; but I believe it is worthy of further study.

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June 25, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. JAMES GRAFTON ROGERS:

One of our Arab sources makes the interesting suggestion that there would be psychological warfare value in the appointment of a Moslem chaplain in the United States Army. Perhaps there are not enough Moslem soldiers in the Army to make such an appointment necessary in the ordinary course, but it is suggested that it would still be desirable because of the excellent effect in the Moslem world around the Mediterranean of radio announcements that an appointment of this kind was a reality.

Inquiry indicates that almost anyone who can read the Koran properly would be qualified to become such a chaplain. The specific suggestion is made that Shaykh Khalil al-Rawwaf would do. He is reported to be the only Saudi Arabian in the United States and in the United States Army. We hear that he is at this moment receiving basic training at Camp Lee, Virginia.

DeWitt C. Poole

cc - General Magruder

DCP:mb

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July 14, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT SHERWOOD:

I promised to secure for you the appeal to the Arab world which was published in the Arabic-language newspaper, As-Sayeh, on June 25, 1942. With this memorandum is enclosed the original Arabic text clipped from the newspaper and a translation made by Professor Nabih Amin Faris of Princeton University.

Mr. Faris reports that on the occasion of Independence Day there appeared in the Arabic-language press about twenty appeals to the Arab world similar to that which appeared in As-Sayeh. He has sent the original Arabic texts of two of these to our Branch with English translations to accompany them, and I enclose them both with this memorandum so that you may have them at your disposal.

Professor Faris suggests that these three appeals be considered together. He remarks that he has chosen the best three on the basis of content, coherence and style, and he adds to these further observations: "Professor Hitti's appeal represents the measured sanity of the scholar; Mr. Arida's is, in the Arabic original, a masterpiece of literary composition. As such, it will be the most valuable, since the Arab is swayed by language as by nothing else. Hitti's is sane and sober in both the original and the translation. Arida's may sound too flowery in the English version, but in the original it is what the Arab would like to hear. It is far superior to that of As-Sayeh."

NE. FMB. Dnl-2 Box 2

Professor Faris informs us that all twenty-odd of the Fourth of July appeals have been sent to Egypt to be published in the Arabic press there.

(Initialed) J. C. W.

John C. Wiley

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STATEMENT BY MR. N. ARIDA, EDITOR OF THE MERAAT-UL-GHARB, TO THE ARAB WORLD, ON THE OCCASION OF JULY 4, 1942

From Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, July 3, 1942

"I the Immigrant.

"Out of the depths of darkness on the day of despair I raised my eyes groping for the light, and a distant gleam shone before me — the light of America.

"I was wont to hear of freedom, but knew nought beyond its name.

"O beautiful bride of fantasy in the distant land! O most generous freedom. In your search obstacles become easy, and dangers something to be desired. To you we came from every clime, high hopes our aim, courage our only weapon, and faith our sole provision. An immigrant from the East was I, one among many, journeying in the midst of the darkness of dangers, with the din of endless caravans moving between the East and the West. With the birds I sang tunes of longing; and your name was sweet in my mouth, refreshing my heart.

"When at long last the ship pulled close to the majestic setting of your shores outside the New York Port, and I saw your stately statue rising high, its arm outstretched towards heaven, illuminating the paths of those who seek after freedom, its light flooded my heart, and I fell before it and worshipped, and my soul reached out and kissed its very foundations, and circumambulated its sanctuary in the manner the pilgrims circumambulate the Kaaba.

"Then I entered the land of rich opportunities, obtainable high hopes, and noble principles, and the eyes of my soul opened with knowledge. I took upon myself a new garment, a garment of ambition and high ideals.

"The land of freedom received me as a mother would receive one of her children, and addressed me saying, 'Take of my bounties whatever your industrious hand could reach, and shake off the dust of fear for you are free.

"I then realized that I have not come to an alien land where I shall sojourn as a stranger, but to a new homeland.

"And in your noble principles I was schooled, O America.

"My first lesson was the Fourth of July.

"I saw your sons celebrate a great day, and I joined the crowds, without knowing anything of the history of that day.

"Later, however, I understood the significance and the intent of that day: I came to know how the tree of freedom grew in America; how heroes watered it with their own blood, and underwent for its preservation great difficulties, and suffered for its maintenance painful tribulations.

"I then read the Declaration of Independence, and learnt, 'that all men are created equal', and 'that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"I then realized that the Fourth of July is linked with Heaven.

"And that it represents the history of freedom and the symbol of its very idea which has come from above. That its annual celebration represents new garments with which the sons of America renew their pledge to support and maintain these rights. That its celebration constitutes, as it were, worship in the temple of freedom, wherein to glorify its name and observe its rituals.

"It represents the struggle between liberty and oppression, and the fight against every tyrant that seeks to trespass against the rights of men.

"The Fourth of July is not like the Days of the Arabs or of the Greeks in ancient times. Those were days commemorating local battles in the description of which poets went to extremes, singing the praise of heroic deeds now well nigh forgotten. The Fourth of July, however, is the Day of Freedom, past, present, and future. It has today a special significance: of steadfast endurance and sacrifice. For do you not see, as I see, that the hopes of all the enslaved peoples, whose freedom has been downtrodden and destroyed, wait upon it. Around its glorious banner the flags of all nations are gathered for a glorious struggle: a struggle for the preservation of a free life. From the hidden folds of the future the souls of coming generations hie from every nation and every creed with hands outstretched and lifted voices saying, 'O, Day of the Freedom of America! Be to us, O glorious day, a guarantee for a happy and righteous future.'

"And I the Immigrant, by the grace of God of Arab origin, and by the grace of God and of America free, I well know that the

Fourth of July has its immortal place among the great dates of history.

"Steadfast in faith, I shall look with hope towards a day of freedom encompassing the whole world."

AN APPEAL TO THE ARABIC-SPEAKING PEOPLES
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

From As-Sayeh, New York, June 25, 1942

"We, the Arab immigrants, know more of the affairs of the world than (our brethren) who are left behind in the 'old country,' not, indeed, because we are more learned, but because we happen to be in a better position to view the realities of the world which is separated from them by great seas and extensive lands.

"Indeed some of our brethren in the Arab Lands may be, because of their particular political predicaments, isolated from the rest of the world, unaware of the facts, oblivious of what is actually taking place throughout the world; or they may be unwilling to look beyond the limits of their own lands, and include within the confines of their horizon things beyond their own interests and traditions.

"The entire world is today in the throes of a tremendous tribulation. It is, as it were, like a patient tossing on a bed of pain, haunted by fears and seeing nothing but frightful visions, feeling nought but anguish, his heart depressed, and his mind confused. In the midst of these strangest of all strange events he is driven to seek solace in solitude, whenever that is possible, haply he would hear nought, feel nought, see nought, and know nought of what is afflicting God's creation and God's land.

"Solitude and isolation are of no avail. The storm is raging and threatens everything on the surface of this earth

with destruction and death. Yet we know that some of the Arabic-speaking peoples contemplate nothing but isolation. This is, indeed, a very grave error. Neither isolation nor running away from reality, no matter how unpleasant the reality, is of any avail.

"Those who consider this war merely a universal conflict, involving only a victor and a vanquished, are indeed ignorant, unable to see beyond the material results of the present struggle.

"Ye Arabs! This war is a war for existence itself - for life. It is a struggle between democracy and freedom on the one hand and aggression and oppression on the other. It is a war wherein, if democracy wins, man will for ever be free. If, however, aggression should win no free people shall remain on earth, but man shall be driven back to barbarism.

"For this reason (and we do know this while most of our Arabic-speaking peoples are not aware of it), the United States has risen to the support of democracy and freedom, to the end that this world might be purged of the powers of darkness and evil, and for the purpose of insuring victory for those worthy of a free life.

"Brethren throughout the Arabic-speaking world! Today, we, your brethren in the United States of America, freely do what our government is doing: It has pledged its industry, its wealth, and man-power to free the world from the yoke of the Nazi devil. We, likewise, have pledged our wealth, blood, and life to the support of militant democracy, so that the world might be freed and purified

from aggression and the advocates of aggression, of whose propaganda we urge you to beware, hoping that you will not succumb to its baits and false promises, since it is nought but the instrument of deception, betrayal, tyranny, greed cunning, corruption, and slavery.

"We (Arab immigrants) in America are for America, and America is for the Allies who have in mind at the present time nought but one thing: When ultimate victory is achieved they shall stand pledged for the new covenant, the covenant of freedom, brotherhood, and peace.

"We are for the United States which has accepted us as her children. She has not ceased to be our compassionate mother as well as the mother of the freedom of which you Arabs dream, the freedom for which she has dedicated her life and all, the freedom of which you shall have a goodly portion to enjoy.

"Beware, therefore, of fighting us, your American brethren, in thought, or deed, or word. Remember that as long as this war lasts we are among the soldiers of democracy. Our American government will watch over your freedom exactly as it watches over her own. Support us, therefore, and support thereby the cause of your own freedom. Help us by turning a deaf ear to Nazi propaganda to the end that we might help you to be with us free. Freedom is yours along with the nations which live by their spiritual values and labour for the highest human principles."

STATEMENT BY PROFESSOR PHILIP K. HITTI
TO THE ARAB WORLD ON THE OCCASION OF JULY 4, 1942

From Meraat-ul-Gharb, New York, July 3, 1942

"In the life of individuals and nations spiritual and cultural factors are of greater value and have a more profound influence than the material. This is the gist of the message which this young nation, that saw the light on July 4, 1776, sends to the world. It is also the thing which distinguishes it from the rest of the world, and constitutes the lesson which, through its good example, it offers to all peoples. A general glance at the history of its people, full, as it is, of noble deeds and unselfish sacrifices, of cultural campaigns and philanthropic enterprizes, carried out by them from the middle of the last century on in our own Arab East, as well as their foreign relations with the Philippine Islands and their weaker neighbours in the South and Latin Americas, and their giant military and diplomatic efforts during the first world war, all done without any desire for gain or personal advantage, is sufficient to prove the truth of this contention. Above all, we see them today pouring out billions of dollars, shedding rivers of their own blood, and dedicating their incomparable natural resources and their tremendous economic wealth for the support of human freedom, the triumph of the democratic principles, and the alleviation of the pains and miseries which afflict mankind.

"We of the Near East have the right to be pleased and gratified, nay, even proud, that these principles which the United States supports and the lesson which, by its own good example, it offers to the whole world, both have their origins in ideas and ideals which made their first appearance in human thought and experience in our own ancient lands; on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and on the banks of the Nile, and in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, for it was the Semites who first taught that 'man was created in the image of God,' and that no matter how modest or humble, he partakes of the divine; and that whereas he is a son of the one creator God he is a brother of every man; and that what God demands of man is to serve his fellowman and to endeavour to promote his happiness and betterment, not to seek his slavery and bondage. That is the good seed which our three monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, have planted, and which have found in this latter day a fertile soil in our American lands; and the people of America have nurtured it and tended it to bring forth a hundred fold. They alone among the moderns have been fully faithful to their charge."

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Princeton, N. J.
July 12, 1942.

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: As-Sayeh's Appeal to the Arab World.

On June 28, 1942, I reported an appeal which appeared in As-Sayeh, June 25, 1942. A week later a score of appeals by eminent Arabic-speaking Americans apeared in different papers (see my report of July 5, 1942, on "July 4 and the Arabic-speaking World." Although at the time I reported the appeal of As-Sayeh I was unaware of it, it is in fact one of these appeals. As-Sayeh, however, anticipated the occasion for which they were solicited (July 4).

Through Professor T. Leslie Shear, I was asked to prepare an English translation of As-Sayeh's appeal, and supply the Arabic original. Should this be for the purpose of making use of the appeal, I wish to suggest, in view of the other twenty-odd appeals that have since appeared, that the other two appeals enclosed in the original Arabic and the English translations which I prepared, be taken into consideration. (Incidentally all these appeals have been sent to Egypt to be published in the Arabic press there.) All the appeals are similar in contents. I selected the best from the stand point of coherence and style. Professor Hitti's (1.9) represents the measured sanity of the scholar; Mr. Arida's (1.8) is in the Arabic original a masterpiece of literary composition. As such it will be the most valuable, since the Arab is swayed by language as by nothing else. Hitti's is sane and sober in both the original and the translation. Arida's may sound too flowery in the English version, but in the original, it is what the Arab would like to hear. It is far superior to that of As-Sayeh.

Near East

July 3, 1942

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT E. SHERWOOD:

Attached herewith is a memorandum we have received from Nebih Amin Faris on the subject of an editorial appearing in AS-SAYEH and which Mr. Faris thinks should be used in our radio broadcasts. 4.9.2

Mr. Faris is an instructor in the Department of Oriental Languages at Princeton University -- a Druze.

If you are interested in this, we shall be very glad to furnish you with the original editorial in Arabic and a translation in English.

4.10.3

(Initialed) J. C. W.

John C. Wiley.

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June 28, 1942.

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: An Appeal to the Arabic-speaking Peoples throughout the World

[As-Sayeh, New York, June 25, 1942.]

In an editorial, As-Sayeh addresses an appeal to the Arabic-speaking peoples throughout the world. They are told of the gravity of the situation in which the world has been plunged by the aggressor nations. They are warned that on the outcome of this titanic struggle depends the future of the entire world, including the Arabic-speaking world; that they cannot isolate themselves and let others fight the battles of democracy; that they can best help the democratic cause by shunning the baits of Axis propaganda; and that the Arabic-speaking elements in the United States have pledged themselves to fight for the cause of freedom, the banner of which is, and will remain, held high by the United States. They are assured that the United States will watch over their freedom exactly as it watches over its own freedom.

[As-Sayeh is a paper published twice a week, and is primarily interested in literature. Its editor is well esteemed as a writer and a sane thinker, respected throughout the Arabic literary world. Wherever the appeal is read it is apt to command respect and attention. Some questions, however, arise. Why was the appeal made? The Arabic-speaking elements in the United States are in the main loyal, and have already contributed much towards the war effort. The appeal is not for home

An Appeal to the Arabic-speaking Peoples throughout the World (cont.)

consumption. It is, as it claims to be, addressed to the Arabic-speaking peoples throughout the world. The first reason for the appeal is the turn of events in North Africa and Egypt which has brought the Arabic-speaking world to the fore, and threatens to make their land the decisive battle ground. Therein is the second front. The second reason is the genuine desire on the part of the editor to see his people take a more active part in the battle for freedom on the side of its defenders, the United Nations. The third reason is perhaps the recent article by Dr. Judah L. Magnes, Chancellor of the Hebrew University, in which, among other things (see report of June 21, 1942, on "Arab-Jewish Coöperation in Palestine"), he reproaches the Arabs for not being universally on the side of the United Nations. Arab thinkers, like the editor of As-Sayeh, while fully understanding the position of their former compatriots and the history behind their passive stand, deplore the sad fact that the Arabs have not risen to the occasion and given the United Nations their unstinted help. This appeal, if it ever reaches the audience for which it is intended, may exert a great influence upon them. Why not have it broadcast?]

Jewish 1.7

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Haddad

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August 6, 1942

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Mr. George Allen
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

The following is a literal translation of the article which appeared in As-Sameer of Brooklyn under the date of June 26, 1942:

"'Glad Tidings for the Arabs'

"Readers of As-Sameer recall the historic address which was delivered by Mr. Sumner Welles on Memorial Day, May 30, and which we transmitted to the readers of this paper and which contained the following paragraph:

> "'Indeed the days of empire are gone and have become a thing of the past. After this war, small nations will be accorded their rights in determining the type of government which they desire as well as the right to choose the governments which they want.'

"No sooner had this address been made public in this great nation than newspapers proceeded to comment upon it editorially and to read into it various deductions. This led the Rev. Mikhail Dhibah, who does not allow an opportunity pass without rendering a service to his compatriots, to write to Mr. Welles asking him to clarify his position towards the Palestine problem, and whether or not Palestine was in his mind when he made that famous historic statement.

"We offer to the readers the Arabic version of the Rev. Dhibah's letter and that of the State Department's reply:

'Atlanta, Georgia
June 2, 1942

"'Mr. Sumner Welles
Acting Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

"'I have read with admiration your address which you delivered yesterday, Memorial Day. I was particularly pleased with the sentence contained in that speech the gist of which is "that the days of empire are gone, they have become a thing of the past; and that the ideal for which this war is being fought is to free peoples from the net of imperialism and to give them their right of self-government and the right to select the type of government which they desire."

"'I wonder, was Palestine in your mind when you spoke this sentence? Will our government permit the British government to embark upon a renewed struggle with the Arabs after this war?

"'I am, my dear sir, of Arab descent, and know well Arab predilections and tendencies, as well as their determination never to relinquish their right in Palestine for the Jews, no matter what the cost might be, or how great the difficulties and trials might prove. Will, therefore, our government permit or condone an inevitable war between Britain and the Arabs for the sake of Zionism?

"'Accept, dear sir, my respect, and be assured of my loyalty, always.

'(Signed) The Rev. Nikhail Dhibah
Incumbent Priest of the Syrian-
Orthodox Church of Our Lady in
Atlanta, Georgia'

"Shortly afterwards, the Reverend Father received from the State Department the following letter which indicates that the Palestine problem will be settled in a way agreeable to the Arabs, and that the United States government is not unaware of the disturbances that would take place after this war between Britain and the Arabs in the event the London government should insist upon the inforcement of the Balfour Declaration and upon giving that dear part of the Arab world to a people who have no right therein save that they have colonized it for a short period of time and were driven out from it two thousand years ago.

"What follows is a literal translation of that reply:

"'The Rev. Mikhail Dhibah
Incumbent Priest of the Syrian-Orthodox
Church of Our Lady
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Father Dhibah:

"'I beg to inform you that your letter of June 2, 1942, addressed to the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Welles, was duly received.

"'We have been pleased to learn of your views and opinion concerning the Palestine problem. Likewise we desire to assure your reverence your thoughts and views which you imparted to us are constantly in our mind.

Sincerely yours,

'(Signed) Wallace Murray
Advisor in Diplomatic
Relations in the State
Department'

"This is the reply of the State Department to the letter of Father Dhibah. This paper has no doubt at all that, in the present crisis, the State Department would avoid going beyond this declaration. Therefore, let the Arabs rest assured concerning Palestine. They should not, however, overlook the fact that the dangers which threaten the fate of Palestine still remain, and will continue to exist until the problem is finally settled. In this connexion we wish to thank our friend the fighting Father and the true Arab for his loyalty and devotion in the service of the Palestinian Arab problem."

I hope that this will be of use to you. I can supply the original Arabic text if you wish.

Sincerely yours,

Signed: Roy

B. H. Meritt

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August 7, 1942

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J.C.W.

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August 6, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILEY:

An article entitled "Anglo-Arabian Friendship" appeared in the Arabic-language newspaper, AL-AKHLAK of New York, on July 31. Mr. Nabih Amin Faris of Princeton reports that it makes mention of the presence in Juddah, Saudi Arabian port, of 960 Italian sailors and 26 German technicians who were forced to seek refuge there after their ships had been sunk by British task forces in the Red Sea.

Mr. Faris notes that these men are interned for the duration of the war. Yet he observes that their presence in Juddah is not without danger, for they have freedom of movement in Juddah and there is no guarantee that they are not in contact with Axis agents in the Yemen whose potentate, Mr. s otes, is at heart pro-Italian and an enemy of Ib_ Saud.

B. D. Meritt

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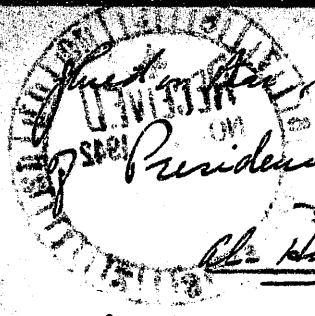
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON NEW JERSEY

Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures

Dear Dr. Merritt:

Sorry you missed me yesterday and am surprised that Fahs did not give you full report on the reaction of the Arabic press in the U.S. to the N. African campaign. As I am going tomorrow to N.Y. for a two-day conference and am behind all along the line I don't think I might give you this informal report right away. 3.1 cpy.

In a word the reaction was one of elation, not a single jarring note that came to my attention. I do not keep the papers but remember an editorial in Mirsaat-ul-Shark in which, among other things, the statement is made that the Arabic language has been honored by having the President use it as a means of conveying his thoughts to the Arab rulers & peoples of N. Africa. Remember that Arabic is considered as a sacred language [all Moslems & is highly respected [all Arabic speakers. I have on my desk Al Sameer of Nov. 24, which in an editorial entitled "Roosevelt & the Arabs" states that Arabs everywhere are nowadays centering their eyes on the White House whence their immediate succor & ultimate liberation shall come. The editor urges Arabs everywhere to unite in their loyalty to America & struggle against tyranny. "From their ancient cities rich in monuments of relics [the past as well as from their humble & modern villages & from their Sahara abodes they [Arabs] have now their eyes



star which appeared to shine suddenly in the person
President Roosevelt amidst a sky of dark gloom."

The Hindu in an editorial of the same date entitled
America & the the leaders of the Arab lands" emphasizes that while
the Arab lands have lost their faith in the repeated words &
promises of the imperialistic powers of Europe they are convinced
that the American peoples have no selfish aim and keep their
word once they make it. "It is this lack of imperialistic designs
on the part of America that makes it loved & respected of all Arabs
& of all lovers of freedom". In the edition herein lies the secret of
the difference between the attitude of the Arabs to the U.S. & their attitude to the European powers.

Hope that the above will give you a glimpse
of what the general tone is & with warm greetings

Sincerely

Philip Hitti

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Foreign Nationalities Branch

January 7, 1943

Memorandum for the Director of Strategic Services
Department of State
Office of War Information

Col. Donovan, Capt. Goering, Alan Cranston, Béle

In a memorandum of January 4, 1943, it was reported that the New York Al-Hoda published on December 23, 1942, a telegram purporting to come from a certain Butrus Tuma in Washington, relating that the United States would soon accord full recognition to Syria and the Lebanon as independent republics, and that General Patrick Hurley would be the President's special representative to the two countries. Substantially the same information, it has been learned, was published on December 28, 1942, by the Brooklyn As-Sameer as a cable from London with the Daily Sketch cited as source.

Al-Hoda and As-Sameer are competitive and antagonistic Arabic-language journals. The former is an advocate of Lebanon separatism, and has steadily been pro-French, whereas As-Sameer has for some time argued for an American mandate in Syria and the Lebanon.

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DeWitt C. Poole

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OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION
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Foreign Nationalities Branch January 4, 1943

Memorandum for the Department of State
Office of War Information

In the December 23rd (1942) issue of Al-Hoda, leading New York Arabic-language newspaper, there was a heading "Will America Recognize the Independence of Syria and the Lebanon Soon?" Under this heading Al-Hoda published a telegram received from a certain Butrus Tuma of Washington which states that "the President of the United States has decided to send General Patrick Hurley as his special personal representative to the republics of Syria and the Lebanon and that on Hurley's arrival the United States will officially recognize the independence of the two republics."

There are no comments by Al-Hoda and no authority is cited for the telegram except the said Tuma. It has not yet been possible to learn the identity of Mr. Tuma.

Initialed - D.C.P.

DeWitt C. Poole

DCP:mfk
Dispositions: Mr. Berle, Mr. Cranston, Colonel Donovan, Secretariat

C. O. I. - F. N. - MASTER COPY
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C.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

WITH Foy Kohler
Department of State

SUBJECT Arabic

FOR F.N.B. W. J. Gold

DATE January 7, 1943 INITIATIVE WJG

PLACE Washington, D. C.

[X] BY TELEPHONE

[] FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

3.1.1

I told Mr. Kohler that we had just learned of the publication in As-Sameer of substantially the same story concerning American recognition of Syrian and Lebanese independence which Al-Hoda published on December 23 as a telegram from Butrus Tuma in Washington. As-Sameer credited the story to a London cable with the Daily Sketch as source.

Mr. Kohler was very interested in the item, and asked if we had yet been able to discover the identity of Mr. Tuma. I replied that we were looking into the matter. Mr. Kohler said that the only other place that there was any suggestion of General Hurley's being sent to the Near East as a special representative had come, ironically enough, in the Day, the Yiddish-language daily of New York, which hoped that General Hurley would be able to curb the alleged anti-Semitic tendencies of George Wadsworth.

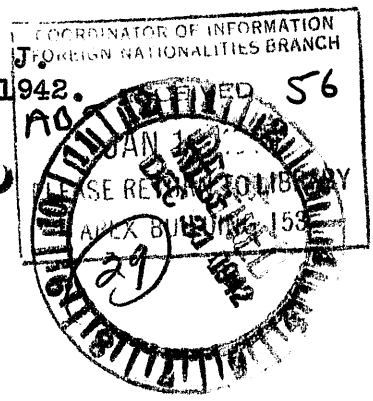
I told Mr. Kohler we would put the item into a brief note and send it to him. He expressed his gratitude.

WJG

(6723)

O.

Near East R



Princeton, N. J.
December 27, 1942.

56

To: DeWitt C. Poole

RESTRICTED

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Syrian and Lebanese Independence

[Al-Hoda, New York, December 23, 1942.]

Under the heading "Will America Recognize the Independence of Syria and the Lebanon Soon?", al-Hoda publishes a telegram received from a certain Butrus Tuma, Washington, D.C., which states that "the President of the United States has decided to send General Patrick Hurley as his special personal representative to the republics of Syria and the Lebanon, and that on Hurley's arrival the United States will officially recognize the independence of the two republics."

[No comments are made by al-Hoda. No other authority is cited for this telegram except the said Tuma. But it again emphasizes the interest of the Syrio-Americans and the Lebanese-Americans in the future status of their original homelands.]

Telephoned to Kohler
Dec Jan. 4. 1943

Kohler
3474

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Report Number 5 CONFIDENTIAL

Dr.Tannous informs me that there is considerable satisfaction among the Arab-Americans with the present developments in North Africa. On the one hand the Maronite group feels encouraged by the cooperation of Gen. Giraud with the American forces because the presence of French officers is symbolic to them of the continued presence and assistance of their traditional protector against the non-Christian Arabs, France; on the other hand the Moslem Arabs are heartened by the actual presence of America's armed might. Despite the disillusionment of the last war and the failure of the Crane Commission to accept their appeal that the United States be their sponsor their faith in our non-imperialistic motives is strong.

Apprehension is felt,however, over the recent strong publicity given to forming an independent Jewish Army. In such an army the Nationalist Arabs see the beginning of an armed force that would not be disbanded at the end of the present War, but would exert itself to drive the Arabs from Palestine without further ado.

F.F.B.Jr.

NY-FNO-Sit-2

The Interpreter

Published by the General Extension Division, University of Minnesota
EDUCATION A LIFELONG PROCESS

Vol. XVII | NOVEMBER, 1942 | No. 3

Nearer the Arab Near East

By Afif Tannous
(Instructor in Sociology)

Author's note: *The opinions in this article are based upon my personal experiences in the countries of the Arab Near East, especially Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine. It is my sincere hope that what I am going to say will be of some help in the development among our people of an understanding of that strategic part of the world and a consciousness of the common interests we have with its people. Without such understanding and consciousness by the masses of our citizenry, it is impossible for our leaders to champion adequately the message we have proclaimed to the world—The Four Freedoms.*

Editor's Note: Mr. Afif Tannous, author of "Nearer the Arab Near East," was born in Syria and got his undergraduate training at the American University of Beirut. He worked in rural sociology in Syria, Palestine, and the Sudan. Now as instructor in rural sociology at the University of Minnesota, he is also teaching a class for the Extension Division, **Social and Cultural Life of the Near East,** which people may still enter as auditors. Immediately after class, he conducts a small seminar for those wishing to study Arabic.

IT should be helpful, at the start, to remind ourselves of the cultural debt we owe the Near East. We have old debts, and heavy ones: the alphabet; numerals; the translation and revival of Greek science and philosophy during the dark ages; foundations of chemistry, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and dentistry; scores of Arabic words in our language, such as *Aldebaran, Altair, nadir, alkali, chemistry, algebra, logarithms, alfalfa, almanac.* Consciousness of such cultural indebtedness is a good antidote for our ethnocentrism, and should help us evaluate with a sense of perspective our services to and our interest in the Near East.

Between 1880 and 1890 the people of the Near East discovered America. Some came to the United States. They loved the country and stayed. Hundreds followed, then thousands. At present we have about half a million of these people living here, permanent citizens of their adopted country. They encountered no conflict in adopting full loyalty to the United States, for they never owed genuine allegiance to the foreign powers that ruled their native country. Since their settlement here they have been in constant touch with their people in the old country, sending them money and giving them much of the American way of life. They helped establish schools in the old villages, where children were taught from American books. In recent years, when the movement for national freedom began to take a definite and active form in the various Arab countries, immigrants from those countries lent the movement their active support. Their influence went far in directing the course of the nationalist movement towards the democratic ideal, the way of life they enjoyed in the United States.

ABOUT 1850, American religious missions began a long career of extremely fruitful educational work in Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. At the beginning, the message of the missions was primarily sectarian—conversion of the people, Christian and Moslem, to a specific Christian sect. Educational service was secondary. Response to this purely sectarian message was in general lukewarm or antagonistic. Misunderstanding was inevitable. Later, missions placed primary emphasis on their educational message, giving the people—without sectarian labels and rituals—an American Christian way of life that would speak for itself and prove its worth. The response of the people to this approach has been enthusiastic, and much of the early misunderstanding and suspicion have died out.

Scores of elementary schools were established in the villages, where for the first time children came in contact with modern education. It was the American form of education, according to the American school curriculum. Later, high schools were established in central towns. Thousands of young people, boys and girls, flocked to these schools. They learned the fundamentals of knowledge, and with that they learned a great deal of the American way of life. This educational movement culminated in the development of three great American universities—in Cairo, Beirut, and Istanbul—which have since been beacons of enlightenment for the whole Near East. Achievements of the greatest of these, the American University of Beirut, will be briefly mentioned.

Last year, with the battle of World War II raging on the fields of the strategic Near East, the American University of Beirut celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary. Twenty-five years ago, in the thick of World War I, the same university celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. Despite the destructive hand of two world wars, this American institution carried on its educational services and its almost unique message of cultural understanding between the West and the Near East. It is beyond the scope of this article to describe the dramatic history and the great achievements of this institution. But we can mention a few of them: 1) making research contributions of international significance; 2) organizing an Arab nationalist society, which was the first seed of the modern Arab movement for national freedom; 3) organizing the Brotherhood Society, the first of its kind in the Near East, which went very far in making the various religious sects understand and tolerate each other; 4) introducing among the student body parliamentary procedure and free speech, which had been denied the people by their rulers of the old Turkish regime; 5) introducing coeducation, for the first time in the history of the Near East; 6) serving as a dynamic center of national contact for youths from the various Arab countries, and of cultural contact between the West and the Near East; 7) supplying the Arab countries with the cream of their leadership in professional, political, and governmental fields. Among these Arab leaders have been business men, teachers, lawyers, doctors, directors of departments, cabinet ministers, and prime ministers. Each one of them, in his own field, has been to some degree a messenger of the American way of life.

MORE recently, the Near East Foundation of New York, a philanthropic organization, began to approach the people

(Continued on page four)

THE INTERPRETER

Published monthly, except July and August, by the General Extension Division, University of Minnesota, at Minneapolis.
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Advisory Committee

T. A. H. Teeter H. B. Gislason A. H. Speer

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NOVEMBER, 1942

President Coffey's Answer

Editor's Note: *We are reprinting here for Extension students most of the first section from "President Coffey's Answer to Minnesota's Wartime Students Who Ask 'What Should I Do?'" The words of the president of our University are directed to evening students as well as to students in the day sessions.*

THE UNIVERSITY has an obligation to keep you constantly informed concerning developments relating to the war that inevitably affect you as students. This pamphlet discusses some of these developments. **You owe it to yourself to read what follows with the utmost care.**

The chairman of the federal Man Power Commission recently said that the time is close at hand when only those students will be in college who are directly preparing themselves for war work. The Man Power Commission has formally approved this statement: "All students, men and women, must be preparing themselves for active and competent participation in the war effort and supporting civilian activities."

The Secretary of War has announced that men in the Enlisted Reserve Corps will be called to active status upon reaching Selective Service age; for some this active status may involve special training on college campuses, as determined by the War Department.

There is a general belief that the Selective Service age will soon be dropped from twenty to eighteen years. This will certainly mean revision and reconsideration of Selective Service policies as they relate to deferment.

These are but a few straws in the wind that indicate that the time is not far distant when every college student must justify his presence on a campus.

One point is important, however, and on it there is general agreement: **The need for the training that colleges can give is more pressing than ever before, and grows more pressing every day.** Every branch of the armed forces, industry, and governmental agencies calls for men and women with special abilities and special training. If ever a speech made this point clear, the recent speech by General Somervell did. Said the General: "Our army today is an army of specialists. Out of every 100 men inducted into service, 63 are assigned to duties requiring specialized training." So it is in the Navy, also.

The problem that faces you, then, is not "Should I go to the University?" That has been answered affirmatively on every hand. Your question is, rather: "Now that I am in the University, what courses should I take that will be of greatest advantage to me and of maximum service to the country in the present war emergency?" This question is one for the women as well as the men. In this war, service is not limited to men alone—as England is amply demonstrating, and as the quotation from the Man Power Commission above implies.

Since everyone sooner or later will be called upon for war service, your problem reduces itself to "How can I best serve?"

Serving best requires adequate training. It means laying a sound foundation upon which later service will rest. Your period in the University—whether for one quarter, two or three quarters, perhaps a year or more—is your opportunity to lay a sound foundation.

.

One final word—Should you be called to the armed forces or drop out of college to enter upon service that is supplementary to the war program, any work that you do in these months immediately ahead, and in courses such as these we are calling to your attention, will not be wasted. This is not the time to discuss fine points of college credit—but rest assured that **whatever you accomplish during these pre-service days will eventually be counted toward the degree we hope you will ultimately obtain.** Furthermore, if these courses seem unbalanced in the light of broad educational foundations we associate with a college or university education, it should be remembered that we do expect that interruption of a college course will be temporary, and that eventually you will be back to pursue your education further; and at that time you will have opportunity to take the types of academic work that make for a well-rounded education. They are not to be lost from sight—merely held in abeyance while more pressing types of training are followed.

The primary job, at the moment, is to get ready for the next things you will be called upon to do.

W. C. COFFEY,
President

Deutsch at Convocation

The second convocation of the current school year will take place in the Men's Lounge of Coffman Memorial Union at 8:15 p.m., Thursday, November 19. Dr. Harold C. Deutsch, Associate Professor of History, will talk on "What's Behind the News from the War Fronts."

This is the same title by which Dr. Deutsch's radio talks are introduced each Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at 10:15 p.m. over Station WCCO. Dr. Deutsch is also popular with evening students through his extension class, "Europe in the Twentieth Century."

The first of this series of convocations arranged by the Evening Students' Association dealt with the Far East. Dr. Deutsch's talk will cover whatever fronts are in the news at the time but will probably emphasize the European situation. Later convocation speakers will deal with the Near East and Latin America, thus bringing evening students a comprehensive picture of World War II and some of its most important fronts.

War Reading Room

By being open two evenings a week, the War Reading Room, 108 Library, is now accessible to Extension students as well as to students in the day session. The room, sponsored by the University to encourage an informed interest in problems of the war and the peace, contains maps, posters, charts, pamphlets, and bulletins. Materials for the room are supplied through the University's Key Center of War Information, and come from governmental offices, from the offices of other countries, and from private organizations. The Library provides the room with pertinent books from the Library's stacks. The War Reading Room will be open every Tuesday and Wednesday evening, during the regular session of the University, from 7:00 till 9:00. It is open on week days from 10:00 a.m. till 5:00 p.m.; on Saturday from 10:30 a.m. till 1:00 p.m. Extension students are urged to make full use of the resources of the room so that they may follow the course of the war and help plot the course of the peace.

WLB and Correspondence

Radio station WLB has been broadcasting **American History 20, 21,** and **22** on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday from 8:30 to 9:15 a.m. Mr. Ernest S. Osgood, Associate Professor of History, is giving the lectures. The service will provide increased efficiency and pleasure if the listeners will register for the correspondence study course and study it along with the broadcasts. University credit may then be earned by taking the examinations. Write the Correspondence Study Department for further details.

Books in Review

"Books were never more important to this country than they are today. The questions which must be decided, the issues which must be resolved, are, many of them, questions and issues which only books can properly present. The profoundly searching questions, for example of the order and form of the post-war world are questions for which books and books alone provide an adequate forum. And the basic question—the insistent question—of the true nature of the time which we live is a question which demands the space and confines of a book. This time has not yet been discovered by the men and women who inhabit it, and only the voyages of the most courageous books will show us what it is."—**Archibald MacLeish**

LAST TRAIN FROM BERLIN

By Howard K. Smith. Alfred Knopf. New York. 1942.

Reviewed by Arnold Stein

Most of us have read too many books by returning foreign correspondents. The type, with its virtues and its faults, has lost much of its freshness. Having been a foreign correspondent seems no longer, as perhaps once it did, sufficient justification for writing a book. And the journalist who really has things to say and—even rarer—who can really write, would do well to put aside the temptations of his trade. It is not enough to rehash the cold leftovers of last year's news and garnish them with new gossip and "authoritative" anecdotes. Somehow the new, sensational, couldn't-be-revealed-until-now news is never more than jacket-deep in such a book. The eye-witness, when he writes a year after we have read about the event, must have more than his eyes to recommend him. He will write a good book only if he has a mind that can resist elaborating on the **what**, a mind that can grapple significantly with the **why**.

Howard K. Smith's *Last Train From Berlin* is not, as the publisher's jacket announces, in black print upon a yellow background, "Perhaps the most sensational book that has come out of Germany since the beginning of the war." Its faults are mainly those of the type to which it belongs. Its virtues, and it has many, are those of a book written by a young man who cannot be satisfied with the sensational, not even perhaps the most sensational—a young man who has an independent, searching, irrepressible desire to know.

First let us get the faults out of the way. Most important, perhaps, is the journalist's lack of perspective: he is too close to the event; he sees only one side, and he sees that so intensely that he is tempted to oversimplify, and to explain everything in terms of what he has seen. Hitler changes from the apotheosis of the little man to the great conqueror: our evidence is Mr. Smith's eye-witness analysis of Hitler's facial expression and bearing. This may be a minor matter. Other simplifications are not. Mr. Smith writes a long detailed account of the weaknesses of the Nazi home front. The account is impressive, and apparently convincing. At least it prompted, in a recent *New Republic*, an eloquent editorial announcing the end of the Nazi Revolution. It reminds one, rather uncomfortably, of the pre-war journalism that elaborated endlessly and innocently on the irrationalities and fundamental weaknesses of the Nazi social structure. We have learned enough about total war to know that armies do not long remain efficient in the field without an efficiently organized society at home. Yet there is nothing in Mr. Smith's account to explain how the Nazi armies, with the home front deteriorating, have in large measure swept everything before them.

Still Mr. Smith, in spite of his casual neglect of the sources of Nazi power, in spite of occasionally careless writing and organization that reveal the pressure of haste, has written a valuable analysis of the Nazi home front. For even a one-sided analysis can indeed be valuable—when that one side is exhaustively studied on many different levels, and from several different angles of approach.

All classes of the German civilian population are examined—before the war, before the campaign against Russia, during that campaign.

Everywhere in German civilian society the author finds a progressive lowering of morale. People are sick, in body and mind. Little family parties have become occasions for getting viciously drunk. There is a new morbid interest in quack sciences and superstitions. "Outside the armaments industry, the only business which is making big money in Germany is the patent-medicine industry." Nerves are taut. "People with pale, weary, dead-pan faces which a moment ago were in expressionless stupor can flash in an instant into flaming, apoplectic fury, and scream insults at one another over some triviality or an imaginary wrong." The deterioration has been accumulative, but the Russians have speeded the process. Gone are the balmy days when there was enthusiasm about Germany's cultural mission in the East; when the press published poems, "every single word of which was wrapped in a separate soft cloud telling how Germans had often consecrated Russian earth with their blood and were called on by a simple sense of duty to bear the blond-haired-man's burden." Gone are the balmy days when "Everybody was going to be rich. Every Aryan a millionaire."

Perhaps this is too good to be entirely true; many of us will think so. But Mr. Smith does not present this picture in order to promote complacence. Nor does he, to his praise, stop with this picture. He quotes with approval an old Alsatian priest: "Tell them we hate the Nazis; but we are not going to fight because we like plum-pudding better than we like *Apfelstrudel* . . . Give us something to fight for, and I promise you the armies will form; they will rise out of the very earth!"

Mr. Smith's concrete proposals on "How to Win Wars and Beat Nazis" call for our first beating them until they scream with anguish. But it will be costly and wasteful merely to beat people who keep on fighting "because they fear loss of the war to a world that hates them, more than they fear the loss of their individual lives." Beat them, yes. But make them understand that they have been fighting for the Nazi Party and for the Prussian military caste, not for the future of their wives and children. Make them understand (and let us first clearly understand it ourselves) that we are not fighting for plum-pudding, or apple pie, or the good old days—but for Total Democracy, economic as well as political. Make them understand that we shall hang the butchers, the torturers, and those who gave them their orders: the militarists, the arms-makers, the Nazi leaders, and the Nazi incurables; but that we shall include the German people as full-fledged members of *our* New Order—that of Total Democracy.

This is Mr. Smith's message. It makes sense, good sense. It makes the book a good one. But it makes us wish that the book, for the sake of its message, had been a better one.

Notices

Refunds on tuition fees are available on a pro-rata basis established by the Board of Regents to students who cancel their registrations, provided the student requesting the refund has not attended the class after its eighth week. Application for refund must be in writing, accompanied by a fee receipt, and must be submitted before the end of the semester during which the registration was made.

Students transferring from one course to another should notify the General Extension office of the change either by telephone or by letter.

Arab Near East

(Continued from page one)

of the Near East with a new type of educational message. They adopted for a motto "From the People of America to the People of the Near East." The principles of their message may be summed up as follows: 1) The Near East is predominantly rural, and its revival must be based primarily upon rural reconstruction. 2) Agriculture is the cornerstone of rural life; reforms should begin in agriculture and then be extended to other aspects of life. 3) Reform projects should be undertaken cooperatively with the people. (4) Reform projects should become self-perpetuating.

The Foundation has been working along these principles in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, and Transjordan for the past ten years. The influence of their practical educational message has been indeed far reaching in the various aspects of life in that region—agriculture, health, recreation, home life, literacy. It is significant to note that the native people had at first a suspicious attitude towards that message. It was too good to be true! They had never before experienced such a move by foreigners without ulterior motives. Gradually, suspicion disappeared, and in its place developed an attitude of enthusiastic appreciation of the American cultural message they were receiving.

Not only through education but also through trade, the historical vehicle of material contact and exchange between cultures, we have developed common interests with the people of the Near East. Our industrial products and our machinery have been in great demand in the markets of that part of the world. American automobiles of all makes have been rolling on the roads of those countries for the past twenty years. Most popular among these are the Chevrolet and the Ford, which have been nicknamed "the mountain goats"—a testimony to the durability and efficiency of the American car. American radios are installed in many homes in the villages and towns of Lebanon and Syria, and our modern farm machinery is rapidly replacing the ancient plow on their plains. One could go on listing scores of important industrial products which we have been marketing there. With each of these items, whether we have been conscious of it or not, something of the American way of life has been exported. Because of this important fact and because of some of the disinterested service we have rendered the people of the Near East, we are today in a unique position to sway them to our side in this critical war. Further, we are in a unique position to win them to believe in our war aims and cooperate with us in the establishment of a permanent peace. But the big question is—Are we fully conscious of this unique position of ours, and are we willing to take the initiative?

With respect to the political aspect of our relation with the Near East, we have there at the same time our weakest and strongest point. The weakness of our position lies in the fact that we have chosen, until very recently, to pursue a policy—or a lack of policy—of political isolation from the rest of the world. Despite the fact that we have been involved educationally, economically, and culturally in the Near East, we have refrained from shouldering our political responsibility. During World War I, the Arabs of the Near East revolted against the Turks and joined hands with the Allies, on the strength of promises by the Allies that the Arab countries would be set free, and of an absolute faith in the Fourteen Points proclaimed by President Wilson. At the end of the war, we shrank into our isolationism and left the settlement of the Near East question to other countries. Promises were disregarded, and the Arabs felt betrayed and disillusioned. They made a final appeal, in a majority popular vote to the well-known American Crane Commission, requesting the United States to be their sponsor and guide during their transitional period into the promised freedom. Whatever our reasons, we chose not to respond.

However we still have a trump card of political and moral influence, if we choose to use it. This is the fact that we have never been suspected by the Arabs of having any imperialistic motives in their countries. Our slate is relatively clean. Will we take up our responsibility?

Films and Records

The Bureau of Visual Instruction has added the following films and records to its lending library:

Fee

Land of Liberty (8 reels) $3.00

This is an historical pageant, presented in pictures, of the political and social progress of the United States. Its dominant theme is that the United States has become great because it has consistently and heroically fought for the rights and ideals for which it stands.

"Land of Liberty should be seen by every school child, every college student, every worker in the defense program, every citizen, because it will make them proud to be Americans. It reveals in human terms what democracy means to us. It shows what a stake each of us has in our land of liberty at a moment when the American way is being challenged as never before." An eight-page pictorial folder is available to film users.

The Growth of Democracy (10 double-faced 12-inch records)

The Bureau of Visual Instruction has recently acquired a set of ten double-faced, twelve-inch records at 78 r.p.m. These ten records present twenty important episodes in the development of democracy and democratic rights. With these goes a comprehensive Study Guide of 94 pages containing the scripts and suggestive questions and references for classroom work. There are two episodes on each record. The following episodes are recorded:

Magna Charta
Beginnings of Parliament
Freeing of the Serfs
Mayflower Compact
House of Burgesses
Petition of Right
New England Town Meeting
Public Education Begins
Penn and Religious Liberty
Bacon's Rebellion
Right of Habeas Corpus
Indictment of Slavery
Locke on Human Rights
Freedom of the Press
Search and Seizure Issue
Stamp Tax—Proposal
Stamp Tax—Opposition
American Outlook: 1775
Declaration of Independence
The Constitution

Produced by William Exton, Jr., in collaboration with Harry J. Carman, Ph.D., Columbia University and Erpi Classroom Films, Inc.

10 records for two days $1.50
5 records for two days 1.00

Hidden Hunger 50

This official film of the National Nutrition Program, starring Walter Brennan, has been seen by millions of theater-goers and will be released for nontheatrical showings, in 16 mm. size with sound track, on November 1. A reel of straight nutrition material has been added to the film for educational showings. The additional reel tells what foods make a balanced diet; how to choose them; how to store them; and how to prepare them. Specific information on meal planning is given and meals comparing the food requirements of a child, a factory worker, and a white collar worker are shown. A Teachers' Nutrition Manual and Quiz has also been prepared to accompany the film.

"Hidden Hunger" is the story of the malady from which two out of five persons in the United States suffer unknowingly.

Entered as second-class matter, October 2, 1926, at the post office in Minneapolis, Minn., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION



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WITH Barry Moore
Special War Policies Unit
Department of Justice

SUBJECT ~~Arabic~~

FOR F.N.B. WJG

DATE Jan. 23, 1943 INITIATIVE WJG

PLACE Washington, D. C.

[X] BY TELEPHONE

[] FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

I told Mr. Moore that the paper he had inquired about, Al-Arous, has been defunct since 1940.

WJG

(6723)

B.

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION



FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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WITH Mr. B. D. Meritt

SUBJECT Arabic

FOR F.N.B. WJG

DATE Jan. 23, 1943

INITIATIVE Mr. Meritt

[X] BY TELEPHONE

PLACE Princeton, N. J.

[] FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

I had asked Mr. Meritt if he could send us some statement on an Arabic weekly named Al-Arous, said to be published in Boston. Mr. Meritt said that it was his recollection that the paper had been dead since 1940.

WJG

(6723)

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JAN 16 1943
23

c.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

WITH Barry Moore
Department of Justice

SUBJECT Arabic

FOR F.N.B. W. J. Gold

DATE Jan. 14 and 15, 1943 INITIATIVE Mr. Moore

PLACE Washington, D. C.

[x] BY TELEPHONE

[] FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

The Department of Justice had been asked by Canadian Censorship for information on an Arabic paper called Al Arous. They had no information of any sort. I returned his call and told him that we had never read the paper but that our records showed it to be a weekly published in Boston at 41 Worcester St. Since Canadian Censorship showed some interest in the matter I said that I would see if we could ask one of our friends to volunteer a general summary of the paper and its personnel.

WJG

Near East

(7)

RESTRICTED

January 30, 1942.

NOTES ON THE ARAB PRESS

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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Al Istiklal of January 15, 1942.

An editorial by the Emir Emin Arslan, editor and proprietor of Al Istiklal, a bi-weekly Arabic paper published in Buenos Aires, dwells on the surprises of the present war, notably the fall of France despite all expert predictions of German collapse and French victory. The editorial goes on to warn against rash predictions concerning the war with Japan, and to advise people "to wait and see," suggesting that herein also the war might spring upon us new surprises favoring the Japanese, who, we are reminded, embarked upon this enterprise fully prepared for all eventualities.

The Emir Emin Arslan is the cousin of the Emir Shakib Arslan, for years a resident of Geneva and an active supporter of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

Ar-Rabitah, of January 16, 1942.

A call for a United States mandate over Syria and Lebanon was voiced by Elia D. Madey, editor and proprietor of Ar-Rabitah, an Arabic daily published in New York City. Reference was made to the King-Crane plebiscite in 1919 when the overwhelming majority of the population voted for a United States mandate over the country. Reaction to this call has not yet crystallized, although a few favorable replies and communications have been received by the editor.

Al-Huda of January 17, 1942.

The arrival of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in Berlin, sequel to the joint British-Russian operations in Iran, was the signal for a series

of attacks upon the Mufti by the leading Arabic daily of New York. While favoring the Arab cause in Palestine, Al-Hoda feels that in this present crisis, both Arabs and Jews should realize that their own little fight is of secondary importance, and that its solutions could and should wait until the final defeat of the Axis powers. It also feels that the Grand Mufti has been giving comfort to the enemy, and, therefore, should be repudiated. The same paper takes other Arabic papers in the country to task, and in no uncertain terms condemns their silence on this issue.

Mir'at al-Gharb of January 16, 1942.

Over sixty persons were present at a dinner held on Saturday, Jan. 10, 1942, at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York in honor of Jacques de Sieyes, General Charles de Gaulle's representative in the United States. N. Mokarzel, editor and proprietor of Al-Hoda, presided. De Sieyes is on his way to the Lebanon where he will assist General Catroux, the Free French representative in the Lebanese Republic.

February 5, 1942

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NOTES FROM THE ARAB PRESS

Al-Hoda, Jan. 27, 1942

On the occasion of the unification of the Jabal al-Druse and the 'Alawite Region with the Republic of Syria, the President of the Syrian Republic declared that the future of Syria, as well as that of the two regions now unified with it, is linked to that of the other Arab countries, and that this thought will never allow him or his government to forget their duty towards the other Arab countries.

Al-Qistas, Jan. 21, 1942

An editorial by al-Qistas, an Arabic paper published in Mexico City, acclaims Lebanese independence and the recognition thereof by the sister Republic of Syria, and expresses the hope that nothing more will be heard of Pan-Arabism.

Al-Hoda, Jan. 23, 1942

Moslems of Lybia, whose number has been halved after twenty years of Italian misrule, are jubilant over their emancipation from the Italian yoke. Their leader, Sayyid Muhammad Idris al-Sanusi, has expressed his thanks and those of his followers to the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, and has assured him of Moslem support.

As-Sameer, Jan. 23 28, 1942

This subject still agitates the Arabic-speaking press in the United States. The reaction to the idea, first expressed by the editor of As-Sameer, has been quick and favorable, and is gaining wide support with every passing day.

As-Sameer, Jan. 28, 1942

In a special declaration, al-Imam Khalil Bazzi, the religious head of the Moslem community in Detroit, Mich., the largest of its kind in the United States, calls upon his co-religionists in this country to rally behind the government in its all-out

NY-Int-Int-2
Box 2

effort to defeat the Axis Powers, and urges them to give generously for the support of the Red Cross. He further reminds his fellow Moslems that the democratic institutions of the United States and the justice of its laws offer the Moslems an ideological atmosphere akin to their own, conducive to their welfare. He also appeals to them to volunteer their services in the armed forces of the country and to fight in its defense.

Mir'at al-Gharb, Jan. 21, 1942
Al-Akhlaq, Jan. 23, 1942

The Maronite Patriarch of the Lebanon, whose spiritual and temporal authorities in his country resemble those of the Archbishop of Canterbury in England, has, in an encyclical letter, declared his support of the Allied cause, and has singled out President Roosevelt for special praise and prayers, lauding his leadership and acclaiming his deeds.

File - Chronological Memo

2-12-42

NOTES FROM THE ARAB PRESS

As-Sameer, February 2, 4, 1942

The subject of an American mandate over Syria and the Lebanon still agitates the readers of the As-Sameer. So far the reaction has been unanimously in favor of the mandate, though the danger of increased Zionist activity under an American mandate is pointed out. It is felt that Zionism is perhaps more influential in this country than in Great Britain, and, therefore, those who advocate such a mandate should be prepared for greater Zionist penetration, unless the Arabs of Palestine themselves stop selling their land.

Mir'at al-Gharb, February 2, 1942

Nuri Pasha al-Sa'id, prime minister of Iraq, announced that Iraq intends to join the twenty-six anti-Axis Powers and take a more active part in the war on the side of Britain, her ally. This announcement has been received enthusiastically in Arabic-speaking circles in this country, and it is hoped that Iraq will immediately join the Democracies in the fight against the Axis.

Al-Hoda, February 4, 1942

As further evidence is revealed that the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was and is still in the pay of the Axis Powers, and conducts on their behalf anti-Allied propaganda among the Arabs, the Arabic-speaking press in this country has called upon all the Arabs to declare the Mufti a quisling and to remember that their future welfare is linked with the Allied victory and the complete defeat of the Axis.

3.1.1 Near Orient

Assalam, January 30, 1942 (Assalam is published in Buenos Aires)

In the anticipation of their spring offensive through North Africa and through Turkey, the Germans are conducting intensive propaganda among the Arabs through their quislings: the Grand Mufti and the former prime minister of Iraq, who are urging upon the Arabs a general revolution. Such a revolution is to begin simultaneously with the German offensive.

Al-Husaini 1 1

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION: FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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CONFIDENTIAL

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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

No. 4 February 21, 1942

Syrian vs. Lebanese in the American-Arab World

A few weeks ago a Syrian and Lebanese committee was formed for the purpose of raising funds for the American Red Cross. The word Syrian figured more prominently in the letterhead than the word Lebanese. This led to heated controversy between the two Arabic-speaking groups, and a group of prominent Lebanese Americans called for a separate Lebanese committee for the same purpose. Middle-of-the-road leaders are now trying to reconcile the two extremes and keep the first committee, which represents both groups, intact.

The controversy is being discussed by all the Arabic-speaking papers in New York: al-Hoda echoes the Lebanese separatist sentiment; the other side is championed by As-Sameer; while the Mir'at al-Gharb occupies the middle of the road position.

A well-informed observer notes that the roots of the controversy lie much deeper than the mere name of the Red Cross committee. Though both groups are now Arabic-speaking, they have different racial and religious antecedents. The Lebanese are the descendants of the ancient Phoenicians, and are now by religion Christian. They inhabit the mountain regions of the Lebanon and the seashores of Syria. They have always

maintained some form of independence; even under the Turks, they were exempt from military duty and paid the Ottoman government no taxes. They were jealous of their autonomy, which they always maintained. Furthermore, they repeatedly suffered religious persecution at the hands of the Moslems. The last mass massacres took place in 1860, and the memory of those bloody days is still vivid in the minds of all Lebanese.

The Syrians, on the other hand, represent the Moslem majority of the land, and live in the interior around such metropolises as Damascus, Aleppo, Hims, etc. Perhaps they have in their veins a greater percentage of Arab blood. Consequently, unlike the Lebanese, they have always favored pan-Arabism; while the Lebanese were, and still remain, separatists.

The position of the Lebanese in the Arabic-speaking world (it is observed) resembles in some respect that of the Irish in the British Commonwealth of nations; a national and a religious tradition keeps them apart, and over shadows the heritage of a common tongue.

These facts, it is said, should be taken into consideration in all dealings with the Lebanese, especially since they constitute over eighty per cent of all the Arabic-speaking immigrants in the United States.

Near East

Coordinator of Information — Foreign Nationaliti s Branch

No. 5 — February 27, 1942

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Notes from the Arab Press in the U. S.

American Mandate over Syria and the Lebanon

This subject still agitates the Arabic-speaking press in New York. Hitherto the greater majority of the letters to the editor have approved the proposal, the only fear being that the United States might object the responsibility. Now comes the first letter openly opposing the proposal on the ground that this war is being fought either for the liberation of the world and the establishment of democratic governments therein, in which case, Syria and the Lebanon, as well as the other small nations will gain their independence and run their own affairs unmolested according to the principles of the Atlantic Charter; or this war is bein waged for the control of such small nations, and the Atlantic Charter is a farce. In that case there would be no difference between one tyranny and another. It is better to work, therefore, for a complete independence, and avail oneself of any aid, financial and economic, which the United States could and might offer. To seek a mandate or a protectorate is an evidence of weakness, incompatible with national self respect.

Defending the proposal of a United States mandate over the Arabic-speaking Near East, the editor of As-Sameer calls

attention to the fact that a closer and a more natural relation exists between Syria and Lebanon on the one hand and the United States on the other, because of the number of Americans of Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian origin. Furthermore, the realistic and practical outlook of American culture should temper the eastern outlook which has often been impractical.

What is more, according to the editor, were the United States to accept the responsibility, it will bring to an end British and French rivalries in the Near East.

As-Sameer, Feb. 12, 1942

A Jewish Army

The recent agitation in some American circles to induce the State Department to obtain the permission and approval of the British government for the formation of a separate Jewish army of 200,000 men, to be stationed in Palestine, ostensibly to relieve Australian and other British units now in the Holy Land so that they might be sent elsewhere, brought an almost immediate and unanimous reaction from the Arabic-speaking press in the United States. These papers, it should be remembered, represent a cross-section of public opinion in the Arabic-speaking world.

To these papers the scheme constitutes a veiled effort to further the political aims of Zionism. They have inquired

whether the advocates of the scheme are willing to see the formation of an "Arab" army as well and whether they are willing to have this Jewish army fight as a unit outside of Palestine? Why, they ask, in Palestine and nowhere else?

They have also brought out the fact that such a scheme is, in the opinion of many, embarrassing to Great Britain. It will certainly alienate the Arabic-speaking majority in Palestine as well as the Arabic-speaking world at large, whose interest in the Palestine problem is well-known, and will have repercussions among the Moslems of India, who have made the cause of the Arabic-speaking population of Palestine their own.

Furthermore, since the defeat of the Axis Powers is the goal of those who still believe in the democratic ideals, and upon which depends the future of all minorities, including the Jews, the latter are reminded that the Zionist problem is of secondary importance in this crisis. Only when the Axis Powers are completely defeated could the world become safe for minorities. Then the Jewish problem could be ultimately and satisfactorily solved.

Palestine cannot possibly offer asylum to all the Jews of the world -- 16,000,000 of them. The solution of the entire

Jewish problem should not be made solely a Palestinian issue.

As-Sayeh, Feb. 16, 1942

As-Sameer, Jan. 24 & Feb. 2, 12, 1942

Coordinator of Information — Foreign Nationalities Branch

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Near East

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

No. 7 March 6, 1942

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Notes on the Arab Press

Some of the Arabic-speaking papers in New York have given prominence in their columns to a report in the "New York Times", February 21st, of a conference to be held at Cairo on February 26 for the standardization of educational syllabuses throughout the Arab-speaking world. Hitherto pan-Arab conferences were held for political purposes of immediate nature. This particular conference seems removed from politics. It might, however, prove more far reaching than all previous conferences, since its ultimate aim is to weld the different parts of the Arabic-speaking world through a uniform and unified system of education. The basis of the so-called Arab Awakening has been cultural in the main. The chances for the success of the conference are, therefore, bright, although there will be dissenters, particularly the Lebanese, who prefer to remain outside any pan-Arab system, no matter what that system might be.

Observing the twenty-second anniversary of the Arab Revolution, the Emir Abdullah, prince of Transjordan, reinterated the aims of the Revolution and counselled his followers and all the "Arabs" to continue in the support of the Allied cause. Al-Hoda, February 25.

Vichy France's philandering with the Axis Powers is severely condemned in an editorial in "Al-Hoda", Feb. 25, while the State Department's "cool relations" with deGaulle and the Free French

are regretted.

The action of the government of Saudi Arabia in expelling from Juddah the Italian Consul has been hailed in As-Sameer, February 20, as a step in the right direction, and is cited as evidence of the readiness of Ibn Saud to cooperate with the democracies. A weak link (it is remarked) in the solidarity of the Arabic-speaking world behind the Allied cause may be found in the Yemen where the Italians had some commercial concessions and where they expended a great deal of money for gaining a foothold in that region. It is not unlikely that some of the leaders there are pro-Italian.

The editor of "Al-Hoda" discusses, Feb. 26, the importance of the newly constructed railroad line between Haifa and Tripoli which, in effect, links Europe with Africa, and hopes that it will enable the Allies to augment their preparation against any possible attempt by the Axis Powers to sweep through the Near East. The peace time importance of the new link is also treated.

The subject of a United States mandate over Syria and the Lebanon still agitates a section of the Arabic press in New York. This week's letters to the editor of "As-Sameer" favor the proposition and stress the special relationships which bind the Near East to this country.

According to "As-Sameer", Feb. 24, Dr. Gabriel Turbay, the new Colombian Minister to the United States, is of Lebanese parentage. His arrival as Minister evoked the applause of the Arabic-speaking community in this country.

Writing in "Al Istikal", of Buenos Aires, Jan. 15, on the Iraqi rebellion and subsequent flight of Rashid'Ali al-Jaylani and the death sentence pronounced against him in absentia, the Emir Emin Arslan blames the failure of the rebellion on the disunited state of the Moslems throughout the world, and reminds them that they can never shake off the imperialist yoke of the West unless they unite. He urges the 300,000,000 Moslems to come together and to unite, or else to accept the fate they have brought on themselves. So long as Moslems fight Moslems there is no hope for either pan-Islamism or pan-Arabism.

Discussing the extent of the aid given to Britain by Indians and other colonials, an unidentified writer, in "Al Istiklal", of Buenos Aires, Jan. 15, (quoted in "Al-Bayan", of New York) reminds his readers of Britain's broken promises after the World War I, especially to the Arabs, and concludes that, judging by past performances, it is extremely doubtful that Britain has any intention of fulfilling her present promises, particularly to India.

According to "Al-Hoda", Feb. 26, General deGaulle has appointed the Lebanese merchant Nakhlah al-'Abed as his personal representative among the Lebanese of Mexico. Like the Lebanese of this country, those of the sister republic are partisans of deGaulle.

The same controversy which resulted from the formation of a Syrian Red Cross Committee in New York (see our #4, of Feb.25,

1942) has reechoed in Mexico City on the pages of "Al-Kustas" (issue of Feb. 17), the Lebanese Arabic paper in that city. The Lebanese of Mexico share with other Lebanese elsewhere the separatist stand vis a vis the Syrians.

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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Number 8 March 16, 1942

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Notes on the Arabic Press

Will Hitler be the next Caliph of Islam?

The editor of Azzaubaha (published in Buenos Aires by Jubran Massuh, a Syrian Christian) wrote for its issue of January 15, 1942, a feature article in which the dissension between the Moslems and the non-Moslem Syrians in Argentina is deplored, and the blame is laid at the threshold of the Moslem community, which, according to the editor, is lending itself willingly to Axis propaganda.

The most spectacular item in the Axis propaganda circulated by Moslem agents among the Moslems of Argentina is the report that Hitler has already been converted to Islam, and that he is waging this war not for the sake of Germany but for the glorification of Islam. He has not declared his conversion openly because the German nation by whose might he hopes to conquer the world is Christian. The moment that victory is attained, he will announce his conversion and will impose Islam upon the conquered nations as well as upon Germany.

The real purpose of this type of propaganda would seem to be to use the Moslems of Argentina, who are small in number, as agents in its dissemination: A Moslem is more likely to believe

another Moslem than a non-Moslem. It is possible that the Axis agents in Argentina may arrange for one of the Moslem mercenaries to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca and there spread his propaganda among an international Moslem audience.

This emphasizes the importance which the Axis Powers attach to Moslem opinion.

A Syrian Fuhrer in Buenos Aires

In the same issue of Assaubaha, an unsigned article, probably written by the editor, discusses the different types of leadership among the Syrians, including the religious, the personal, the provincial, the tribal, and the national. All but the last are condemned, and the name of Antone Sa'adah is put forth as the only rightful leader, the founder of the so-called Nationalist Syrian Party.

Antone Sa'adah (according to the information on hand) is a young man in his middle thirties, a graduate of the American University of Beirut. He is almost unknown outside the ranks of his followers, but he has been a regular visitor to Rome, Berlin, and, of late, Madrid. He himself claims that he laid down the principles of his Nationalist Syrian Party in 1932. They were first published in the Arabic press in 1935, and printed in booklet form in 1936 and again in 1939.

The slogan of the Party is "Syria for the Syrians". By Syria they mean the region bounded by the Taurus Mountains on the north, the Suez Canal on the south (the Sinai Peninsula included), the Mediterranean Sea on the west, and the Syrian Desert and the River Tigris on the east. All the Arabic-speaking peoples -- both Syrians, Lebanese, Palestinians, and Transjordanians -- constitute the population of this enlarged Syria and share its common citizenship. The Jews, however, are excluded. They contend that this Syria should assume the leadership of the other Arabic-speaking countries, including Egypt, Iraq, and Arabia proper. A common religion should replace the present conflicting religions.

Antone Sa'adah, the supreme leader of the Party, is rarely referred to by name. He is called "al-Za'im," Arabic for Der Fuhrer. He has likened himself to Sir Oswald Mosely and to Hitler. The organization of the Party, its program, aims and slogans, as well as its religious and racial doctrines, reflect a Nazi pattern.

Vichy France and the Iraq Rebellion of 1941

In a letter from Beirut, dated November 22, 1941, and published in al-Hoda (the New York daily published by Salloum A. Mokarzel, a Christian Lebanese), March 3, 1942, it is stated that Nuri Pasha al-Said, present Prime Minister of Iraq and staunch supporter of Britain, has declared that the recent rebellion of

Rashid 'Ali al-Jaylani was inspired and supported by Vichy France, and that Japanese agents also worked on behalf of the Axis Powers.

Rashid 'Ali fled from Iraq, first to Turkey and then to Iran, where he joined the Grand Mufti. After the abdication of the former Shah and the arrival of the British and Russian armies, both found shelter in the Japanese Embassy at Teheran. It was the Japanese Embassy that arranged for their escape and final arrival at Rome.

The representatives of Vichy France (the letter asserts) have been active on behalf of the Axis Powers in Egypt as well. It was their activities on behalf of the Axis that led to the severance of diplomatic relations between Vichy and Egypt and precipitated the latest cabinet crisis in Egypt.

An American Mandate over the Near East

In a letter to the editor of As-Sameer (the New York daily published by Elia A. Madey, a Christian Syrian), which appeared on March 4, 1942, the idea of an American mandate in the Near East recurs and is favored on the ground that the United States, unlike other Western Powers, has no territorial or imperialistic ambitions. The action of Ibn Saud in granting the oil concessions in his kingdom to American concerns, despite larger offers from Britain, Germany, and Japan, is cited.

The writer attempts to allay the fears of those who might object to an American mandate on the ground that the Zionist influence might be greater in the United States than it is in Britain; he points out that the "Arab's" right in Palestine has already been acknowledged by all, and that so long as Palestine remains the birthplace of Christianity and the cradle of Islam it will remain an "Arab" land.

The letter reflects the special position which the United States occupies in the minds of the Arabic-speaking peoples, particularly because of its freedom from imperialism as they know it, and reflects the esteem with which Ibn Saud is regarded throughout the Moslem world. The letter also stresses one of the common points on which all Arabic-speaking peoples and Moslems agree: Hostility to the political aspirations of Zionism.

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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March 19, 1942

Arabic Newspapers in the United States

The following list of Arabic newspapers in the United States, revised to date, has been supplied by Professor Habib Amin Faris, of Princeton University.

Al-Hoda, 55 Washington Street, New York City, N. Y.
Ed. Salloum A. Mokarzel; daily
Lebanese
Maronite
Separatist

As-Sameer, 109 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ed. Elia D. Madey; daily
Syrian
Greek Orthodox
Nationalist. Advocate of United States mandate over Syria and the Lebanon

As-Sayeh, 303 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.
Ed. A. A. Haddad; semi-weekly
Syrian
Greek Orthodox (Russian education)
More of a literary organ than political

Meraat-ul-Gharb, 80 Washington Street, New York City, N. Y.
Ed. Naseeb Arida; three times a week
Syrian
Greek Orthodox (Russian education)
Middle of the road in politics

Al-Nasr (The Syrian Eagle), 181 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ed. Najeeb G. Badran; semi-weekly
Syrian
Greek Orthodox
Nondescript

Al-Akhlak, 59 Washington Street, New York City, N. Y.
Ed J. G. Raphael; semi-weekly
Lebanese
Maronite
Separatist, but not as rabid as al-Hoda

Al-Bayan, 216 West 18th, New York City, N. Y.
Ed. Amin David (Fayyad); three times a week
Syrian
Druse
Nationalist

Al-Sabah (The Morning Tribune), 533 Orleans Street, Detroit, Mich.
Ed. J. S. Kahwaji; weekly
Nationalist

Near East

Restricted

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION — FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
AB-66

Number 11 — March 24, 1942

Notes on the Arabic Press

The Role of the Moslems in the Present Conflict

Why has it been possible for the Japanese to overrun Malay and Java, despite the potential manpower of each, and why has it been impossible for them to do the same in the Philippine Islands? Al-Bayan, the Arabic paper published three times a week in New York City by Amin David, a Druse advocate of pan-Islamism, examines this question in its issue for March 10, 1942. It is asserted that the answer is found in the attitude of the native populations, who would have fought valiantly side by side with the British and the Dutch if they were convinced that the battle was their own. In contrast with the natives of Malay and Java, those of the Philippines, particularly the Moslems, have fought so valiantly because they share with the Americans the ideals of democracy, and because they know that the United States is not engaged in an imperialistic war. The Moslems of the Philippines have sworn not to let the Japanese pass. Why have not the Moslems of Java done likewise? Simply because their Dutch overlords haveexploited them in the past, and have failed to follow the enlightened policies which the United States has continually followed in the Philippines.

On the attitude of the native populations in the Far East depends the success of the Allies (the paper continues), and this attitude depends on the policies which the Allies pursue, now, among those natives.

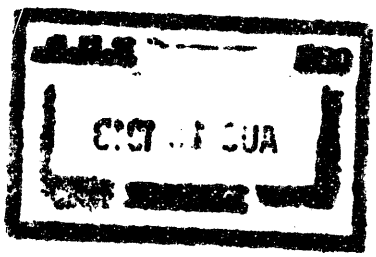
How to Combat Axis Propaganda in the Near East

As-Sameer, the Arabic daily of Brooklyn, on March 11, reported dispatches from Syria and the Lebanon indicating unrest as a result of intensive Axis propaganda among the inhabitants. British attempts to counteract this propaganda have failed and are destined to fail because the inhabitants have lost faith in Britain. The only power which still enjoys the confidence of the peoples of the Near East is the United States. Since it is important to enlist the active support of the natives of those regions, and since United States troops are eventually going to be there, why could it not be possible to place these lands under the administration of the United States by sending administrators as well as troops? This, according to As-Sameer, would be the safest and the best way to win the confidence of the dissatisfied inhabitants.

This seems to one observer merely another approach to the constantly recurring proposal of a United States mandate over Syria and the Lebanon, which As-Sameer was the first to suggest.

The reaction to the mandate proposal has been rather favorable among the Arabic-speaking groups in this country, with the exception of the separatist Lebanese. This observer points out, however, that once the United States becomes an active factor in the affairs of the Arab-speaking peoples, the situation will probably change.

The quarrel between the Lebanese and the Syrians continues. Incensed by As-Sameer's proposal for a United States mandate over the Near East, including the Lebanon, the editor of al-Kustas, the Lebanese paper of Mexico City, in the issue of March 2 reminds the world that the Lebanon is an independent country, capable of directing its own affairs, and asserts that if the neighboring Arabic-speaking countries now enjoy a certain measure of independence, it is the result of Lebanese effort and labor. In particular, the editor of al-Kustas resents the use of the term "Syrian" which the "unionists" employ to indicate the region between the Taurus Mountains and the Sinai Desert.



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TO: Gen. Magruder (Dep. Dir.)
Capt. Neumann (A-2)
Major Doering (Sec'iat)
Mr. Donald McKay (B. Anal.)
Mr. Dewitt Poole (F.N.)
Mr. John C. Hughes (N.Y.)
Mr. Fred C. Oechsner (MO)
(Lt. Patrick Dolan)
Mr. Edmond Taylor (PWS)
Mr. Wilmarth Lewis (R&A)
Mr. S. T. Gleason Jr. (PWR)
Dr. James Rogers (Planning Gr.)
Dr. Edward Mason (J.I.C.A.)
Mr. Russell Dorr
Mr. G. W. Cottrell (BR)
Mr. Leonard Wilson (Map Div.)
Dr. Ralph J. Bunche (Afri. Sec.)

FROM: E. L. Belin

For your information and retention

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17

COUNTRY Iran

SUBJECT (Iranian Political Parties and the forthcoming elections for the XIVth Parliament

SOURCE Z

SUB SOURCE

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PLACE OF ORIGIN Iran

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DISTRIBUTED August 16, 1943

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DIR. OSS	✓
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SEC'IAT	✓
DIR. SI	✓
VETO SI	
PWS	✓
PWR	✓
B. ANAL.	✓
R&A	✓
M. DIV.	
FN	✓
SO	✓
MO	✓
X-2	
ER	
NY	✓
VETO	
NATO	
METO	
FETO	
AFR.	
DR. EMP.	
E. EUR.	
F. EAST	
ITALY	
N. C. EUR.	
NR. EAST	✓
W. EUR.	
LONDON D.	
ALG. D.	
CAIRO D.	
L. D.	
INSTR.	
R. R.	✓
REG.	✓

The life of the Iranian Parliament is two years. Elections for the current XIIIth Parliament were held in August, 1941, and the first returns were just coming in at the time of the joint British and Russian occupation of Iran on August 25, 1941. Thus the present deputies were men who had been hand picked by the dictator, Reza Shah, and who were suddenly confronted with the real responsibility for government instead of merely voting in favor of policies drawn up by Reza Shah. This XIIIth Parliament opened on November 13, 1941, and its term expires in November of this year. An Imperial Firman stating that elections for the XIVth Parliament are to take place has already been issued, and voting is to begin soon after Shahrivar 1st (August 24th). The period of the voting is a long drawn-out process, and probably for some time in advance martial law will be abrogated to permit public meetings and other activities connected with the campaign to take place.

In spite of many rumors, chief of which is that the present Shah will attempt to intervene in the elections, these elections will undoubtedly be the first free ones for many years since the early days of Reza Shah and before he had established a machine to assure the election of mere puppets. Nearly all of the present deputies will strive to keep their seats; the chances of using devious methods towards this end are greater in the provinces than in Tehran. Many new people will be elected. At least one elderly and highly respected opponent of Reza Shah has declared his intention to run for a Tehran seat, and other men will be supported by the reviving political parties or by the host of new ones coming into being.

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Iran has never had an effective political party in the Western sense of the word since the adoption of the Constitution in 1906. Teymurtash, the murdered Minister of Court of Reza Shah, tried to establish a governmental or majority party of the dictatorship called "Iran-i-Ma" (Our Iran) but had little success. The current parties either represent the fractions that have been formed in Parliament since 1941 (although they have not been very active as groups within Parliament), or represent parties established in the last two years but without any deputies as members, or represent parties which have been formed in the last few days and weeks. All the parties are waging vigorous campaigns to attract recruits to their standards: they are organized rather on the line of social clubs and mean to try to reward active members by finding them jobs, etc. The accuracy of the following material on the various parties is difficult to guarantee. There is but little published fact to rely on, and the accounts of well informed people often disagree.

An interesting summary of the situation in Tehran is condensed from an editorial of July 15th in the non-partisan paper "Iran":

> "Tehran elects 12 deputies to Parliament and there are now about 1000 candidates for these seats. Tehran has now some 40 newspapers and is said to have some 20 political parties. At this moment we in Tehran are speaking about our regained national rights, about the crooked leaders of the old regime and the men without honor who were prominent during the past 20 years. It is good to be able to speak once more of freedom and righteousness. But not so easy to do anything about it: for if you ask anyone you know to name 10 really good men from among these 1000 candidates, they are at a complete loss to do so."

In this XIIIth Parliament there have been several groups or factions of deputies. A few of these groups seem to correspond to newly active political parties. Very little has been published on the Parliamentary factions and what has appeared suggests switches of political allegiance by deputies as well as the lack of a definite program or a willingness to cooperate with other groups to attain specific ends. Among the factions were:-

1. Ettefagh - اتفاق, or "Union". This is a minority group which has not been active as a group but merely stood for the rights of unattached deputies. Among its members were Nikpoor, Dr. Taker, Malekmadani, Dr. Samali. About 40 members.

2. Mostaghel - مستقل, or "Independent". Among its members Ali Dashti, Movaghar, Afshar and Moayed Sabeti.

3. Ettehad - اتحاد, or "Agreement", "Unity". Among its members are E'tebar, Awrang, Rafi'i, Seghatol-Islami, Behbehani, Lighvani.

4. Mihan - , or "National Unity"?. Among its members are Bayat, Merat, Esfandiari, Dr. Malekzadeh, Shahrudi.

5. Nahid - ناهد ?, or "Constitution" ?. Among its members are Shahrudi, Hargani, Owhadi.

Fractions 2, 3, and 4 had a total of 80 members. The total deputies is 136. Several prominent deputies have not been affiliated with any of these groups. At a very recent date many deputies have switched groups.

ACTIVE POLITICAL PARTIES

At the present time the more important of the political parties are as follows:-

1. 'Edalat - عدالت, or "Justice".

Party newspapers have been Mehr-i-Iran, edited by Movaghar who is a deputy, and Khorshid-i-Iran. Another paper, Farda is to appear in a few days and also a weekly magazine called Noruz-i-Iran.

This is the "republican" party of the country made up of the well-to-do: landowners, merchants, lawyers, etc. The party is about a year old. It was begun when Movaghar started the publication of Mehr-i-Iran. (Note. When Rahnama was sent into exile by Reza Shah the license for the newspaper Iran was given to Movaghar. When Rahnama came back in the fall of 1941 the concession for Iran was returned to him and Movaghar started a new paper named Mehr-i-Iran). Movaghar is a personal enemy of Soheily, the present Prime Minister. Mehr-i-Iran is one of the most widely read papers with a circulation of from 10 to 15 thousand.

This party is represented in Parliament by the Mostaghel fraction. Party members include very important people in public and private life, but there seems to be no single head. Meetings of the party are rather serious and dignified; the program is very vague and the papers publish poetry about the virtue of Justice. Members were an 'Ain ع pin after the first letter of

the party name and are supposed to come to each other's aid in every possible way. This curious idea was given a very thorough ribbing in one of the humorous weeklies.

The party is certainly one of the largest and certainly stands for maintaining the status quo.

2. Meyhan Parestan - میهن پرستان, or "Nationalists".

Newspapers of the party are Meyhan Parestan and Shahbaz.

The party's slogan is "Iran for the Iranians" and it is hardly necessary to say that its attitude is anti-foreign. They believe that anyone and everyone who held an important post under Reza Shah is hopelessly corrupt and must be expelled from public life. The editorials of the papers are rather violent against Parliament and the current cabinets. It claims to have groups in towns other than Tehran. Apparently no especially prominent people belong to the party.

3. Paykar - پیکار, or "Fight".

Newspapers: formerly it brought out Nabard and then when this was suppressed Nabard Emruz which was suppressed after one issue. Then after an interval Iran-i-Ma was published. The editor of this new paper is Jahanjir Tafazeli, an unimportant young man just a few years out of the Tehran Teacher's College. More important in the party are the two Eghbals, one who was the editor of Nabard and the other who is a deputy.

This party is supposed to be fascist in tendency and is unquestionably anti-British. It is violently against those now in power in Iran. Its appeal is directed primarily to the students and the younger people. Probably it has not a large membership, and probably the circulation of Iran-i-Ma is not over 1,500.

4. Hamrahan - همراهان, or "Socialist".

Newspaper: Emruz-va-Farda.

The party is headed by Fateh who is the highest Iranian official, Assistant Director, of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. He receives a salary of $1,200 a month and is reputed to be very wealthy. He studied in England for at least ten years and has written a book on the economic prospects and future of Iran.

This party maintains friendly relations with the parties Iran-i-Javan and Tudeh. On the other hand the party is almost universally supposed to have been set up by the British in order to counter the Russian Tudeh party.

In January, 1943 this party issued a 26-page mimeographed statement in excellent English entitled "Governments of Iran from Autocracy to Democrary". A condensation follows:

"During the last half century any change in Iran has been detrimental to the majority of the people. Even today, when more than ever before people talk about democracy and the freedom of the masses, the majority are victims of the machinations of a greedy and selfish minority. In the 36 years since democracy has been nominally established the ruling class has continued to exploit the masses. The deputies represent only this ruling class, the class which built palaces, created dictators and sings the praises of freedom. Most educated people in Iran have thought that the Constitution and the half-baked revolution which caused it created a true democracy. In order to show the truth we give a history of how the "democratic" government was founded.

"In the last century while other countries found a new economic and social life Iran was under the autocratic Kajars. The Shahs, devoid of all knowledge, could treat the people as they wished. The governors of the provinces were princes and khans. Power was held by the Grand Vazir and other ministers and the secretaries who had good handwriting, could compose poetry and had some natural ability. These secretaries were dazzled by European civilization and tried to encourage the Shahs along these lines. The clergy had some independence from royal authority and a few held enlightened ideas. The Iranians knew nothing of the outside world, had nothing to say in their own affairs and blindly submitted to their fate. Still, ideas from abroad made some progress through contact with Europeans and from intelligent Iranians who traveled abroad. Slowly forces built up towards revolution and were aided in this by Russo-British rivalry. The British considered the best defense against Russian interests in Iran was to favor the Constitutional movement. The Constitutional movement included advanced and clear-minded elements, but the masses had no idea of the meaning of freedom and were powerless to support them.

"Thus, as this movement developed, members of the ruling class posed as constitutionalists and took the place of the real democrats. Even after the Constitution was established, the same princes and landowners kept their power and even expanded it. Some merchants benefited but not the great masses. Russian intrigues caused Mohammed Ali Shah to take

drastic steps against the first Parliament. On the other hand, there were two foreign influences which aided the Persian liberals: the British Liberal Party and the Russian Socialist Party.

"The first Parliament contained a minority of true liberals. The second and third Parliaments had a Moderate party which aimed at supporting the autocratic class and a Democratic party which thought the middle classes should have more rights. The first World War brought great hardship to Iran, especially to the masses.

"After the war Russia was no longer a menace, but the British were in favor of a strong government in Iran and they and the capitalists of the country set up Reza Shah. He was concerned with enriching himself, with supporting the landowners and bringing prosperity to a few new industrialists and many army commanders. He took certain measures in the way of reforms to gain popularity, but in the last decade of his rule corruption was rife and discontent so apparent that he held his position only by force. The masses were oppressed by the police, the army and a mob of government employees. The people had nothing to say, and the puppet Parliament did nothing but flatter the Shah. Government monopolies increased the cost of staples; peasants left the land; and agriculture declined.

"In August 1941 a slight shock overthrew Reza Shah, but his agents stayed in power, although pretending to be democrats. The same landowners and capitalists still control the country. Iranian peasants are still doomed to suffer all their life from hunger and to endure every insult. The ruling class allows them barely a subsistence. The factory workers are no better off, for their wages are hardly enough to buy bread. During the past 50 years the hard life of the majority of the Iranians has undergone no change. In the world of today it is impossible for a country to stand on its feet if all wealth and government are in the hands of one per cent of the population.

"The Socialist Party addresses their countrymen: 'Wake up from the deep sleep of centuries; seek your rights and obtain them, for rights are not given but taken.'"

5. Mardan-i-Kar or Kar, or "Men of Action" or "Action".

Newspaper: Mardan-i-Kar

This party is represented by a very small Parliamentary faction called Kar.

6. Lehgan - زحمتکشان , or "Villagers".

A workers and peasants party of little importance.

7. Iran-i-Javan, or "Iranian Youth".

Newspaper: Iran-i-Javan, edited by Dr. Suratgar.

An organization of this name was started as a young people's club by Dr. Siassi, present Minister of Education, in the early years of Reza Shah. Siassi still is interested in it. It seems probable that this party is a youth branch of the Hamrahan party.

8. Mihan, or "National Unity".

Newspaper: Eghdam, edited by Khalali.

9. Tudeh - توده , or "Masses or "Rank and File".

Newspapers: Mardom, edited by Dr. Radmanesh; Rahbar and Razm, edited by Dr. Keshavarz.

This is the communist party of Iran (See A-9032). It may be second only to the Edalat party in size.

It is headed by Soleiman and Iraj Eskandari who have been struggling for socialistic principles for many years. Party members are factory workers, railway employees, etc., and it claims to have strong groups in all the large towns. It definitely aims at creating a class consciousness among the masses of the people. It is the only party with a sharply defined program which has a strong appeal not only to the underprivileged, but to many of the young Iranians who received fine educations in Europe under Reza Shah.

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Notes on the Arabic Press

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The Arabic Attitude Toward Zionism -- Rumors about Turkey -- Propaganda in Iraq -- Closer Relations with Ibn Saud -- The Axis Woos the Arabic World.

The Arabic Attitude toward Zionism

As a result of some statements made recently in the House of Lords in favor of Zionism, the New York semi-weekly *al-Bayan* "regretfully" reopens the Zionist discussion. Continued Zionist influence in Britain and "in some government circles in the United States," *al-Bayan* declares, forces it to repeat once more that while the "Arabs" are not hostile to Britain or to the Jews as such, they must definitely oppose any power that desires to enslave them. If Britain should continue to favor the Zionists in Palestine and ignore the legitimate rights of the Arabs, the situation in the Near East, *al-Bayan* warns, might develop along the lines of that in the Far East, with as grave consequences.

Rumors about Turkey

Speculation concerning Turkish intentions continues to agitate the Arabic-speaking press in this country. The New York *al-Hoda* (March 20) and *al-Bayan* (March 21) state that Turkey's strategic position is obvious to both the Allied and Axis Powers, and apprehensively report persistent rumors that both are angling for Turkish aid by promising gains to be made

at the expense of the Arabic-speaking world.

Propaganda in Iraq

As-Sameer, the Brooklyn daily, features on March 24 an interview which Dr. Calvin K. Staudt, principal of the American School for Boys in Bagdad, gave to the *New York Times*, and comments on the alleged far-reaching influence of Axis radio propaganda, which, it is asserted, has converted the masses in Iraq, particularly the ignorant, into partisans of Germany.

(A well-informed student of Near Eastern affairs gives the following reasons for believing that Dr. Staudt's interview is misleading: The poor, ignorant classes in Iraq do not have access to radios; indeed, very few people of all classes in Iraq own radios, and those who do must obtain a special government license for them. Hence, radio propaganda can have but little effect in that country. Actually, our informant concludes, the masses, like most of the leaders, are not simply pro-German; they are anti-German as well as anti-British on the ground that both are non-Moslem and "foreigners.")

Closer Relations with Ibn Saud

The news that the United States is sending an agricultural mission and a diplomatic representative to the Court of Ibn Saud was welcomed by the Arabic-language press. The New York semi-weekly *Meraat-ul-Gharb* (March 27) printed the State Department's announcement that the agricultural mission, headed by K. S. Twitchell, was organized at the request of Ibn Saud himself.

Both *Meraat-ul-Gharb* and *As-Sameer* (March 30) gave prominence to a cable from Cairo announcing that Alexander Kirk, United States Minister to Cairo, is proceeding to Juddah, where he will present his credentials as United States Minister to Saudi Arabia. It was reported that Mr. Kirk is carrying with him a Garand rifle and two revolvers with pearl-studded handles as presents to Ibn Saud.

Both papers, commenting on Mr. Kirk's new duties, insisted that throughout Egyptian, Arab, and Indian circles, public opinion is agreed that nothing which Britain might pledge will induce these peoples to throw their active support on the side of the democratic powers unless those pledges are guaranteed by the United States.

The Axis Woos the Arabic World

A survey of the January issues of the Arabic weekly *al-Islah*, published in Santiago, Chile, reveals this newspaper's undisguised pro-Axis orientation and some of the propaganda devices by the use of which the Axis hopes to win over the Arabic-speaking peoples.

On January 17, under the heading, "News of the Fatherland," *al-Islah* informs its readers of the independence of Syria and the Lebanon, and adds parenthetically that the United States Government has not recognized the independence of these two "Arab" lands because of its Vichy connections. On January [illegible], *al-Islah* reports that the Arabic-speaking papers in South America, which are still free from the "microbes of imperialism," are planning a meeting in honor of the Haj Amin al-Husayni, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. *Al-Islah* promises to

sponsor a similar meeting in Chile "to honor the leader who is beloved by over 80 per cent of the Arabic-speaking immigrants in the Republic of Chile."

In the same issue, by way of a commentary on the death sentence passed on Rashid Ali al-Jilani, former prime minister of Iraq, *al-Islah* berates the present Iraq Government for condemning a "great patriot who rebelled against British arrogance," and suggests instead that Iraq should erect statues for him and for the Grand Mufti, both of whom "are devoting their lives to the emancipation of the Arab world."

"Palestine on Auction Sale" is *al-Islah's* headline for a report that Winston Churchill has offered the Vatican a mandate over Palestine, which the Holy Father refused because he has no desire to intervene in the affairs of a land which belongs to its Arab population.

A cable from Ankara published by *al-Islah* claims that Turkish reaction to the appointment of a Jewish-American as United States Ambassador to Turkey has been most unfavorable; the appointment, says *al-Islah*, is an insult to the Turks, who cannot forget the intrigues of Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Sr., during the last war. This reaction, the paper continues, has strained relations between Turkey and the United States, and might even incline Turkey to side with the Axis.

An editorial in the same issue is entitled "Jews! The Source of all Evil." In the recent presidential elections, incidentally, *al-Islah* supported the candidacy of General Ibanez.

(An analysis of these stories prepared by a student of Near Eastern affairs reveals the shrewdness of their preparation:

(It is true that Arabic-speaking people have little conception of the delicate nature of American relationships with Vichy, and hence have been disappointed by the United States Government's non-recognition of the independence of Syria and Lebanon.

(As for the Grand Mufti, it is quite likely that 80 per cent of the Arabic-speaking immigrants in Chile, as well as in Argentine, Brazil, and even the United States, sympathize with the Grand Mufti as a martyr driven out of his homeland by imperialistic tyrants. In the South American countries this sympathy is strong enough to drive the Arabic-speaking communities into the arms of the Axis. In the United States, however, the Mufti's appeal is only sentimental. Few Arabic-speaking Americans would follow the Mufti into the Axis camp, although few would condemn him. His prestige has diminished greatly since he made Berlin his headquarters, but he remains a symbol of patriotic Arabic aspirations. The fact that only one Arabic-speaking paper, *al-Hoda*, has openly attacked his position, while the others observe a discreet silence, is sufficient proof that he is still an idol to many.

(The story about Palestine is based on the assumption that the Pope's interest in the Holy Land may not be unlike his interest in Ethiopia. Before the outbreak of the present war, Italian propaganda in Palestine worked through Italian missionary schools, which sent scions of notable Moslem families to Italy every year. There they spent two months sightseeing and receiving instruction in Fascism. The whole trip from Palestine to Italy and back to the Holy Land, including the two months stay, cost each "visitor" thirty dollars.)

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FOREIGN POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES

Notes on the Arabic Press

India: Failure of a Mission -- The American Mandate Debate -- The Foreign Language Press -- Soviet Moslems -- Incidental Intelligence.

India: Failure of a Mission

Not India but Britain is being blamed by the Arabic press for the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps's attempt to settle the Indian problem.

43 on Britain

All the Arabic papers in New York and Brooklyn have given prominence to A.P. and U.P. news accounts of the negotiations, but only one paper, the pan-Islamic *al-Bayan*, has spoken its mind editorially on the subject. "We do not, we cannot, understand why Britain does not heed the legitimate demands of the Indians," says *al-Bayan* (April 14). "What, after all, is the difference between granting India independence now and granting it at the conclusion of the war? We are certain that this time British pledges and promises will be different from those given the Arabs during the last war. But it is apparent that the leaders of Indian resurgence demand deeds rather than words, independence rather than promises they have some excuse"

(What *al-Bayan* says and leaves unsaid, comments a well-informed student of Near Eastern affairs, probably echoes the sentiments of all the Arabic press. The failure of the other papers to comment editorially on this subject should be interpreted as a sign of disappointment.

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Furthermore, *Al-Bayan*, which is pan-Arab and pan-Islam in policy, failed to mention, much less defend, the stand of the Moslem League of India. The Arabic-speaking peoples, particularly the Moslems, favor the All-India Congress, continues our observer. They feel that Britain has deliberately encouraged minorities in India and elsewhere to remain separate. In short, according to this observer, neither the Indians nor the Arabic-speaking peoples are ready to accept British promises without American guarantees.

(But the prestige of the United States in the Near East also has suffered from the unsuccessful outcome of the Indian negotiations. It is reported that the belief persists among Arabic-speaking people that Mr. Louis Johnson, the President's special envoy, told the All-India Congress leaders that the United States had given Britain a free hand on the Indian problem, whereas the Indians and Arabic-speaking peoples expected the United States to exert its influence on the side of Indian demands. In the light of these developments, our observer concludes, the failure of Cripp's mission has been embarrassing to the United States.)

The American Mandate Debate

The Brooklyn *As-Sameer's* suggestion that the United States accept a Mandate over Syria and Lebanon again becomes the subject of acrimonious debate in the Arabic press. The Lebanese separatist *Azzaman* of Buenos Aires (March 11) charges that either *As-Sameer* is joking or it

does not know what it is talking about. How could a people so spiritual as the Lebanese be placed under the political tutelage of a power so far gone in materialism as the United States of America? *As-Sameer* retorts (April 13) that no other country but the United States has entered the war for the defense of an idea.

(*Azzaman*, our observer comments, like most Lebanese newspapers, is pro-French. Whereas most Lebanese papers reconciled their love of France with genuine loyalty to the democratic cause by siding with the Free French, some few still follow the lead of Vichy France.)

The Foreign-language Press

In a long editorial, the New York *al-Hoda* (April 14) discusses the possibility that all foreign-language newspapers will be banned. The paper appreciates the difficulties which the Government faces, especially since the freedom of the press, a phenomenon so characteristic of the United States, is often abused. But *al-Hoda* hopes that any regulations that are adopted will not punish the loyal along with the disloyal.

Soviet Moslems

On the occasion of 'Id Al-Adha (The Feast of Sacrifice), the Grand Mufti of Russia issued a proclamation in which he urged all Moslems to support the democracies and to destroy Hitler, the arch enemy of Islam. This news was published in the Buenos Aires *al-Jaridah al-Suriyah*

al-Lubnamiyah (February 9.)

(There are at least 15,000,000 Moslems in Russia. This minority is larger than the combined population of Palestine, Syria, and Iraq, so that the Grand Mufti of Russia speaks for a population fifteen times as large as that for which the Grand Mufti of Palestine is supposed to speak.)

Incidental Intelligence

Further evidence of the nationalistic tendencies of the Lebanese is to be found in an article by Ilyas al-Khuri al-Murr published in *al-Hoda* (April 16). The article laments the fact that the second generation of Lebanese in this country do not retain the language of their parents, and proposes therefore the establishment of a Lebanese University in Washington or community schools in each locality having a Lebanese colony. (The editor of al-Hoda has repeatedly urged his readers to remember that their first loyalty is to the United States.)

The extreme pan-Islamic *al-Fitrah al-Islamiyah* of Buenos Aires comments (February 19) on the activities of the Grand Mufti of Palestine and Rashid 'Ali Al-Jilani as they move between Berlin and Rome, and declares editorially that the liberation of Islam and the restoration of the Arabs to their rightful place in the world depend upon an Axis victory.

Three New York Arabic papers published the news that at the invitation of Antonius Bashir, Archbishop of the Syrian Orthodox Church in

North America, the prelates of the Serbian, Russian, Greek, Rumanian, Polish, Carpathian, and Ukrainian Orthodox churches in the United States and North America met in council and issued a proclamation in support of the United States and the allied nations. The communicants led by these prelates number 6,000,000 in this country and some 200,000,000 throughout the world.

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NOTES ON THE ARABIC PRESS

The United States as a "Moslem Power" -- The Arabic-Speaking People and the Proposed Jewish Army -- The Allied Position in the Near East -- The Mufti and the Arabic Press -- Christian vs. Moslem in the Near East -- Freedom for "Oriental" Peoples.

The United States: A Moslem Power

Stimulated by the Republican Party's recent rejection of isolation, the Brooklyn *as-Sameer* (April 23) turns its attention once more to the proposed American mandate over Syria and the Lebanon. The editorial declares that the suggestion should now receive universal support, since most of the objections were based on the assumption that many Americans opposed such "entanglement."

That the United States currently enjoys great prestige in the Arabic-speaking world can be deduced also from an article quoted by *al-Hoda* (May 1). The author is Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, and the material originally appeared in the *Arab Listener*, a publication in Arabic issued by the British Broadcasting Corporation in London. The gist of the article is that the United States, like Great Britain, can be considered among the leading Moslem powers since 500,000 Moslems (including those of the Philippine Islands) live under the American flag. The article dwells on the freedom, prosperity, and culture which Moslems have enjoyed and still enjoy under benevolent American rule.

On April 21, *as-Sameer* reported a meeting of "some of the notables of the Lebanon" which was called for the express purpose of developing ways and means to support the United States in the present war. A resolution was passed to submit a memorandum through the American Consulate in Beirut to express Lebanese gratitude to the United States. The meeting was presided over by a former prime minister of the Lebanon. One of the speakers mentioned in particular the indebtedness of the Lebanese to American institutions of learning, and the cultural bonds which unite the two countries.

The Jews and a Jewish Army

Commenting on the declaration of fifty-seven Reform Jewish rabbis against the formation of a separate Jewish Army in Palestine, *al-Bayan* (April 18) welcomes the statement of these rabbis and reminds the Zionists that the

Arabs are not anti-Semitic. The Arabs themselves are Semites, and Jews in every age, according to *al-Bayan*, have lived among Arabs and Moslems free from persecution. Nevertheless, the Arabs are definitely opposed to political Zionism, which hopes to make Palestine Jewish.

The Allied Position in the Near East

In a lengthy editorial *al-Hoda* (April 22) takes up the question of Hitler's next move, discussing the possibility of his using Laval for the reconquest of Syria and the Lebanon for Vichy France and ultimately for Nazi Germany. The attitude of the Syrians and the Lebanese towards such a move would be of the utmost importance. Would they rise in support of the Allies as the people of the Philippines rose in support of the United States, or would they act as did the people of Burma?

According to *al-Hoda*, if Vichy France were still in control of these regions, the inhabitants would, in all likelihood, be indifferent. Now the situation has changed. The Free French and the British are doing their best to feed the people, who have gained also a larger share in the conduct of their government. The editorial points out, therefore, that the people of Syria and the Lebanon have something to fight for, and that they will support the Allies in the event an attempt is made by either Hitler or Laval to recapture the country. No more than this should be expected of them, since they have no say in the conduct of the war.

The Mufti and the Arabic Press

Al-Hoda continues its policy of attacking the Grand Mufti and asserting that those who do not speak against him are for him. Meanwhile the other Arabic papers in this country in general avoid the subject of the Mufti, bringing it up only to deny the charges made against them by *al-Hoda*. Thus *As-Sayeh* (April 20) sarcastically says in reference to the editor of *al-Hoda* and his newspaper: "*That newspaper man* continues to say, 'Allah be praised! We have attacked the Mufti; what more does America need as proof of our loyalty?'...The American Government would take into custody anyone aiding the enemy. According to *that comic paper*, this means anyone who does not attack the Mufti."

Al-Hoda's editor sticks to his argument firmly, retorting (April 27) that *As-Sayeh*, like *As-Sameer*, is a Mufti partisan and hence disloyal to American democracy.

(A student of Near Eastern affairs comments that the silence of the Arabic press on the subject of the Mufti cannot be construed as evidence of disloyalty to the United States. In its final analysis, the acrimonious controversy between *al-Hoda* and the other Arabic papers is personal. *Al-Hoda* hopes to please the separatist Lebanese elements in this country and hence attempts to bait other editors to attack the Mufti.)

Christian vs. Moslem in the Near East

The traditional Near Eastern struggle between Christians and Moslems is reflected in the Buenos Aires *al-Jaridah al-Suriyah al-Lubnaniyah*, which replies (February 26) to an article by *"al-Sha'ir al-Qarawi"* (The Village Poet) in another Arabic paper in Buenos Aires. *Al-Jaridah* cites the examples of Algeria and Morocco -- where there are practically no Christians and where the yoke of foreign rule is firmly fastened; and Egypt -- where a sizable Christian (Coptic) minority has labored side by side with the Moslem majority and made Egypt the leading Arabic-speaking country. The paper also relates how, under the rule of Feisal I and the Nationalist Committee, Christian-Moslem cooperation reached its height in Syria.

(An observer points out that one of the main reasons why the Lebanon is separatist lies in the fact that it is predominantly Christian. Christians throughout the Arabic-speaking world have consistently held themselves apart from the Arab nationalist movement, although in some instances they have supplied the cultural leadership of such movements. They have also attached themselves to foreign powers -- the Maronites of the Lebanon to France, the Greek Orthodox to Czarist Russia, and the few "Protestants" to Britain.)

Freedom for "Oriental" Peoples

In an editorial headed "The Oriental Peoples Attain Liberty," *al-Jaridah al-Suriyah al-Lubnaniyah* (March 5) states that a number of "Oriental" peoples see in the present crisis the golden opportunity of regaining their independence. This is particularly true in the case of India. But the danger of other dominations has compelled these peoples to pause. Thus the Philippines, in the face of the Japanese threat, sought to remain under American rule, and the Moslems there have vowed to support the United States. Similarly, the Moslems of India would rather continue under British rule. This, says *al-Jaridah*, shows that the Moslems have cast their lot with the democracies.

The willingness of ruling countries to grant these subject peoples independence reminds us, the editorial continues, of the face-saving device of the Ottoman Sultan who granted Tripoli its independence when he realized that he could not hold it against the Italian invasion. Is the case of the "Oriental" peoples at the present time to be the same as that of the people of Tripoli then? Independence, the editorial insists, must mean more than mere recognition granted begrudgingly.

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May 28, 1942

NOTES ON THE ARABIC PRESS

Who supports the Grand Mufti? -- The Arab National League -- The Arabic-speaking peoples' attitude toward Britain and the United States in the Near East.

The Mufti and the Arab National League

The insistence of *Al-Hoda* that those editors of Arabic papers who do not explicitly attack the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem implicitly support his pro-Axis stand has now brought the issue out into the open. The Brooklyn *As-Sameer* (May 11 and 12) denies categorically that it has defended the Mufti. It supported the Palestinian Arabs before the Mufti came into power and will continue to support them now. But *As-Sameer* does not sympathize with the Mufti's current position.

Al-Hoda has also drawn a reply (May 15) from Habib I. Katibah, secretary of the dissolved Arab National League, which this Lebanese separatist paper accused of being loyal to the Mufti and hence disloyal to the United States.

"In the first place," Mr. Katibah points out, "the Arab National League was dissolved before the United States entered the war, and before the Mufti's flight to Berlin. How can you then say that the Arab National League supports the Mufti in his present policies?

"In the second place, the Arab National League was organized for the defense of the Arab cause in general and for that of the Palestinian cause in particular. How could this be interpreted as disloyalty to the United States?...

"Third, the overwhelming majority of the members of the Arab National League, like myself, do not approve either the Mufti's present policies or his flight to Berlin. We regret that he did not seek political refuge in Egypt or in Saudi Arabia, both independent states which have the right to offer asylum to political refugees. You must not forget, however, that it was British imperialists who have driven the Mufti to the lap of Hitler... Do you for a moment think that Britain acted with equity toward the people of the Near East and India? Do you think that it tried in earnest to gain their confidence before the present crisis?...

"The Arab National League no longer exists. If, therefore, you have political enemies among the other Arabic-speaking editors, please confine your criticisms to them and let the members of the dissolved Arab National League alone."

Britain and the United States in the Near East

A significant distinction is being made by the editors of the Arabic press in their treatment of the British and American roles in the Near East. In general, there is a tendency to be wary of British promises and British actions and to insist that the cause of democracy in the Near East can be safeguarded only by a disinterested power like the United States; for this reason the editors welcome every opportunity to emphasize the growing American participation in Near Eastern affairs. Thus the New York *Al-Akhlak* (May 8) and *Meraat-ul-Gharb* (May 6) voice their enthusiasm over the arrival of 'Ali Jawdat al-Ayyubi, Iraq's first Minister to the United States. Previously (May 4) *Meraat-ul-Gharb* gave front-page prominence to the news of the extension of Lend-Lease aid to Iraq and Iran. *As-Sameer*, foremost exponent of the proposal of a United States mandate over Syria and the Lebanon, expresses its approval (May 21) on the arrival of United States troops in Syria to reinforce the British garrison stationed there.

The attitude of the Arabs toward Britain is most clearly evident in discussions of the Indian problem. The pan-Islam *al-Bayan*, which was the only Arabic paper to express freely its disappointment over the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission - a failure which

it attributed to the attitude of the British (see Number 21 of this series) - has published two additional discussions of this subject by Farid abu-Muslih of Detroit. Seeking to explain Mahatma Gandhi's unfavorable reaction to the recent American troop reinforcements in India, the first of these articles (May 7) points out that Gandhi surely understands that the United States has no territorial ambitions. His objection to the landing of American troops in India must therefore be based on: 1. the high hopes with which the Indians regarded the United States in the capacity of an intermediary in the Cripps negotiations; 2. the frequently irresponsible treatment of Indian problems by the American press. In the first place, the United States was expected to perform the miracle of reconciling Indian and British antagonism. In the second place, the American press, in the opinion of the Indians, has supported Britain without regard for the legitimate demands of India.

The second article by Farid abu-Muslih (May 21) blames the failure of the Cripps mission on Britain's approach to the problem from the angle of military considerations only, which meant that no real effort was made to solve the problem of Indian political aspirations.

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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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FOREIGN POLITICS in the UNITED STATES

* COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Number 38

June 13, 1942

NOTES ON THE ARABIC PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES

Zionist and Arab: The Problem of Palestine

The intensification of Zionist activity in the past month has quickened the apprehensions of Arabic-speaking groups in this country. "Roosevelt Revives Zionist Hopes" is the politely reproachful headline used by the New York semi-weekly *Meraat-ul-Gharb* (May 27) in reporting the President's letter to Senator Wagner on the occasion of the American Palestine Committee's celebration dinner on May 25. The paper offered no comment.

After the June 1-2 meeting of the non-Zionist Reform Rabbis in Atlantic City *Meraat-ul-Gharb* editorially quoted (June 3) the outspokenly anti-Zionist statement of Rabbi Morris A. Lazaron, calling it "The Words of a Wise Rabbi." The editorial goes on to outline the difficulties of the Palestine problem and the desirability of seeking a solution, but not at a time when Great Britain and the United Nations are fully occupied with more vital and more urgent issues.

What it speaks of as the Zionist desire to strike a bargain when Britain is in the midst of grave difficulties, the editorial condemns while it commends the Arabs who, it is said, have decided to desist for the present from anything which might be embarrassing to the Allied cause. The Arabs, according to the editorial, know that the Atlantic Charter will include the Arabs of Palestine, especially because theirs is not merely a claim but a right. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the Four Freedoms advocated by the President of the United States will be withheld from Palestine's Arabs.

Meraat-ul-Gharb's editorial concludes that the Arabs of Palestine have cast their lot with the democratic nations, and, praising Rabbi Lazaron's statement, adds: "It is therefore superfluous to state that the ultimate good which the leaders of the world, like the wise President Roosevelt, are

now planning for the entire community of nations militates against such avaricious greed with which the Zionists continue to render the Palestine problem more and more difficult. They approach the question from their own particular standpoint, without any regard to the general interest and good."

Free French in the Near East

From Beirut comes the news published in the New York *Al-Hoda* (June 3) that the Free French have undertaken to accelerate their literary activity in the Near East. In particular, it is reported (as of February 20) that a special company with a capital of 60,000 lires has been organized by a group of Free French writers to spread French culture.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

August 21, 1942

MEMORANDUM: Arabic Press in the United States

No Jewish Army! The Arabic press in the United States betrays no indication of softening its resistance to the agitation for a separate Jewish army. Both *al-Hoda* and *As-Sameer* of New York call attention to the "wisdom and foresight" of Governor Lehman's anti-Jewish-army speech delivered at the mass meeting held in Madison Square Garden on July 21 to protest against Nazi atrocities. *As-Sameer's* editorial (July 23) enumerates the dangers which might result from the creation of a Jewish force, and stresses particularly the possible disturbing effects on Arab and Moslem opinion.

Two editorials in the Pan-Islamic *Al-Bayan* (July 28 and 30) condemn current Zionist agitation. (*Al-Bayan* on July 16 cheered the statement of the Iraqi Minister in Washington, 'Ali Jawdat al-Ayyubi, who asserted that "it is not in the interest of the Allies to form such an army in Palestine, since it will inevitably lead to arousing the suspicion of the Arabs." Ecstatically *Al-Bayan* exclaimed "History repeats. The first Saladin came to the rescue of a Palestine in agony. Palestine is again suffering the agony of a threatened existence; and lo, a descendant of Saladin comes to its rescue." On July 2 *Al-Bayan* censured the Zionists for taking advantage of the present crisis to press their claims: "The only ray of hope for the small nations and for the Arabs is found in the United States, which was founded on Justice and built upon the principles of freedom. Surely this government will see to it that all peoples will be given their rights.")

Axis Propaganda In an editorial (July 27) the editor of the Brooklyn *As-Sameer* reports an attack on his paper and other Arabic-language papers in this country for their espousal of the democratic cause of the United Nations. *As-Sameer's* reply takes the form of a renewed pledge of loyalty to the United States while it attacks the Nazi mercenaries among the Arabic press and communities in Argentina. The attack on *As-Sameer* was made by *Azzubaha*, an Arabic paper published in Buenos Aires by Yibran Massuh; it is the official organ of Antone Sa'adah, leader of the so-called "Iron Shirts" and self-styled Syrian "Fuehrer" (*al-Za'im*).

(2572)

Al-Hoda (June 30) and *al-Bayan* (July 2) feature a translation of an article published in the *New York Daily Mirror* on the subject of Axis propaganda in the Near East and the possibility of a general Arab uprising against Britain. The headquarters for the dissemination of this propaganda is said to be the German Embassy at Ankara, and its ace mercenary the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. The article points to the continued neutrality of Egypt as evidence of a pending "Arab" rebellion.

Count Sforza The suggestion made by Count Sforza at the Norman W. Harris Memorial Foundation for the Study of International Affairs, that Syria and especially Iraq offer a better outlet than Palestine for Jewish mass immigration, is reported by the *Federation Herald* of Boston (July 14) and *al-Hoda* (July 20) without comment. But an editorial in *al-Bayan* (July 25) takes issue with the Count, reminding him that Palestine is a land as sacred to the Moslems as it is to the Christians and the Jews. The Jews have never been hated in Arab lands, says *al-Bayan*, but Zionism is abhorred and will always be fought.

The War in the Near East Turning temporarily from its usual theater of interest, *Al-Bayan* (July 11) warns its Arabic-speaking readers that despite their legitimate concern over the fate of Egypt and the Near East, they should not forget that the Russian front is more important.

An article and an editorial in *Al-Bayan* (July 16) speculate on Turkey's position. Both warn the Turks against closer collaboration with the Axis. The article further charges Turkey with the desire to regain the Arab territories it lost after the First World War.

In an earlier (June 27) editorial entitled "The Arabs of Libya," *Al-Bayan* reflectively remarks that one day we hear of the flags of the United Nations waving over Libya, and on the next day we hear of the Axis flags replacing them, but we never hear a word about the miserable native inhabitants whose homes have been blasted and whose fate seems to be that of a football kicked about by the contending warriors.

Is it the fate of the Arabs, the editorial asks, to foot the bill for some one else's feast?

An article by a Moslem writer, Muhammad Shafiq, is reproduced from *al-Sabah* in *al-Akhlak* (July 31). It speaks in glowing terms of the existing friendship between Ibn Saud and Britain, and of the recent visit paid to Egypt by the Prince Mansur, son of Ibn Saud, at the invitation of the British Government.

Several statements by leading Iraqi personalities on recent developments in Egypt and on the attitude of Iraq in the present conflict are quoted by *al-Hoda* (July 29) from the Egyptian paper *al-Dustur*. The statements pledge support to Egypt and predict the final defeat of the Axis Powers. The Speaker of the Iraqi House of Representatives is quoted as saying that "it is the earnest desire of every true Arab and every devout Moslem that the Axis Powers be defeated." *Al-Hoda's* editorial commends the Iraqi leaders and expresses pleasure at what it calls "a change of heart in Iraq."

Pan-Islamism A letter addressed by al-Shaykh Khalil al-Rawwaf to the Moslem world is published by *Al-Bayan* without comment (July 9). The writer states that hitherto, Moslem countries have acted individually and often against one another. Recently, however, a new trend has become evident: the Moslem countries are acting more and more together. The first manifestation of this trend, according to the letter, was the united action with which the Moslems throughout the world supported their fellow Moslems in Palestine against the threat of Zionism. This heartening action ushers in a new era: all Moslems will act as one community, bound by one faith, and moving towards the great event of the restoration of Moslem glory.

Taylor

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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
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March 19th 1942

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Near East Asia

This observer had an opportunity to learn how oriental mentality reacts on the present war. It seems to him not without interest to reproduce what a distinguished Oriental, living in the U.S.A. thinks and believes to know about what is happening now in the world. The more as the person in question is doing considerable business in connection with imports from his country which is Afghanistan, in fact is the head of the Afghan-American Trade Co. in N.Y.C.

4.3 on B.I.P.C.

4.3 on U.S

1. Germany. As far back as last October he was convinced that the biggest part of all anti-German stories were outright propaganda-lies. Naturally the Jews would be biased by their fate, but Jews should not really mind, because they did not belong to the Occident at all and should rejoin the community of oriental people, which soon would really rule the world, the western civilization being doomed.

2. Russia. Russia would not be able to resist Germany. Communism will be crushed in Russia by Bolshevism(!)...Revolution would ravage all countries. Asia will be free and become the new centre of the world with its hundreds of millions of people. Bolshevism seems to him who is very wealthy and violently anti-communist some creed, directed at the liberation of certain parts of Asia.

3. Japan. In November he predicted that Japan would be in the war in a few weeks.(!) This would - in any case - mean the end of European influence on the oriental world.

4. U.S.A. America has neither reason or chance to oppose

Japan. Since then he thinks that the war in the Far East is virtually over. He is convinced Japan does not want to attack Australia. If India will be free - and she will, than Asia will organize itself after its own lines. America has no business to interfere with that evolution and in any case will not be able to do anything about it. As far as Europe is concerned, America has nothing to gain by its support of England, but to risk contamination with European revolution...

5. Asked about anti-semitic feeling among the Arab world he affirms, that the Jews and Arabs are brethren, that Islam never persecuted the Jew and never will and that all the trouble between Jews and Arabs is the fault of the British. Once British influence liquidated, the homecoming of the Jewish people into the world where they belong would be the most natural and simple thing.

I. I Khan

The name is Omar Khan

J.

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SYRIA AND THE LEBANON

A memorandum on its geography, topography, climatic conditions, strategic position, hydrography, health, political institutions, man power, and other factors in its military potential.

Prepared at

The Institute for Advanced Study
School of Economics and Politics
Princeton, New Jersey

April, 1942

SYRIA AND LEBANON

Geographical Position

The Levant States under French mandate - the Republic of Syria and the Republic of Lebanon - cover a total area of about 57,900 square miles. These territories are roughly in the shape of a triangle, one side of which is formed by the Mediterranean coast, and are bounded on land by Turkey, Iraq, Trans-Jordan, and Palestine.

Starting from the southwestern corner, the Syro-Palestinian frontier begins on the coast at Cape Ras-en-Nakoura, 20 kilometers south of Sour (Tyre), follows the line separating the Wadis El-Doublen, El-Ayun and El-Serba to the north from the Wadis Fara-Kouroum and Kerkéra to the south (the two latter thus being in Palestinian territory); then, continuing eastward, the border follows the watershed between the basins of the Jordan and the Litani, thus rising northward to the village of Metulla (in Palestinian territory), then to Banias, follows the railway from Banias to Kuneitra, up to Skek, takes the valley of Wadi-Jehara, follows the eastern bank of the Lake of Tiberias, leaving in Palestinian territory the Semakh-El-Hemme section of the railway, then goes up the Yarmouk Valley along the right bank of that river; then, in the upper section of the Valley, the frontier crosses the Yarmouk, edges to the southeast, passes south of Deraa, continues to a point 10 kilometers south of Nezib-Intan and then proceeds across the desert in a straight line to the northeast up to Abou-Kemal on the Euphrates. From there the frontier proceeds in a straight line to the northeast as far as Roumélian-Keui. Thence it follows the ancient borders of the Ottoman vilayetes of Diarbékir and Mossoul to the Tigris River, following the river to Geziret-Ibn-Omar. From that point, the Turco-Syrian frontier edges sharply to the west to meet the Mediterranean coast. Some

750 meters southeast of Geziret-Ibn-Omar it starts towards Nisibin, Ras-el-Ain, following approximately the Baghdad Railway, it passes immediately south of Killis and Karnaba, north of Marsova; after reaching the Kara-Sou River, the frontier, inconformity with the arrangements signed at Ankara on June 23, 1939, edges southwards, leaving to Turkey the Alexandretta sandjak. The frontier ends at the sea, following the bottom of the ravine north of Bachourte, then the Wadi Kara-Dourane which falls into the Mediterranean.

The territories thus delimited serve as a link between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean, between the great desert of Arabia and Anatolia. They have always played a role of premier importance for communications between the Mediterranean countries and those of the Persian Gulf as well as between the Red Sea countries and those of the Black Sea. This French Levant occupies today, as in ancient times, an important strategic position: it commands in the heart of the oriental hemisphere the great routes east to west as well as those north to south, by land and by air.

To the following discussion which will assist in determining the fighting strength of Syria and Lebanon, we shall add to complete certain paragraphs a few special maps and sketches, but it will also be of value to refer to the maps drawn up and published by the "Topographical Bureau of the French Troops in the Levant" (Bureau Topographique des Troupes Francaise au Levant), at least the 1/1.000.000 map of the Bureau and, if possible, the reconnaissance map of 1/50.000. Failing these, maps of the big atlases (Stieler, Vivien de St.-Martin, or the Atlas des Colonies Francaises) could be used.

Topography of Syria and Lebanon

The Levant States are a country of highlands; really mountainous relief predominates only in the coastal regions while the interior is a land of confused plateaus and hills.

In the west, along the coast, the topography is thus very rugged and sharply oriented north-south in its main demarkations. We find there two alignments of mountainous massifs, the sides of a median rift-valley running in the same direction which is considered the northern extremity of the huge geological rift-valley continued by the Red Sea and the system of the great African lakes. This large and long north-south depression called Bekaa or Coelé-Syria (hollow Syria) is the chief feature of western Syria and must serve as the focal point of any topographical study.

The Coastal Ranges

Between the Mediterranean coast and the Bekaa stretches the most imposing system of mountains in the Levant States, one which not only includes the highest altitudes but is also the most continuous. These mountains consist of three fundamental massifs separated by transverse depressions: the Amanus to the north, the Jebel Ansarieh in the center, and the Lebanon to the south. Each of these massifs is isolated, very difficult to access and crossing. Communications between the coast and the interior have always been through the two large breaches separating these masses from each other: on the north the Orontes valley with Antioch leading to Aleppo, in the center the Tripoli-Homs chasm.

The mountains reach to the sea. The coast is made up of a string of rocky capes constituting peninsulae, headlands, often with high vertical

cliffs; between these mountainous promontories discontinuous portions of coastal plain have been formed, sometimes spreading out and bearing rich harvests, sometimes scarcely leaving space for a small town or village. Only a narrow footway running between the rocky cliffs and the sea, almost at sea level, sometimes even broken by the sea or by the mouth of a river, a path whose continuity has been established by man, connects these areas of coastal plain.

The mountain massifs following the coast have a general orientation S.S.W.-N.N.E.; they are formed of domes generally with an axis in the same direction, separated by synclinal zones of the same orientation. But over these tectonic influences there have been many others: torrents with their channels oriented rather on an east-west axis; then karstic erosion in the calcareous rocks causing an abundance of closed depressions. All these factors have formed a confused topography of heights and depressions with no sharply distinguishable guiding lines when viewed from their midst.

The Amanus massif in the north is the easiest to penetrate in spite of its high altitudes: the highest peaks, reaching 2550 meters, are to the north. The Amanus, the largest part of which is now (since the cession of the Alexandretta sandjak) in Turkish territory, is a tauric fold with a topography slightly more Alpine than the southern massifs. On the Turko-Syrian border the topography is extremely rugged, with deep valleys, narrow gorges separated by bold and jagged ridges.

The Jebel Ansarieh, south of the Orontes, is not so high: the highest peaks reaching 1600 meters are on the east, on the ridge directly overlooking the great interior rift-valley of the Bekaa. The Jebel is for the most part an impenetrable tangle of hills divided by narrow, very steeply banked valleys, its total breadth ranging from 30 to 35 kilometers. The average altitude of these hills increases from the coast to the interior until we find outlined ridges of truly imposing dimensions with an orientation north-south, parallel to the

axis of the great cave-in of the Bekaa. On the map the Jebel Ansarieh appears clearly what is is: impenetrable. It has proved so in history. The crusaders were at great pains to subdue this mountain region, the Country of Assassins (Hashishin, smokers of Hashish), whose guerrilla warfare was so successful that the word assassin has remained a substantive meaning murderer.

On the south the Jebel Ansarieh slopes gently towards the great depression of Tripoli-Homs in which flows the River Nahr el Kebir. Near the center of this breach in the mountainous barrier rises a large butte which reaches an altitude of 1050 meters and commands a view of the whole passage towards Homs and eastern Syria.

On the south stand the Lebanon mountains, which continue as far as the frontier of Palestine and constitute by far the most imposing range of the Levant States. The highest peaks reach 3089 meters in the Jebel Makmel. The Leban n is a veritable wall overlooking the coastal plains and the blue sheet of the Mediterranean on the one side and the arid plain of the Bekaa on the other. Its cliffs on the coast often reach a height of more than 1000 meters in the region of Beirut and Tripoli. It is only in the south near the Palestinian frontier that the range falls to lower altitudes and becomes more open and less massive.

On the north the Lebanon is formed by a mountain tabula stretching out N.N.E.-S.S.W., with a breadth of 20 to 26 kilometers and an average altitude of 1000 to 1500 meters, everywhere surrounded by very steep slopes. Upon this massif are standing, superimposed, the remnants of another: the plateau of Kornet-es-Sacouda (3089 meters) and the Sannin (2628 meters). On the west this high massif is bordered from the Akkar plain to Djébaïl by a zone of small hills. From Djébaïl to Beirut it constitutes the seacoast. Further to the south where the altitude is lower the massif breaks into fragments and becomes a rugged plateau with fractures running in various directions, sloping gently to the south and east.

On the west, overlooking the coastal plains, the Lebanese bank has been battered by the waves which have plowed out frequent deep gorges. For the most part it stands vigorously upright, an obstacle to anyone approaching from the coast. The middle mountain, often called the "Voussoir", slopes up slowly towards the interior. Broken by faults, its altitude varies from 600 to 1400 meters. Waters, seeking the level of the Mediterranean, have gashed the western buttresses of the Lebanon north of Dahr-el-Baidar with deep furrows perpendicular to the coast. These gashes, far from facilitating access to the interior, make it necessary to follow the crests if one wishes to go east. Above all, they form an obstacle to any longitudinal communications between sections of the mountainous zone. All these valleys stretch out at the foot of the main summits of the central chain, thus marking northern Lebanon with one of its most significant characteristics. Large funnels have been dug in the sandstone, sand and marl. Their ramifications eat deeply into the mass of the overlooking table. South, near Mouktara and Jézin, are valleys developing in a direction almost parallel to the coast and to the ridge of Jebel Barouk. Finally, the region immediately west of the Jebel Knissé and of Dahr el Baïdar is the most eroded zone of the whole Mediterranean watershed.

East of the Voussoir are the highest reliefs of the chain, forming a rectilinear and continuous rampart. In the south, the narrow ridge of Jebel Barouk varies from 1800 meters to 2000 meters; north of Dahr el Baïdar, we find every variety of karstic forms: tabular masses, trunkated pyramids, slightly slanting slopes and landings, flattened crests, not forgetting small closed depressions. The altitude of these massifs increases from south to north: the Knissé has an altitude of 2091 meters and, in the Makmel, the Dahr el Khatib rises to 3066 meters. Save for the two passes on each side of the Knissé, the thoroughfares from one versant to another consist of a few goat tracks snow-clad six months of the year. The high ridges stretch out in fronts 30 kilometers long without the slightest possibility of crossing. The valleys abort at the

base of the powerful massifs of the Makmal, the Mnétri, and the Sannin. They slip into southern Lebanon parallel to the Jebel Barouk without meeting it abreast. The Litani drills into it with deep gorges.

This obstacle to circulation is the more redoubtable as the oriental versant falls abruptly into the Bekaa. This great Median rift-valley is the fundamental characteristic in the topography of occidental Syria.

The Median Depression

In the north the median furrow loses its character of a rift-valley: while dominated from the west by the vigorous and almost uninterrupted wall of the Amanus and the Ansarieh, it is edged on the east only by irregular massifs. The furrow starts in the north with the valley of the Kara Sou which flows across a large boggy region into the Orontes; in the south we find another long rectangle of swamps, the Ghab, drained by the Orontes. The altitude increases slightly towards the south: 100 meters at the Orontes' elbow, about 200 meters in the bottom near Jisr-esh-Shaur, where the median valley is divided by the backbone of Jebel Wastani into two furrows, the Orontes in the west and the Orujova swamps in the east. The altitude then remains around 200 meters in the swamps of Ghab. It reaches 300 to 400 meters in the plain that stretches broadly north of Hama. All these plains, as is the whole rift-valley, are cut up by the Orontes and its tributaries into superposed terraces. Everywhere is an abundance of knolls, natural or artificial (such as "tells", often burying many ancient, superposed cities).

In the center, in the region of Baalbeck, the Bekaa attains its greatest altitude, around 1100 meters; there, however, it is still between two walls several hundred meters high. South of Baalbeck the altitude diminishes; there, the Bekaa basin proper, which is drained towards the south by the Litani, opens out at 800 meters between summits all reaching over 2000 meters. This

ditch of Coelé-Syrie is thus formed of a series of rather diversified compartments. It has no perfect unity except in so far as it interposes between two large mountainous alignments. At its southern extremity, the Bekaa is closed by a system of stony hills, the Jebel-el-Dhar, squeezed between the Jebel Barouk and the Hermon and covered by a confused network of narrow depressions.

The Eastern Ranges

East of the median furrow the eastern series of the Syrian massifs is less continuous and less imposing than the coastal alignment: on the north we find rather low massifs sharply separated from one another by large breaches. The Syro-Turkish frontier overrides the Bulbul Dagh (1200 meters), the southern point of dark basaltic tables. Further south appears a land of low hills, calcareous or marly, strewn with forests, the Kurd Dagh, overlooking the Kara-sou to the east. In the center of the Kurd Dagh the dome of Havar Dagh rises to 740 meters. On the east the Kurd Dagh falls towards the large calcareous plateau, and to the south it disappears under the alluvials of the Amouk.

On the left bank of the Afrine rises a calcareous plateau divided into zones of unequal height by north-south fractures. Culminating at 869 meters at the Jebel Smane, this relief forms an arc concentric to that of the Amanus going from Azaz to Derkouch (which is on the Orontes).

Further south, overlooking the swamp of Ghab and facing the Jebel Ansarieh, is the Jebel Zawiyé (culminating at 930 meters), a kind of table, sloping upwards on the west and gently vaulted with north-south fractures. To the east and south this Jebel falls gently to the plateaus of the interior and the large plateau of Hama. We find there, north of the anti-Lebanon from Hama to Homs, a large flat zone well adapted to easy circulation.

Facing the Lebanon the mountainous system of the anti-Lebanon and the Hermon rises east of the Bekaa. The anti-Lebanon is a high mountain massif stretching out for 170 kilometers in a N.E.-S.W. direction; its breadth ranges from 20 to 25 kilometers and it is divided into two equal parts by a fracture

cutting across it diagonally, parallel to the Lebanon axis. The southwestern half is formed by the Hermon massif whose summits rise to 2814 meters into an immense arch directly above the depression of Huleh, which has an altitude of 2 meters. Two ramifications separate from this rocky massif in a northward direction with an altitude slightly over 1500 meters: one, the Jebel Sheikh Massour, follows the border of the Bekaa and tapers to an end near Baalbeck; the other, much shorter, forms the oval ridge of Mazar (1634 meters).

The two halves of the anti-Lebanon form two cliffs which overlook the surroundings on two sides of a zone, depressed but uneven, dividing the Hermon from the anti-Lebanon proper, called the Zebdani depression. The Beirut-Damascus railway follows this valley when it crosses the anti-Lebanon. Northeast of the Zebdani valley the anti-Lebanon proper is somewhat flat, a large table stretching out at an average altitude of 2000 meters. At its extremity on its eastern border, the ridge of Talaat Mousa stands out, reaching an altitude of 2623 meters; then the massif slopes down gently in steps. This variety of steps overlooks Damascus to the west and is called the Kalamoun plateaus. Then, suddenly, the mountainous region ends and gives way to the large plains of the interior which are already the desert of Syria.

Such is the topography of western Syria, a Mediterranean country and a mountainous country. Eastern Syria, or interior Syria, is a country of plains and plateaus interrupted by a few groups of hills, but its topography is infinitely more calm and monotonous than that of Mediterranean Syria. It can be studied more rapidly. The region between the eastern ranges and the Euphrates is called by the Arabs Shamieh and that between the Euphrates and the Tigris is called Jezireh (i.e., island).

<u>The Desert Area: The Shamieh.</u>

The northern extremity of the Shamieh between Kurd Dagh and the Euphrates is a calcareous and tabular country, its contour indented by a great

number of wadis. In the neighborhood of Alep it extends for a breadth of 60 kilometers. It is much more narrow along the Jebel Smane and as far as the northern edge of the Jebel Zawiyé.

Toward the south the topography changes to a vast plain, gently undulating, dotted with closed basins which sometimes contain salt lakes or marshes (there is a whole series of them in the west). But progressing southward we come upon some reliefs having a W.-E. axis. The first of these massifs, which stretches from Selimieh to Suhne and reaches altitudes of 1000 meters, is formed by the Jebels Shoumariye, Bilaas and Bouaida. This alignment, accompanied the whole way by a series of secondary ridges and small plateaus, is continued by the Jebel Bishri which, without exceeding an altitude of 865 meters, reaches to the Euphrates.

Another chain of massifs, somewhat lower, breaks off from the Jebel Bouaida to the southwest, reaching as far as Damascus and the Hermon. This ridge passes by Palmyra and is called Jebel Sharki, then Jebel Rawaq. To the south of this mountainous barrier stretch vast plains whose topography is monotonous with few irregularities. The Arabs call these plains Al-Hamad (or, again, Al-Woudiyan). This country is traversed by the valleys of wadis which are almost always dry, dotted with lakes often reduced to a crust of salt in the bottom of closed depressions.

These vast plains, the Hamad, where the great plains of interior Arabia reach their northern terminus, are limited by the range of the hilly massifs which form a continuous line from the Hermon to the Euphrates, passing through Deyr, Palmyra and Suhne in a S.W.-N.E. direction.

The barrier of these hills aslant the Shamieh has always played an important strategic role because it commands the traffic across the desert of Syria. It is marked by the great caravanseer cities of former times which are still the principal centers of population and commerce in the wilderness:

Damascus, Palmyra, Suhne. It is, indeed, the first natural line to the north of the Arabian plateau where a line of defense could be anchored. The parallel folds of the Rawaq and the Bishri form effective barriers to the plain. They may be crossed only by infrequent, well determined passes, generally guarded by a town which has had its former epochs of military glory: Palmyra, Suhne. It is on this natural barrier that, in the first centuries of the Christian era, the Roman Limes of Syria was based.

In the southwest corner of the Syrian Hamad rises the volcanic massif of the Jebel Druze or Jebel Hawran, a confused pile of peaks and sharp ridges, framing depressions often difficult of access. The summits of the Jebel Druze rise to 1840 meters. All around, stretching for an area of more than 3000 square kilometers, are huge dark slabs made from the basaltic eruptions of the Jebel Druze. Some volcanic outcroppings in the shape of cones occasionally emerge from these slabs whose surface for the most part is covered with a rocky steppe, dark and monotonous.

In this setting the Shamieh seems to be a vast country of plateaus and plains sometimes roughened by slightly raised massifs. An exception is the Jebel Druze, with an altitude generally exceeding 1500 meters. These desert plains are often rocky. They are very seldom sandy: the ocean of sand dunes of the Sahara does not exist in Syria. Only to the south of the Hamad, in the neighborhood of the Jauf oases, is there any substantial amount of sand, but for the most part the desert of Syria is a desert of rocks.

The Jezireh.

The desert continues but with a slightly different relief in the Jezireh beyond the Euphrates. The great valley of the Euphrates is bordered on its right bank by quite high cliffs (80 to 100 meters and sometimes more) forming the eastern edge of the plateaus of the Shamieh. Between the Euphrates and the Tigris that part of the Jezireh which is in Syrian territory is an immense plain bordered on the north by the volcanic massif of Karaja Dagh

and by calcareous hills of the Jebel Tour, somewhat on the line of Ourfa-Mardins-Nesibin-Jeziret-ibn-Omar. From this region, whose altitude is about 400 to 500 meters, the plain slopes gently to the S.E. where its altitude is less than 100 meters. Like the Hamad, the Jezireh retains traces of a hydrographic network, formerly highly pronounced but fossil today. These valleys tend to change from continuous thalwags to chains of small closed basins. This is a rather frequent occurrence along the length of the Syro-Irakian frontier.

This flatness of the Syrian Jezireh is only broken by some reliefs slightly more accented in the N.W. corner, in the neighborhood of the valley of the Tigris, where the frontier forms what is called "le bec de canard" (a duck's beak). Then a small alignment of massifs W.-E. interrupt this monotonous relief and really continue the barrier Rawaq-Bishri to the east, but with less continuity: there is first, west of the Khabour River, the Jebel Abd-el-Aziz which rises to 800 meters in its central part, stretches for a length of about 60 kilometers and falls with abrupt gradients to the north and with gentle slopes to the south; east of the Khabour, the Jebel Jeribe continues it to the east with the same asymetrical versants, rising gently towards the east to fall vertically on the pass of Samoukha. Beyond this pass rises the calcareous arch of Jebel Singar: this is the largest relief of the Jezireh, 50 kilometers long, reaching an altitude of 1600 meters, with abrupt slopes to the north; a large basin is dug in these slopes, and the Jebel Singar appears from the North as a bold ridge dominating a lengthy depression.

These Jebels of the Jezireh have an especial importance not only because they command the plain, but also because they constitute water reservoirs and thus great centers of supplies and of sedentary populations.

Such is the detailed topography of Syria and Lebanon, in the west a mountainous country of difficult travel, with reliefs orientated on grand north-south axes, and in the east a tableland country of easy travel, cut by some ridges with a general orientation east and west.

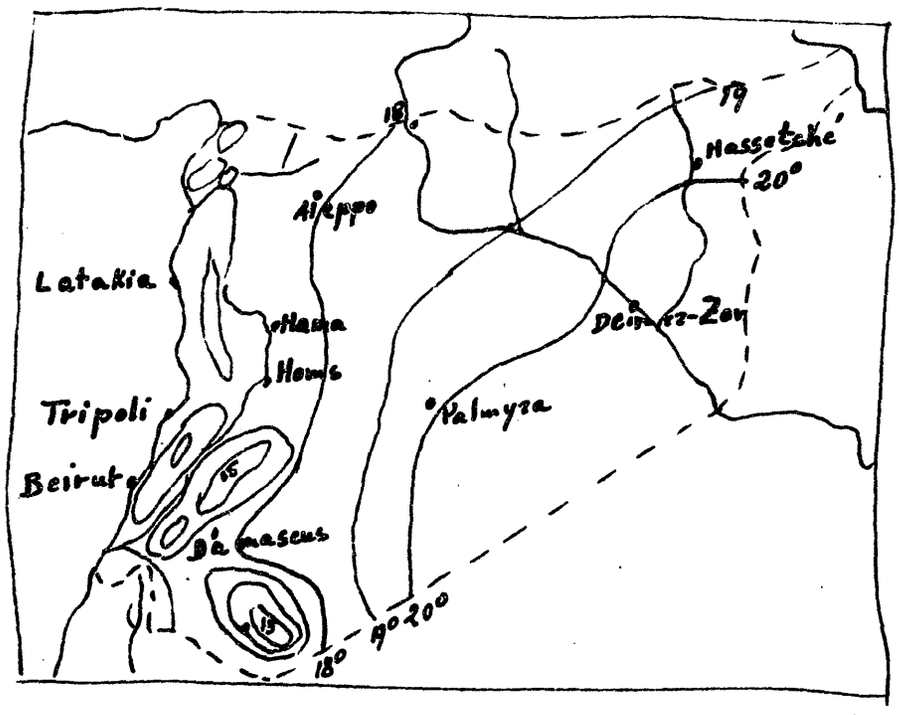
Climatic Conditions

Syria and Lebanon enjoy a warm, dry climate. Different climatic zones may be distinguished in the Levant States: the coastal regions have a Mediterranean climate while that of the Shamieh is definitely desert. The most important general feature is the division of the year into two seasons—a hot, dry period from May to October and a colder, rainy period from November to April. But the extremes of heat or cold, the length of the humid period, and the amount of precipitation vary greatly in the Levant States from one part to another.

Temperature

The general distribution of the average annual temperatures in the Levant States appears on the attached map. In the greater part of these territories averages are between 15 and 20 degrees C. Only the eastern portion of the desert has averages above 20° C, and only the highest mountain ranges have less than 15° C. Generally the 15° isotherm follows exactly the isohypse of 1000 metres. The isotherm of 10° C proceeds at an altitude of 1800 to 2000 metres. But these are annual averages and during the year the temperature varies greatly. The variations are important and increase regularly to the north and east. Along the coast we find an average annual variation of 14° C at Beirut, 16.3° C at Latakia, 17.8° C at Alexandrette; in the mountainous and median region, 18.9° C at the El-Ksara Observatory, 21° at Homs and 23.4° at Alep; in the interior, 23.1° at Palmyra, 25.1° at Rakka, and 26.4° at Jerablus. These figures show the difference between the average temperatures of the coldest and warmest months.

In the west the temperature is moderated by the influence of the sea, which is warmer in winter and colder in summer than the earth. This influence penetrates inland through the Tripoli-Homs breach, but does not reach much farther than the Orontes. January is generally the coldest month, while August is the hotest. Sometimes the maxima reached in April-May equal or even excede summer temperatures; this may occur with the nearby passage of the warm front of a



Average Temperature Map of Syria and Lebanon
according to Rev. F. Combier

Temperatures in degrees centigrade

cyclonic depression causing a khamsin wind.

On the coast the temperature is generally between 10° C and 20° C in winter, with minima going down to 3° C or 4° C. The daily oscillations may have a variation of 5 to 18 degrees, especially in January and February. The temperature decreases, of course, as the altitude rises. In the interior the usual winter temperature is about 5° C to 7° C, but the mean minima are close to zero at Alep and Deir-ez-Zor. In the heights of the Jebel Druse, minimas of -10° C and even -15° C are not uncommon. But, at the same time, some days the temperature may rise to 20° C or 30° C even in January.

During the summer, coastal averages are from 27° C to 28° C, with mean maximas of 37° to 40° C. In the middle of the day, in August, temperatures above 40° C in the shade are quite frequent. In the interior, the heat is still greater but the averages are not much increased; since the altitude is generally 500 to 1000 metres and the nights are much cooler, the average for the whole twenty-four hours is much lower than the average for the twelve daytime hours. This great difference between day and night temperatures is an essential characteristic of the thermic regime of desert and sub-desert areas; in such regions during the summer the thermometer indicates 25° to 30° C at dawn, 45° or higher during the day (in the shade), and falls to 20° or lower at night.

Humidity and Rainfall

In this arid country the water resources, and especially the rainfall, regulate the life of plants, animals and men. The attached map of average rainfall shows that precipitation decreases regularly towards the east. Broadly speaking, the Levant states are divided into two great sections, a Mediterranean "facade" where annual precipitation is more than 500 millimeters, with maxima on the high ranges, and an interior region, east of the Orontes-Litani valleys, with less than 500 mm. and even less than 250 mm. throughout its greater part.

To be more precise, the distribution of rainfall is based on the topography. On the coast, 900 mm. is a frequent average (906 mm. at Beirut). On the ranges

it is from 1000 mm to 2000 mm--almost always more than 1000 mm. at altitudes above 1000 metres, 1400 mm. at El-Krey, 1300 mm. at Jezzin. In the median depression precipitation varies from 500 mm. to 700 mm. with a 700-800 maximum on the western slopes of Anti-Lebanon. East of the second range rainfall is rarely above 400 mm. a year. The western slopes of the Jebal Druze have slightly more. Palmyra and the Hamad are in the true desert with less than 100 mm., while there is a slightly higher maximum in the northeast where altitude also increases, in the Bec de Canard, at the foot of the Armenian massif.

The chief characteristic is the concentration of the yearly precipitation in the cold season: there is no rain from May to October and the greatest part falls from December to April. Even storms are exceptional in summer. The month which has the greatest rainfall as well as the greatest number of rainy days is February. During the winter, storms are frequent and of extreme violence in the desert--during a storm the illumination of the sky is almost continuous. Snow is very common in January-February throughout the Levant states. Generally it melts rapidly--a blanket of snow that remained for two whole days over Beirut in 1920 was recorded as an unusual occurance. But on the Ansarieh, the Lebanon and the Hermon, the summits are snow clad during at least half the year. In certain high, closed basins layers of snow may persist throughout the year, but it would be incorrect to speak of permanent snow as in the Alps or the Rocky Mountains. In the desert, even south of Palmyra, thin layers of snow, while of short duration, are a common sight in the winter.

An important feature is the great irregularity of the rainfall. Every year shows figures differing greatly from the average in one direction or the other. In the same year, rainfall in one locality may be extremely abundant while in another it is very scanty; for example, during the rainy season of 1928-29, a precipitation of 2150 mm. was recorded at Jezzin (Lebanon) and only 77 mm. at Palmyra. Similarly the beginning and the end of the rainy season are

irregular and the distribution of rainfall during the winter is by no means equal. Rain generally falls in heavy drops; a rainfall of one hundred millimeters in a few hours is not unusual, with the result that a tenth or even a third of the whole year's precipitation may be concentrated in one day.

Thus the summer is absolutely without rainfall. The only exception is the possibility of summer storms in the north, at the foot of the Turkish mountains. Elsewhere the first drops cannot fall before the middle of September. Notwithstanding, the humidity of the air is almost constant throughout the year on the coast and in the Lebanon, being nearly 70 to 80% at Beirut, 60 to 75% at El-Krey. In a number of places in the maritime climate area the humidity is even higher in summer than in winter; there is no rain, but there are frequent mists in the morning and abundant dew. This climate extends inland slightly, not far, along the Tripoli-Homs depression. Thus damp, humid heat in the summer is a characteristic of the coastal area, producing a heavy atmosphere, saturating clothes and walls with moisture. It is not so prevalent in spring and fall when the eastern winds, the khamsins, from time to time greatly dry the atmosphere.

East of the coastal ranges, the warm season is truly very dry and the humidity extremely low. Altitude provides the only exceptions--during the transitional seasons, spring and autumn, humidity may concentrate in night mists over the hilly areas. At Deir-ez-Zof, July has an average humidity of 30 per cent.

Nebulosity

This seasonal concentration of rainfall, the dryness of the atmosphere everywhere except on the coast, the high temperatures, all these features give to the atmosphere of the Levant states a striking luminosity. This well-known characteristic of the Mediterranean lands is particularly stressed in the Levant. The air is usually very clear, the sunshine extremely bright and glittering, the sky generally cloudless.

The low nebulosity of the Levant sky is of great importance especially for aviation. Nebulosity is measured by the extension of clouds over the sky;

figures ranging from 0 to 10 indicate what proportion of the sky is covered by clouds (a completely covered sky is indicated by the figure 10; a sky with one quarter of its surface covered, by 2.5; an entirely cloudless sky, by 0). Over the whole of the Levant states average nebulosity is 3.25, less than a third of the sky covered by clouds! East of the coastal ranges, the sky is practically cloudless from June to September; periods of fifteen days without the slightest trace of cloud in the blue sky are frequent and people from more humid lands may experience an actual nostalgia for clouds. During the summer, the only clouds common in the Levant are white, light ones which cling to the high slopes of the mountains.

Nebulosity is much greater in winter. The mean maximas are 5 at Beirut, 7 at El-Krey, 6 at Salamieh, 5 at Deir-es-Zor on the Euphrates. These figures are higher than might be expected in the interior; this is because the maritime air masses coming from the west have expended a large portion of their humidity in rains on the highlands of the coastal region and can do no more than gather over the desert in white clouds of the cumuli type--actual rain is a rarity. In spring and fall the range of hilly massifs that stretches across the desert (Jebels Rawag, Bishris Sangar) attracts a greater density of clouds. Airplane pilots know this well. Mists and dense clouds gather on the summits of these jebels and constitute a dangerous zone with very low ceilings at these seasons. Pilots generally prefer to take a more southern or northern route or to cross at higher altitudes where they run no risk of crashing into some ridge or peak hidden in the clouds.

In general, nebulosity is very low in the Levant skies and visibility is excellent. The sky is only darkened from time to time, when cloudless, by a sort of light yellow haze resulting from sandstorms.

The Winds

Throughout the year the dominating winds in the Levant are from the west and northwest. In summer the high-pressure area of the Sahara extends

northwards and covers the Mediterranean, a low pressure area is then formed over Southern Arabia with the dominant winds from the northwest. In winter, winds dppend upon the cyclonic depressions which come from the southwest. On the coastal region, winds from the southwest are not uncommon. In the northeast, the area called "Bec de Canard," the winds frequently come from the vast highlands that stretch to the north. These winds consist of masses of polar air, compressed, heated and dryed by their descent, which contribute greatly to the heat of this region of the Jezireh.

These descending winds are in origin and properties very similar to the "feehn" in the Alps, the "chinook" on the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains, and the "khamsin" or "sirocco" on the Mediterranean coast. The khamsin, which blows on the Syrian coast from time to time, more frequently during spring and autumn, is a very dry, hot wind from the east or southeast. Coming down from the Lebanon or Ansarieh ranges, it is particularly compressed and dried. The weather it creates is of a very special type of dry heat with the humidity sometimes under 10%, in which it is difficult to breathe. It often announces the coming of rain, since it is caused by a low-pressure center approaching the coast from the west. After the passage of such a center, the wind turns to the west and, in winter, brings rain. The wind is generally weaker on the coast than in the interior. In the coastal regions there is a regular alternation of sea and land breezes during the day. During the daylight hours this light wind from the sea makes the atmosphere cooler but at the same time more humid.

In the interior and especially in the desert, the sandwinds play an important role in life on the ground as well as in air navigation. These sandwinds are less terrible in the Syrian desert than in the Sahara, because the extent of sand dunes is much less and there is more vegetation. But nevertheless, it is a painful phenomenon and one which requires certain preparations. There are different aspects of this phenomenon ranging from the sand haze to the true sandstorm.

The sand haze which darkens the cloudless sky is sometimes very dense and can be transported for long distances. In the hot sector it generally appears at the height of a low-pressure area. It does not extend over an area beyond the demarkation of the cold and warm fronts of the depression. Slowly it descends to the ground forming, in the winter, patches of yellow mud on the melting snow of the desert. For the most part the sand haze in Syria is not very troublesome, but it has certain consequences for aviation. The haze does not greatly lessen visibility on the ground or affect vertical visibility, but it greatly diminishes horizontal visibility at a height. Thus, a plane can be seen from the ground and the pilot can see the country over which he is flying but the pilot's lateral visibility is extremely poor. The haze remains a haze only insofar as it is not carried away by a sand wind or a whirlwind.

The sand whirlwinds are more dangerous. In the interior they generally form long lines of black and yellow whirls, often several kilometers in length. They are produced by contact between two air currents from different directions or of different velocities. The whirls are carried along by the strongest of these currents, sucking up all the loose particles from the ground. The phenomenon, as described by witnesses, greatly resembles the bombardment of an entrenched line by heavy artillery except that the columns of dirt and dust rise as much as 1000 metres and sometimes even higher. At the summits of these columns the sand expands in a haze which is borne off by the prevailing current. In the region of Hassetche such a "meterological bombardment" was observed daily for more than a month. The whirls often have a diameter of 20 metres or more. The wind is violent around the zone of the whirls. The whirls may proceed either singly or in a small group; then they are true sand-spouts. Sand whirls are always dangerous for aviation; landing in a zone of sand whirlwinds is risky and sometimes impossible. But the zone of sandwhirls is never more than several hundred metres in breadth.

Finally there are the sand winds themselves. These are descending winds which rebound from the ground and thus pick up all the loose dust spread over the surface. These winds are especially common on the frontal border of storm areas. On the coast such a wind produces the phenomenon of the khamsin; the sandwind proper occurs in the desert areas. The advent of a sand wind is a gripping spectacle. In a very quiet, hot, heavy atmosphere, the horizon appears closed by a yellowish cushion which approaches gradually, grows, rises up like an opaque wall, very high, masking the sky. Pilots encounter this wall of sand at altitudes of 1000 and sometimes 2000 metres above the ground. The arrival of this wall is preceded by an unusual calm, then some puffs of hot air, and suddenly the wind rises all at once. Then one is surrounded by the wall of sand. The sand penetrates all cracks. It is impossible to do more than take shelter and wait—the wind may last for hours. It puts a stop to all activity, all transit in the region which it covers.

All these sand phenomena constitute important hazards for pilots in the desert. Among these difficulties may be included also the summer storms that occur along the Turkish frontier and the spring or autumn clouds which gather along the Jebels Rawaq, Bishri, Singar. The most dangerous of all are certainly the sand winds and whirls. But even in very calm and clear weather planes may encounter another danger—the air pockets caused by the descent of masses of cold air to the ground. These generally occur in clear hot weather, when the air heated at ground level has an upward force and draws the cold air masses downwards. Upon reaching low altitudes, these air masses have been compressed, heated and dryed during their descent. Thus is created the instability of the air and the phenomenon, well known by pilots, of air pockets which cause a plane to fall, suddenly, without the control of the pilot. If at that moment the plane is not far above the ground, it may crash before the pilot regains control. These air pockets occur with greater frequency and intensity over depressed and over-heated areas, as for instance, the Bekaa in summer. They are particularly

serious over the Jordan Valley. The R. A. F. base at Tiberias, almost at the Syrian frontier, suffered so much from this peculiarity that it was closed for several years and only reopened just before the war. While the danger is less in the Bekaa and Damascus area, it still exists.

Such are the main features of the weather and climate in the Levant states. On the whole only the coastal area, nearly 40 to 60 kilometers broad, enjoys a true Mediterranean moderate climate. Further in the interior it is a frankly desert climate, and between the Homs region and the Hamad occur all the gradations that form the transition from the one to the other.

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Comparative Meteorological Statistics

	Average temperature (in deg. F)		Average rainfall (in inches)	
	Beirut	Washington	Beirut	Washington, D. C.
January	56.5	32.9	7.3	3.1
February	57.7	34.5	5.7	3.1
March	61.2	42.2	3.9	3.5
April	66.0	53.1	2.2	3.3
May	71.8	64.2	0.8	3.7
June	77.7	72.7	0.1	3.7
July	82.0	76.8	0.0	4.3
August	83.0	74.5	0.0	4.1
September	80.8	68.1	0.3	3.3
October	76.1	56.6	2.1	3.1
November	67.3	45.0	5.3	2.6
December	60.6	36.1	7.5	3.0
Year	70.0	54.7	35.5	40.8
Range	26.6	43.9		

(According to W. G. Kendrew, The Climates of the Continents)

Hydrography

In a land with a dry climate like Syria, all activities depend upon the water resources. What is possible and relatively simple in other countries becomes a difficult problem in arid Syria; for instance, supplying water for man. The population is concentrated in these areas better supplied with water. Rivers, pools, springs, and wells are of greater economic and strategic importance than in more humid lands. The hydrography of the country depends both upon the weather and upon the topography.

The rainfall and its drainage are influenced by the topography. The calcareous mountains are water reservoirs and the greater part of the important springs cluster about them. But permanent streams are rare in Syria and Lebanon. Lack of water, concentration of the rainfall in a short period of the year, intense evaporation during the greater part of the year—these three factors together result in a drying-up of the rivers with only a few exceptions; and even these exceptions have an extremely irregular gauge.

In Syria only four streams merit the term river: the Orontes, the Litani, the Khabour and the Euphrates (the latter having only a section of its valley in Syrian territory). We may perhaps add the Tigris which serves for a brief portion of its length as the Syrian border. These rivers are permanent, and empty into the sea. All other rivers can be divided into two groups: the costal torrents and the wadis of the interior.

The Coastal Torrents

The coastal streams are torrents because they flow down the abrupt slopes from the coastal ranges to the Mediterranean level. If the thalweg depends entirely upon the rains for its water supply, it will be dry for at least half the year and sometimes even during those weeks which have not had heavy rains. The permanent streams must be fed from the big springs of the "Voussoir" or lower slopes, springs which are supplied by a deep circulation in water-bearing layers of the massifs hundreds of metres thick.

The most important of the coastal torrents from Sour to Latakia are: Nahrel-Zahrani, near Saida; Nahr-el-Damour and Nahr-el-Awali between Saida and Beirut; Nahr-Beirut which supplies the town; Nahr Ibrahim and Nahr-el-Kelb between Beirut and Tripoli; and Nahr el Kebir to the south of Latakia. (Nahr means river in Arabic.) Nahr Ibrahim may serve as an example of these rivers. It makes a rapid descent from the summits of Lebanon to the sea into which it empties near Tripoli. It never dries up completely, because several permanent springs rise in its valley, receiving water from the deep underground levels of the calcareous massif. The proof of this is the fact that the high waters of Nahr-Ibrahim are always somewhat later than the rainfall maxima. Without taking into account large floods, the Nahr-Ibrahim carries from two cubic metres a second at low water to nineteen cubic metres after the rains.

All these coastal torrents flood in the spring when the snows of the Lebanon are melting. The flood waters are colored a brown, almost red, by the alluvials of the calcareous area (terra rossa) and this is the source of the legend of Adonis. The greater part of the permanent torrents is utilized for irrigation, but they remain obstacles to transit.

The Orontes

The Orontes is a real river entirely within Syria and having a well organized network of tributaries. It is about 600 kilometers long, including its many twists and turns. North of Baalbeck it drains the median depression, then turns sharply to the west and crosses the coastal range between the Amanus and the Jebel Akra, draining the Antioch depression. On its way the Orontes crosses two large marshy areas; the Ghab in the median depression and the Amouk near Antioch. A series of important springs located at the foot of the ranges supplies the Orontes with water the year round. Artificial works established on some of its tributaries, in particular the lake of Homs, help to regularize its flow. In the north the waters of the Ghab, then those of the Afrine and Kara-Sou coming from the slopes of Anatolia, reinforce the river. Mountains, with heavy

rainfall and snowclad summits in the winter, surround the great basin of the Orontes.

Its waters are low in the late summer, its floods occur from February to April. During the low waters it carries on the average ten cubic metres a second at Hama and thirty at Antioch. During the floods the gauge rises to nearly 100 cubic metres a second at Hama and to 240 at Antioch. The relative regularity of the Orontes is caused by its vast basin with its mountains, calcareous massifs, and by the equalising action of the three reservoirs of the Homs Lake, the Ghab and Amouk marshes. Even the floods of the northern tributaries of the Orontes, the Afrine (which carries from two to forty cubic metres a second), the Murad-Pasha (four to ten), the Kara-Sou (three to thirty) are somewhat equalized by the Amouk marshes. These marshes cover nearly 220 square kilometers around the Antioch Lake which has an area of 90 square kilometers and a depth of two metres. The Amouk as well as the Ghab constitute reservoirs throughout the year, but their evaporation in summer is so great that they impoverish the streams which cross them.

The waters of the Orontes are used to irrigate the neighboring lands and to turn waterwheels. The river is more important than a road, for it feeds the country. The marshy areas, where the water is superabundant, are more than anything else obstacles to transit.

The Litani

The Litani repeats the Orontes to the south on a smaller scale and without the swamps. Rich springs on the border of the Bekaa feed the Litani directly or through small tributaries (the most important in the Bekaa is Nahr Gasail which drains the foot of the Anti-Lebanon). At Mansura, the Litani (or Nahr-el-Qasmieh) carries from three to sixteen cubic metres per second. It turns west, pierces through the Lebanon Range in deep gorges and empties into the sea between Sour and Saida like an ordinary torrent. It irrigates a portion of the Bekaa fields.

The Euphrates

This great river crosses the Syrian desert from northwest to southeast and divides it into its two large sections, the Shamieh and the Jezireh. The river rises in the high, well-watered plateaus of Armenia. During its course through Syria it receives no tributaries from the right (from the east or south) and only two large tributaries from the left, which themselves come from the highlands situated to the north of Syria.

These two rivers are the Nahr Balik, which flows into the Euphrates a little below Rakka and has an average rate of flow of six cubic metres per second at low water in the summer, and the Khabour, much more important and a vital nerve of the Syrian Jezireh. The Khabour is formed by the union of the waters from many springs scattered at the foot of the highlands of Kurdistan. The most important of these springs is the Ras-el-Ain on the Turko-Syrian frontier. The Khabour has two branches which come from the northeast, Wadi Yagh-Yagh, and Wadi Radi. The Khabour empties into the Euphrates below Deir-ez-Zor, at Bassiret. It brings an important contribution; the average rate of flow of the Khabour at Swar is quite consistent, averaging about forty cubic metres per second. But during the torrential winter floods, the volume easily reaches 100 to 150 cubic metres (from January to April.)

The Euphrates, well supplied by the rain waters and melting snows of Armenia as well as by these two tributaries, flows gently towards the Persian Gulf. Its average rate of flow during low water is about 180 cubic metres per second at Meskene. Low water lasts until about the beginning of March and the height of the annual floods, caused by melting snow, comes about the first of May. Its volume during the floods varies greatly, but it may reach 3600 cubic metres per second. After having received the water from the Khabour and in spite of evaporation and irrigation losses, the Euphrates' rate of flow increases, its low water near Abou-Kemal being about 220 cubic metres per second.

Such is the most important of the Syrian rivers. It is navigable only by small boats and is without much commercial interest.

Wadis

The other water courses of Syria rarely merit the name of rivers. Those which are permanent and have a regular rate of flow serve for irrigation and water supply in the regions which they cross. In this way they lose so much water that their course is greatly shortened. In any case, none of these water courses reaches the sea or any of the three rivers enumerated above. The most noteworthy of these permanent wadis are the Barada and the Yarmouk. The Barada, fed by springs at the foot of the Anti-Lebanon, drains the Zebdani depression and waters Damascus. The great oasis absorbs almost all of its water and the Barada ends in a pool just east of Damascus; whatever is left of its water disappears there by evaporation and infiltration. The Yarmouk is longer and, draining the Jebel Druse, empties into the Jordan in Palestine. It is very irregular: while almost dry during low water in the summer, at Wadi-Khaled for example, it has an average rate of flow of 45 cubic metres per second in the winter. During the great floods it occasionally brings more than 1000 cubic metres per second to the Jordan.

But the greater part of the wadis of the interior are not permanent. Almost all the long depressions in the interior of Syria are valleys, wadis. For the greater part of the year these are alluvial and rocky beds, completely dry. Certain of them, those in regions where the winter rains are more regular and abundant, flow during the rains in the winter each year. The water in these wadis, carrying heavy alluvials, does not go very far; it assumes the appearance of thick, muddy lava which advances more and more slowly and finally stops in some depression without having the force to proceed farther. There are a number of these wadis in the desert which only flow for a few days each year, or which do not even flow every year. The winter snows in melting cause only small pools of water in all the little closed depressions which dot the countryside.

In these dry countries where the water courses are wadis, the hydrography of running water is above all a menace. Violent storms may so drench a region of the desert that the wadis have quick violent floods, veritable inundations going down the valley. French troops have come to the Levant with a rich experience in the desert acquired in the Sahara. The regulations forbid a detachment from camping in a wadi; one never knows what may happen. Soldiers have been drowned in the midst of the Sahara when one of these floods rushes along a wadi. The floods which in the last days of October 1937 ravaged the desert region northeast of Damascus may be cited as examples of this variety of sudden inundation. The village of Emeir had 160 houses destroyed, that of Maadamieh was completely destroyed. Official statistics place the deaths at 800 with 30,000 persons left homeless. These villages were situated only a certain distance from the beds of the wadis, but they were at the foot of the slightly elevated massifs which transverse the desert (Jebel Rawaq) and the waters, rushing down the steep slopes, swept everything away.

But what has an economic and strategic importance in the hydrography of arid countries are not the wadis but the water points, springs or wells made by man. There are a great number of water points in the Syrian desert, a desert much humanised, always full of nomads, dotted with ruins of many ages. The most favored spots for population are the valleys of permanent rivers, the Euphrates, Khabour, Barada, and the foot of the calcareous massifs where the great springs gush forth more or less perennially, at the foot of Jebel Singar in the Jesireh, for example. But there are also a great number of springs or water points marking all the great routes across the desert and the itineraries of the large nomad tribes. The largest wadis, which formerly in prehistoric times were the valleys of great rivers, generally have, at a shallow depth, some flow of subterranean water which is thus protected from evaporation, but which may dry up in time of drought. At a much greater depth there are many subterranean water levels which are reasonably

permanent. The wells go down to them for their water and it is in this way that most of the oases obtain their water, especially Palmyra and Suhne. Study of the ruins marking the Roman Limes traversing the Syrian desert has shown that the garrisons constituting this Limes, which were numerous and close enough together, received satisfactory and permanent water supplies through a system (which still exists in many cases) of springs, wells, and cisterns collecting rain water and subterranean conduits called foggara or Kanayat (the systems still exist at Damascus and Palmyra.)

In any case, it is extremely important to keep in mind the value of these water points for all movement and strategy in the desert--he who holds the water points holds the desert.

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HEALTH FACTORS

The climate of the Levant states is, on the whole, a healthy one. Its dry heat is not very depressing, certainly much less so than humid heat. It may be said, moreover, that as Syria on the whole has sufficient altitude, the summer is quite as bearable there as at Fort Dix or Washington. In general it is even less depressing if one does not go out in the sun bare-headed and does not demand great exertions from men in the middle of the day (around noon) from July 15 to September 15. To carry further the comparison between this climate and that of Fort Dix, it may be emphasized that the heat is more constant in Syria; at Fort Dix after several arduous days there may be the hope of cooler weather, while in Syria during four months of the year it is certain that the same burning and implacable sun will be seen day after day. But on the other hand, summer nights are very fresh and easily replace the daytime heat.

The summer is more humid on the coast and there the weather has more resemblance to that of the Atlantic coast of the United States between New York and Washington, but nevertheless this humidity is less in the Levant. The most unbearable climatic phenomena are without doubt the dry and burning khamsins and the sand winds in the desert. But the khamsin rarely lasts more than 48 hours and the sand winds for even less time. Besides, even during the time of the khamsin the Occidental may easily pursue normal activities with light equipment.

As for the winter, it is pleasanter and more healthy in every respect. Thus it may be considered that an expeditionary force of western origin would run no risk from the climate itself. Experiences of French troops in the Levant bear witness to this. Risks to the health of the soldiers would be from diseases not resulting from climatic phenomena alone.

The chief dangers arise from the contagious diseases which the lack of hygiene on the part of the native population and the heat of the climate help to spread. The true desert, dry, devoid of sedentary population, is healthy. To run the risk of infection one must go towards the centers of population. The most widespread diseases in the Levant are trachoma, typhoid fever, dysentery and, of course, malaria. To avoid infection with the first three of these diseases, it is only necessary to observe strict discipline according to the ordinary rules of hygiene. Today the new, "European" sections of the large Syrian towns are healthy and provided with sufficient comforts. But this is not true in the interior, in the country where the water of the wells may often carry the germs of dysentery and typhoid. Great importance must be attached to the fact that the proportion of the native population infected with these diseases or with trachoma is very high. In the country the problem of hygiene is in great part one of an abundant supply of pure water and this problem is very often difficult or even impossible to solve with local facilities. Protecting one's face, food and water from every contaminating contact, and especially from insects, is a fundamental precaution.

Malaria is a more serious endemic disease which is more localized geographically. The danger of malaria was very serious when the Allied troops came to the Levant in 1915. Since then the improvement of the sanitary conditions by the French authorities has been considerable. The economic development of the country, the better utilization of water and the rise in the standard of living have contributed to this improvement. It has been clearly established by the studies made in the Mediterranean world during the past half century that the struggle against malaria requires in the first place a high standard of living, permitting good supplies for the population and a better hygiene for the inhabitants. This has been

realized to a certain extent in the French Levant. The greatest improvements have been in the towns and tourist centers. The new sections of Beirut, Homs, Hama, Aleppo and Palmyra (in this last oasis the inhabitants formerly lived in the ruins of ancient temples which had become terrible centers of infection) have greatly diminished the danger of malaria in these localities. In the country there have been isolated improvements which have only affected a small number of inhabited points.

The region where the danger of malaria remains the greatest and where the highest proportion of chronic malaria is found in the population is the valley of the Orontes, because it is marshy; in the neighborhood of the great swamps of Ghab (north of the Bekaa) and of Amouk (in the northeast corner of the French Levant) malaria still persists in its most violent form. Nevertheless, rigorous hygienic measures, regular and constant control of all water within a radius of 2 to 3 kilometers of the villages, permits the disease to be effectively fought.

Malaria, as everyone knows, is not equally active throughout the whole year. The Anopheles which carry it have a favored season which is, according to Libanese statistics, the spring (above all from March to May). During the winter months their activity is considerably reduced by the low temperatures; their development requires several weeks with temperature above 24°C. It must be emphasized that every period of political and economic instability will bring in the Levant a lessening of the attention brought by man to their control (especially in irrigation and collection of rain water), and consequently an increase in the breeding of the Anophels and thus an increase of malaria. It is a well known fact that any construction of earthworks and especially the digging of trenches brings an immediate local increase of malaria.

It appears useful to draw attention to the presence of some insignificant Mediterranean fevers, not serious but very tedious for those

afflicted. The most common type is the "papatacienne" fever (papotasii), transmitted by a microscopic fly, which makes ill many new arrivals on the Mediterranean coast. It passes off without serious consequences, but it is very weakening and makes walking difficult for several days after the fever seems completely gone.

Such are the general health factors of the Levant. Improvement by comparison with the conditions of 1915 is considerable, but it is still necessary to preserve strict discipline and rigorously enforced hygienic measures, enforced individually as well as collectively.

VITAL AREAS

The Levant states are and always have been, throughout their long history, a land whose chief role has been to be a zone of passage, a country of transit. Also, the masters of the Levant have been those who dominated the plains, the principal passages, the great routes and the crossroads. The mountain massifs have been above all places of refuge, refuge for religious sects, or for political groups which did not wish to submit to the authority ruling the plains.

In the general strategy of the Levant, the vital regions are thus the great regions of transit. On the west, they are determined by the topography, on the east by the topography and still more by the hydrography.

The great zones of transit which command mountainous Syria are the Mediterranean coast, the Tripoli-Homs depression, the depression of Zebdani, and the plateau around Alep.

As we have seen, the littoral is a narrow footway crowded between the sea and the mountains. Nevertheless this path is the route taken by the great invasions which have succeeded each other since the most remote times from Asia to Africa and inversely. A little to the north of Beirut one of the coastal torrents, the Nahr el Kelb, empties into the sea. The high cliffs, the lower slopes of the Lebanon which overhang the coast in this region, bear numerous inscriptions, each commemorating the passage of a conqueror, from the Ramses, the Pharaohs of Egypt, to General Allenby. The coastal route always seems to have been commanded from the sea and not from the mountains which overlook it; it is very easy to strengthen each village and each rocky promontory. The great Phoenician cities (Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, etc.) established on the small islands and peninsulas near the coast but difficult of access from the land, founded their fortunes by alliances with the armies which followed the coastline and which they provisioned. Again in 1941 it was thanks to the guns of the Royal Navy that the allied troops were able to smash the resistance

of the successive fortifications erected on the coast by the troops of General Dentz.

The Antioch depression is now in Turkish territory and the great breach of Tripoli-Homs is the only easy passage remaining in French Levant from the coast towards the interior. It is a valley which is large and easy to hold for those who are firmly established at its two extremities: the littoral and the plain of Homs. The easiest way to bar this valley is to strongly fortify the butte of the Jebel Hassour and the arc-like crest of the Jebel Rija which commands to the north the upper valley of the Nahr el Kebir.

The corridor of Zebdani, which leads from the southern Bekaa towards Damascus and the Shamieh, is commanded by the cliffs which form the summits of the Anti-Lebanon. It is much narrower than the Tripoli-Homs depression and he who holds the heights is master of the valley: the Jebel Horeiri at the elbow of the Barada, which commands the valley of the water course so important for the life of Damascus, would be especially an objective of first-rate importance.

Finally, in the north the plateau around Alep is the great zone of transit, whether from the Bekaa (by the plain of Hama) or from Anatolia towards the desert and Mesopotamia. It is a truly flat region, spread with slightly raised buttes where the town of Alep holds sway.

The great median depression, though it orients the whole topography, is too marshy north of Hama to be a zone of transit. Nevertheless, attention must be drawn to the two approaches at the extremities; it is entered from the heights which overlook the depression. To the north are the hills and ridges which frame the valley of the Afrine. To the south is a region of confused hills amongst which is found the relative depression of Merj-Ayun.

Further to the east of the Bekaa is that part of Syria where flat topography and desert climate predominate. From this point it is the water

points and the permanent water courses which determine essential objectives as they have also determined the distribution of population. It would be difficult to speak of physical objectives in the interior of Syria; almost everywhere there are big or little villages because the population has collected at each point important for trade, transit, or where men may settle down to a sedentary way of life.

Alep at the north is the strategic crossroads on the threshold of the desert; Damascus is to the south. Then comes the only topographical line important for the strategy of the desert - the diagonal of massifs from the Euraq to the Singar. On all the principal passes which break through this chain are stationed the oases, the old caravaneer cities which command the passage. From southeast to the northwest these are: Deir, Zbeydi, Meyadine, Aneybé, Rafeya, Harbaqa, al Qattar, Kweniqe, Al-Abyad, Palmyra, Nichle, Sukhne, Tayibe, As Siqri, Ountariye, Qseibe, and finally those located at the feet of the slopes south of the Jebel Singar. This series of massifs only commands the void, since it only overlooks the desert. The important points are the passages where the currents of nomadic life and commerce meet, above all the principal oases listed (Deyr, Palmyra, Sukhne). The fords of the Euphrates and the Khabour and the main crossroads at the foot of the heights on the Syrian-Turkish frontier should certainly be included. But these objectives which are more human than physical will be studied with the network of communication.

The mountainous massifs have scarcely been touched upon since they are not vital zones from the point of view of transit and generally from the Levantine point of view. This is the country of sedentary farmers who have rather specialized religions and who revolt from time to time. These regions may play a certain role in Levantine strategy in that, if the people living there join one of the belligerents, they must be overcome ridge by ridge.

POLITICAL FACTORS

The Levant States under French mandate are now under the jurisdiction of the National Committee of the Free French Forces established in London. They are administered by a French delegate general, General Catroux. This regime was formed in accord with the British Government after the victory of the allied armies over the forces of General Dentz, High Commissioner in the Levant of the Vichy Government.

The Levant, committed to France under a mandate of the League of Nations at the time of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire after 1918, is divided into two republics: the Republic of Lebanon with its capital at Beirut, and the Republic of Syria which has Damascus for its capital. The regime was set up after 1936, having as its basis the Franco-Syrian and the Franco-Lebanese treaties which have never been ratified by the French parliament and which it has not been possible to apply regularly on the spot. These treaties were an attempt to organize these territories politically according to the principles of autonomy and even for future independence. Like other earlier attempts, these failed; the failure was evident even before the start of actual warfare.

The present situation permits the solution of the problem of the political organization of these territories, at the moment under a regime of military law, to be set aside for adjustment after the war. The political geography of the Levant is one of the most complex imaginable. The best way to understand the whole problem is to see how the political organization developed after 1918 under the French mandate. This mandate was patterned after Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which reads: "Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existance as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone.

The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory."

The mandate over Lebanon and Syria devolving upon France stipulates that the Mandatory Power must elaborate an organic statute for these territories and put it into operation. This statute must be revised as often as necessary under the pressure of events. The Mandatory must in every way favor local autonomies where the circumstances permit. It is charged with the defense of the territories and also takes care of the external relations with foreign powers. It must guarantee Syria and Lebanon against all loss or obligation to lease either the whole or a part of their territories. It must set up a judiciary system assuring natives as well as foreigners complete guarantees of their rights, etc.

The French authorities endeavored to apply the mandate according to the spirit as well as the letter. In this they encountered many difficulties of which the principal had not been solved after attempts lasting over a period of twenty years: this was the problem of giving the Levant States an organic statute sufficiently acceptable to the whole of the population to permit the assurance of internal order without oppression and with justice. Throughout the course of its history, Syria has always been a mosaic of very different political elements, and it still is. It has been impossible to organize it into a single unit except by force and by powerful authority coming from without; thus it has managed to be a province in the Persian, Macedonian, Roman, Arabian, Turkish, and French Empires. But autonomy for the peoples and unity are contradictions in Syria, and the history of the French mandate has abundantly proved this.

The Development of Political Geography

At the end of the Great War, when the Occident undertook the direction of Oriental affairs, France found herself faced in Syria with a veritable political

vacuum. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire left the various free territories in a state of total anarchy, without general lines and without political traditions which might be followed. The mandatory authorities had to decide upon what basis to establish the new political framework and upon what principles or upon what forces to build the new frontiers. Moreover, the problem was twofold: first to determine the exterior frontiers of Syria, to create an individuality distinct from the neighboring territories, then to build the internal structure, the administrative and political framework of these territories.

From the mountains of Anatolia to the deserts of Arabia, there was only a mosaic of enemy sects, rival tribes, towns jealous of each other, and all this in the midst of an amorphous peasantry. The Turkish administrative cadres (sanjaks and vilayets) corresponded to no political reality. Nowhere did the civil administration survive the military domination which was the principle of the Ottoman rule.

Natural frontiers could be searched for in vain; in the Levant they are less extant than anywhere else. The rivers in this desert country are often only ribbons of life, they unite more than they separate; the mountains, privileged regions because they are better watered, are the great centers of the sedentary populations, the centers of life where the hard-working population may take refuge in times of political unrest; they are not barriers. Even the desert is not isolated; like the sea, it is also more a route than an obstacle and even this vacuum seems to attract domination - it extends an invitation for political adventures.

In the Levant historical traditions, old cultural frontiers, can no longer be found. Four centuries of Ottoman domination have levelled all the former autochthonous political structures. This levelling, moreover, had been all the easier in that the preceding political structures had not had deep

roots; the Ottoman rule had succeeded the Mameluke bureaucracy, which itself came out of the medieval anarchy which had broken up the framework of provinces left by the empires of former times (Byzantine, Roman, Seleucidean, Persian). Finally, in the Levant there were only administrative limits, but no political frontiers.

It did not have the advantage of economic groupings: on the one side, the villages of the fellahin, isolated in the strictest of autarchies, that of misery; on the other, the great commercial metropolises with unbounded horizons, as Alep or Damascus, international towns in principle. On the one side a very narrow spirit, on the other a sickly megalomania; one goes in one jump from a point of view which refused to see beyond the neighboring field to a point of view which cannot be contained by less than half of Asia. Above all this, the vagrancy of the nomads, rebels by nature against all ideas of permanence or even of boundaries, must not be forgotten.

After the first World War, the self-determination of peoples and the principle of "national boundaries" came into vogue. They tried to apply this to the Levant but in vain, because in this country neither people nor nation could be discovered. There was only a huge mosaic of religion and sects: Sunnites, Alaouites, Métoualis, Maronites, Orthodoxes, Armenians, Druses, Kurds, Jews and many others of less importance. This division into religious compartments defies all the laws of geography and even those of common sense; nevertheless, it is the basis of all living reality and of all political life in the Levant.

If there was no nation, there was, nevertheless, a national ideal; the Allies had spread the germ of an Arab renaissance when provoking in the desert a revolt of the Arabs against the Turks. This Arabian renaissance was an ideal which found advocates and the Allies, moreover, were engaged in giving birth to it. However, it was soon seen to be impracticable. Scarcely

born, this ideal embraced the whole "Arab world"; that is to say, all lands with a Mohammedan religion where the Arabian language was spoken, from the Gulf of Oman to the Atlantic coast of Morocco. One could not try to build a state on this dream. In the Levant this was especially difficult to realize as Pan-Arabianism, speaking proudly in the name of at least 70 millions, voluntarily ignored the next street which was orthodox Christian, the neighboring block which was Kurd or Jewish, and the surrounding Druse or Alaouite villages.

The result of this political situation was that the task of establishing new frontiers returned not to the population itself but to the great powers. The shape of new Syria resulted not from its free will nor from its desires, but from a long series of diplomatic compromises between France and Great Britain on the one hand and France and Turkey on the other. The frontiers born of this diplomatic equilibrium are naturally extremely delicate and have been often changed in the course of the last quarter of a century. The variations reflect those of the diplomatic equilibrium of the Near East.

The problem of external frontiers having been thus solved, the same difficulties are found in the internal organization. In the whole territories placed under French mandate the same invertebrate masses are found, the same geographic incoherence, the same total incapacity to organize itself in a territorial nation. That is why the different formulas attempted by the mandatory authorities have had the same failure. It is worthwhile to make a rapid review of these experiences.

a) First of all a Sherifian government was established at Damascus for the whole territory under French mandate; this regime resulted in an armed conflict with France and the flight of its chief, King Feisal, to territory under British control (July 1920).

b) The attempted Christian unification was replaced by a Federation of States: the State of Alep, State of Damascus, State of Lebanon, Alaouite

State. This attempt led to a complete anarchy and the serious revolt of the Druses and of Damascus in 1925.

c) In 1926, a new regime, under which the French Levant was divided into four autonomous states which had nothing in common except the French Mandate:

1. The Republic of Lebanon, including the coastal plain, southern Lebanon, the Bekaa, half of the Anti-Lebanon, was much larger than the preceding State of Lebanon. But what the Republic gained in area it lost in cohesion. The non-Christian population reached a figure almost equal to that of the Christian population, an equilibrium very dangerous between two antagonistic elements.

2. The State of Syria comprised all the interior with Damascus and Alep and received an outlet on the sea - the Sanjak of Alexandrette. This Sanjak had, nevertheless, a special statute guaranteeing it administrative and financial autonmy and favored treatment to the Turkish minority.

3. The Jebel Druse formed a small State under French Military administration.

4. The State of the Alaouites (also called from the beginning the Goverament of Latikia) stretched between the Lebanese Republic and the Sanjak of Alexandrette, from the sea to the Orontes. It was peopled by a majority of Alaouites who are an extreme Shiite Mohammedan sect.

This third regime, which was not without faults, all the same gave to the Levant ten peaceful years. However, it was impossible to keep it indefinitely because the small states, as that of the Alaouites or that of the Druses, were not economically capable of existence. Their existence was dependent upon the administrative and economic unity established over these countries by the French Mandate. Now, in principle, this mandate was provisional. Moreover, nationalist

agitation, especially at Damascus, demanded satisfaction. It is this which explains a new reform, undertaken in the treaties concluded in 1936 between France on the one hand, Lebanon and the Syrian nationalist party on the other.

d) These treaties were applied as soon as initialed in 1936. They opened a new era in the political history of the Levant which was to last until the lifting of the mandate and the accession of Syria and Lebanon to full independence and political sovereignty. A member of the Popular Front government, M. Pierre Viénot, devoted himself especially to this task: he wished to initiate for Syria and Lebanon the procedure already followed by the English for Iraq. The political map of the Levant seemed simplified, with only two republics, those of Lebanon and Syria, the latter absorbing the Alaouite and Druse States. The essential change, therefore, was a concession to the ardant and incessant claims of the nationalists of Damascus. Their state included thus all the Levant under French Mandate except Lebanon. Syria formed a state with a strong Moslem majority and Lebanon remained a state with a slight Christian majority.

This new division did not give the country a stable equilibrium. The chief reason for this was that the new political forms originated from without and could not exist without constant foreign support. In effect, the Viénot reform, designed to increase the unity and strength of the Levant States, provoked from the start of its application a breaking up and weakening such that the French Levant suffered its first loss of territory.

Of the two states, Lebanon is the one which has changed the least; it has preserved its territorial integrity since 1936. Nevertheless, the Moslem minority, which formed nearly three-sevenths of the total population, continued to express the wish to join Syria: the Sunnites of Tripoli, Beirut, Saida, the Métawileh of southern Lebanon, the Druses and the Métawileh of the Bekaa and of the Anti-Lebanon, were not content to be governed by authorities elected by the Christian majority. The most rebellious were the Sunnites of Tripoli and Saida,

and these two large towns demanded their union with the Moslem state of Syria. Even at Beirut serious disorders occured. The problem of relations between Lebanon and Syria had also a serious economic aspect: a Christian state with a strong Moslem minority, Lebanon could not live side by side with Syria without being in constant opposition to it. But this opposition, politically necessary, led Lebanon to economic ruin because, a poor country itself and living only by commerce and transit, it could not exist without close connections with its hinterland. The frontier can be preserved only in so far as the mandatory power is there to enforce political, economic and military collaboration. But what if this power should be removed and leave the Levant independent? Would Lebanon run the risk of being absorbed into the Syrian unit? It would be difficult to assert this positively because, as soon as its unity had been created by the treaty of 1936, the Republic of Syria began to disintegrate.

The first factor in this disintegration, and certainly the most serious, was the Turkish problem. Scarcely had the Franco-Syrian treaty been initialed than Turkey claimed the Sanjak of Alexandrette. For this territory, which she had long claimed and where there was a Turkish minority, she had been able to accept a French mandate, but she did not accept Arab domination. Now with what forces would an independent Syria be able to oppose the Turkish army divisions? The result of this very simple equation was the formation of a new political unit: an autonomous Sanjak, a more illogical formation than the small Druse or Alaouite States, because these latter were dependent at least on strong majorities, while the Sanjak rested only upon the antagonism of hostile minorities.

Thus the life of the autonomous Sanjak was brief. Turkey continued to present her claims and the moment came in 1939 when the great Occidental powers, and especially France, had great need of the friendship and alliance of Turkey: Turkey had a powerful army and she guarded the Straits. To win her favor some concessions were granted and the cession of the Sanjak, which was in-

corporated in Turkish territory, was not an excessive sacrifice for the strengthening of Franco-Turkish friendship. The Syrian nationalist party protested, above all at Damascus, but it represented no military or economic power capable of counter-balancing the Turkish alliance.

Turkish irredentism was not limited to the Sanjak. For a long time its propaganda had penetrated northern Syria: Aleppo, where nearly half of the population is Christian, where Turkish is still currently spoken and commerce leads a feeble existence in the very narrow limits of the Syrian market; the Jezireh, a mosaic of minorities where the government of Damascus can hardly depend upon spontaneous Arab loyalty; and even the north of the Alaouite country, which Turkey has claimed as an addition to the Sanjak since 1937. A few months after the signature of the treaty unifying the north of Syria, the Turkish-Syrian frontier, until then stable enough, seemed no more to be a geographic reality. When the European war broke out in 1939, in Paris it was believed that the moment was not far off when Turkey would demand the annexation of Aleppo in reward for some concessions to the Allies (for example, the passage of warships through the Straits, or even less).

Even outside these considerations of European politics, the unity of The Syrian Republic had been broken up as early as 1939 by local trends. Three of the main provinces of the republic had refused to obey the nationalist government of Damascus: Jebel Druse, the Alaouites and the Jezireh.

The Druses have been for a long time the "enfants terribles" of the Levant. A proud and independent people, very pugnacious, having a long military tradition of victorious resistance to the Arabs, they found in the volcanic massif of Jebel Hauran, which they peopled in the course of the last centuries, a haunt where it is dangerous to venture without their consent. Very proud of their own religion, a remote branch of Islam, and experts in guerrilla warfare, they led an insurrection in 1925-27 against the French authorities which was very

serious. Its gravity and duration are explained by a temporary alliance at that time between the Druses and the nationalist Arabs of Damascus, and by the fact that France had just stripped Syria of troops, sending the best part of them to Morocco where the Riff uprising broke out in 1925. After 1927 the relations of the French authorities with the Druse population quickly improved and remained excellent. But the Druses were angered when, reunited to the State of Syria, they saw that Damascus was sending them an Arab governor. A Franco-Syrian agreement, consecutive to the treaty, had granted to the Jebel a special administrative and financial regime, and the Syrian government had agreed to respect minority communities. Notwithstanding, the Druses openly opposed Damascus.

The first administrator from Damascus arriving at Soueida (capital of the Jebel) had to retreat rapidly under a violent rain of stones. The Druses demanded a governor of Druse origin, of the great feudal family of the Jebel, the el-Attrache. Until March 1937 all the Syrian authorities left Soueida to return to Syria and the Jebel Druse found itself in fact in a state of independence. At the end of 1937, after a delay of a year, the elections to the Syrian parliament took place: they were accompanied by serious disorders. At Soueida an autonomist was elected deputy, a member of the Christian minority! In 1938 Damascus, according to the wishes of the Druses, had to name the Emir Hassan el Attrache mohfez (governor) of the Jebel. The new regime developed into a progressive return to the regime previous to 1936.

A similar history, though less violent, was that of the Alaouite country or the province of Latakia from 1936 to 1939. There the Damascans had to show themselves more prudent than in the Jebel, because Latakia is nearer to the Turkish frontier and to the Sanjak. In 1937, a meeting of prominent Alaouites in Latakia voted a resolution demanding administrative autonomy and the nomination of a native of the country to the post of governor. The Alaouite country, like the Jebel, received the desired mohafez.

Things went no better with the Christian minorities of Syria, especially in the Jezireh where the Christians found themselves to be in a strong majority. This was strengthened by the immigration of the Assyro-Chaldeans, driven from Iraq by the persecution of the Sunnite government of Bagdad, and who, going from Scylla to Charybdis, found themselves under the no less Sunnite and nationalist government of Damascus. The Christians of Jezireh could depend upon the Yézidia of Jebel Singar and the Kurds in the northern part of the country against the Sunnites. This resulted in a very clear hostility towards Damascus: the government replaced the local authorities who were showing too much sympathy for the Christians; incidents in which Christians were killed occured in 1937 at Amouda; the Syrian Mohafez was then kidnapped and found by a French patrol abandoned in the desert. Damascus, annoyed by this Christian opposition, invited Mgr. Hobbé, Bishop of Jezireh, to leave his diocese and install himself at Beirut. In February 1938, a minister of the government of Damascus returned to Hassetche, but found all the shops closed in protest. He had to return precipitately to Deir-ez-Zor where he delivered a threatening speech: "If, up to this time, we have not had recourse to violence, it is because we understand how to choose a favorable moment." From that time relations between Jezireh and Damascus became more and more strained. Jezireh definitely refused to recognise allegiance to Syria and demanded a more strict application of the French mandate. The residence of all Damascus authorities there being impossible, the High Commissioner had to accede to the wishes of the local population in granting, in the fall of 1938, administrative and police powers to the French military authority. From this time onward this region completely lapsed from the authority of the government of Damascus.

The annexation by Turkey of the Sanjak of Alexandrette, the secession in fact of Jezireh, the growing and almost total autonomy of the Jebel Druse and the Alaouite country, effected the dismemberment of the Republic of Syria in less than three years. The unity of these territories no longer depended on anything

except French military domination. Moreover, even at Damascus, the Syrians had been unable to agree. The activities of the parliament of Syria had led to profound differences and to disorders which threatened to become serious at a time of world-wide diplomatic tension. In July 1939, the French High Commissioner in the Levant was obliged to suspend the activities of the Syrian parliament and even, in fact, the administrative activities of the government of Damascus. He put politics in abeyance and returned to a regime of mere colonial administration which provided order. Thus ended the Viénot experiment which should have led to the independence of these lands but which, in fact, brought them back to a regime of military administration. This administration was clearly military from the establishment of a state of war in September 1939.

Such was the development of the political geography of these lands of the Levant between the two world wars.

Religious Factors in Politics

Thus the experience of the mandate has proved the connection in the Levant between political and religious factors. Thus within its 3,400,000 inhabitants (number approximate), the Levant under French mandate includes about twenty religious sects, most of which are off-shoots of Islam, Christianity or Judaism. The deepest differences exist among the Moslems. The Sunnites are in the majority with about 1,600,000. The Shiites are subdivided into the Métaviehs (about 150,000), the Nossairis or Alaouites (about 350,000), the Druses (120,000?), the Ismailiehs: possibly the Yézidis or "devil worshipers" should be added. All classification is complicated by the fact that Moslem beliefs other than the Sunnite religion are very garbled. Thus the Nossairis, while an extremist Shiite sect, have preserved certain Christian customs for certain festivals: they constitute a religion related to Ismailism, although the Nossairis believe the Ismailiehs their worst enemies. The Yézidis are a sect

with an origin which is certainly Moslem, but enriched with so many contributions foreign to Islam, that it has become a separate religion. The Druses claim to be Moslems because they want to be sure not to be infidels, but they have preserved so many pre-Islamic elements in their rites and beliefs that it may be asked if these elements are not in reality predominant.

The Christians, although less numerous, are no less divided. There are at least eight principal sects of which four are attached to the Roman Catholic Church and four to the Greek Orthodox Church. Under the French mandate there had been a reenforcement of the Christian minorities, especially from the immigration of the Armenians fleeing Turkish persecutions and the Assyro-Chaldeans fleeing equally the persecutions of the Turks and the Iraklans. The Christians number about 300,000 in the Republic of Syria which has a total population of 2,400,000 and in Lebanon they number about 500,000 out of a total population of about 900,000 (all these figures are approximate, for the different sources on these matters are extremely contradictory). The weakness of the number, the century-old habit of being a persecuted minority, has given to the Christians of the Levant a greater cohesion than the Moslems and an explanation need not be sought further for the fact that Lebanon withstood the autonomous experiment better than Syria from 1936-1939.

This problem of the diversity of the Levantine religions has been studied in detail by Frederick J. Bliss in a book, sufficiently exact, published at New York in 1912, The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine. He gives a suggestive picture in the Introductory Note:

"Twenty-five hundred feet above the Mediterranean, and within sound of its waves, there is an irregular line of five villages stretching for about two miles along the seaward slope of the Lebanon. This small group, taken almost at random from the hundreds of mountain towns, may serve to illustrate the scope of this volume. The largest village, Suq-el-Gharb, or the Western

Market, is peopled mainly by members of the Greek Orthodox Church, though it contains also a number of families now Protestant. Separated on the north from the Western Market by no perceptible boundary runs out Makkin, with its large convent belonging to the Greek Catholics, or Greeks now united to Rome. Below Suq-el-Gharb and a little to the South, partly concealed by a grove of ancient oaks, nestles Aitat, inhabited almost entirely by Druses, followers of a religion of secrecy and mystery, one of the heretical offshoots of Islam. Higher up on the range is planted the hamlet of Kefun, which contains nothing but Mohammedans, not Orthodox Sunnis, like those resident in the city of Beirut, which gleams on the plains below, but Metawileh Shi'ahs, of the sect of Islam that rules in Persia. And, last of the group, to the south is Shemlan, where are found practically none but Maronites, proud of their membership in the National Syrian Church of the Lebanon, like the Greek Catholics, Eastern in rite and practice, and like them, giving allegiance to a Western Pope. Thus segregated by groups in the compas of a few hundred yards, we find examples of all the religions to be here discussed at length, except the Sunni Moslems and the Jacobite and Catholic Syrians....

"A Syrian is always labelled with the tag of the particular faith which he follows. Asking the details of a murder, you may receive the answer: 'A Moslem killed a Jew' or 'A Christian shot a Druse'. You are likely to describe your servants, for example, as 'Two Orthodox, one Maronite, and a Greek Catholic'. How common is this form of category may be illustrated by the question a person may ask when wishing to know the composition of a tasty dish or of any intimate object. 'Shu dinn?' he says in colloquial Arabic, 'What is its religion?'"

While the Occidental separates the concepts of state and nationality from that of religion, it is not thus with the Oriental. In the Levant, where all the religions of the Occident have come, for the common people their country is their religion, their tribe. Often, moreover, tribe and religion coincide very closely. Mohamet said: "Study your genealogies" an' even the Bible has at

the beginning long genealogies. At the base of the Oriental sectarian feeling, there is often, moreover, as at the base of national feeling in the Occident, long historical traditions, a certain past of glory (often military and political glory). The consequence in the political field can thus be better understood.

The great geographer of the Islam, E. F. Gautier, has written: "The concepts of nation and religion are mingled. It is really a national feeling, which is a cement of extraordinary force and which resists everything. Each of these nations has no relation either with state or with the soil; it is scattered over vast territories, and has subordinate relations with the most diverse governments. Nevertheless, the nation survives through centuries and even thousands of years, indestructable, unchangeable."

But in the twentieth century, the Occident, taking the destiny of the Orient under its charge, wished to apply there its political formulas: and there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the political geography of the Levant should have been so unstable. In becoming Westernized, Levantine society wished to become nationalized and immediately each sect gave birth to a nation. Now as each sect was scattered hither and yon, having no definite territory, several nations were found to be living together, as shown in Bliss's example, in almost every corner of Syria: and this awakening of the Oriental nationalities produced only a great political anarchy, absolutely incapable of organization on a territorial framework. It is for this reason that only foreign military domination can guarantee order.

Order is a need particularly pressing for the Christians who are the weakest, because they are the least numerous and are without military traditions. The Christian churches are the most ardent partisans of a quasi-colonial regime, to be exercised, however, by a Christian power. In 1937, the President of the Lebanese Republic declared to a Parisian journalist in an interview: "France must not leave here, Monsieur. If France leaves, we shall all be massacred."

The word "all" is perhaps the result of the Oriental tendency toward exaggeration. But it is certain that only the presence of superior force prevents the awakened nationalisms from solving their political problems by force. The case of the Jezireh proves that collaboration between different religions is not yet the fashion in the political customs of the Orient.

The great Arab nationalist movement is the work of the Orthodox Sunnites: it envisages the unity of the Arabs under the form of a Sunnite State. The Syrian government of Damascus was Sunnite as had been the Irakian nationalist governments of Bagdad and as are the chiefs of the nationalist movement of Palestine at Jerusalem. But a Sunnite State is obviously inacceptable to the Orthodox Shiites (Iran has Orthodox Shiitism for the official religion) as it is to the other related sects of this branch of Islam: Nosairis, Druses, Kurds, etc. It would also be inacceptable to the Wahabites, the Puritans of Islam who hold sway over the great deserts of Arabia. The political problem of Pan-Arabism and even more of Pan-Islamism is one of religious nuances.

In practice the Sunnites have excellent qualities: they are essentially an intellectual sect and the businessmen of Islam. They are very influential in the large towns, the centers of commerce; they have an intellectual élite which forms the universities and studies and publishes in the west. They are the Moslem sect which excels in sending propaganda abroad and which best understands all the diplomatic finesse of lobbying. But they have one great weakness: they are not warriors. The fighters of Islam are the other sects, generally less numerous and consequently fiercer, accustomed for centuries to constant guerrilla warfare, to a continual defense against ever-possible persecution. In Syria these are the Druses and the Kurds, in Arabia the Wahabites. When they find themselves face to face, Kurds, Druses, Wahabites have always beaten the Sunnites. The latter have only ruled thanks to an alliance with some foreign power. This they have done their best to accomplish since the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

Political Stakes in the Existing Situation

Since the first World War, the Arab nationalists have carried on negotiations with all the powers having an interest in the Orient. With remarkable ability they have known how to lean first to one, then to another, in a way to gain concessions from those who might fear they would definitely oppose their interests. The Colonial Office in London, the Quai d'Orsay in Paris, Mussolini: Protector of Islam, Hitler, Champion of Oppressed Peoples, all have hoped at least several times that they were going to obtain once and forever the favors of the great Arab nation in the making, and never have relations been settled in a final manner.

It is true that the chancelleries of Europe have not always had illusions regarding the true sentiments of the nationalist Sunnites. Each hoped to be able to use for its own political ends its friendship with the Oriental movement. But it is certain that the Arab nationalists were much solicited. The Viénot experiment was, indeed, an exception in French political history in the Orient. French tradition in the Levant was and is to depend upon the religious minorities, especially upon the Christian minorities. Under the mandate the Levant was administered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (not by that of the Colonies) and the Quai d'Orsay was in general faithful to these traditions which go back to the Crusades.

The treaties reorganizing Syria according to the views of the Arab nationalists were not to the taste of this office which delayed their ratification long enough for their impractability to be demonstrated by actual events. But the Damascus government was greatly solicited during its short existance by other powers and especially by Germany.

A strange episode in these Arab-German relations was the tour in December 1937 by Herr Baldur von Schirach, Chief of the Hitler Youth in Germany, through the Orient. Herr von Schirach stayed at Damascus to "study there the

movement and organization of the Arab Youth." He was accompanied by a staff of about fifteen persons. Two months after his visit, the Damascan paper Les Echos de Syrie published the following article, reproduced in L'Asie Francaise of March 1938 (this review, published at Paris, is a semi-official organ):

"Since the day when Herr Baldur von Schirach showed himself in the salons of the Oriental-Palace Hotel in Damascus, there seems to something new behind certain Syrian youth, behind certain of the local press, and to some extent in certain political circles. A club, called "Arabe", has been installed in a very spic and span flat, furnished with a striking luxury which in no way agrees with the means of its founders. It has never been able to explain the sources of its installation and of its upkeep. Emissaries shuttle between Damascus and Berlin and in certain Syrian papers commercial publicity has been noted, the scope of which is, to say the least, disproportionate to the needs of the markets ofDamascus. Finally, a large Berlin press agency sends, free of charge, to certain papers of Damascus appropriate news by the most rapid and convenient methods."

There is no doubt that the Arab nationalists have tended since 1935 to range themselves, according to their custom, on the strongest side, that is to say, on the side of the Axis and above all Germany. The leader who is the most ardent and devoted to Pan-Arabism, the Mufti of Jerusalem, Amin-el-Husseini, after having fled from Palestine to Lebanon where he called a Pan-Arab congress at Bloudane, is today taking refuge in Berlin. The revolt of the nationalists of Iraq furnishes another proof.

If the French Levant was more tranquil after 1939, all parties and all sects competing with each other in protesting their loyalty to the French regime, it is because the Levant States have been constantly occupied by strong armies. It was the presence of Weygand's army in 1939-40 which ensured order in Syria during the war and after the armistice. The demobilization of this army still

left under the command of General Dentz in 1941 an imposing number of well equipped colonial troops. The resistance put up against the Allied troops is sufficient to show that the troops of occupation could have easily put down any attempted Arab revolt. It is the same today under the command of General Catroux and moreover, the Irakian and Iranian examples have shown the futility of a revolt which is not aided on the spot by the military power of Germany.

But what would happen if Syria should become a battlefield or even find herself near a front? There would certainly be great confusion. The Christian minorities have been always dedicated to a French alliance. In their adherence to the administration of the Free French only one thing could overshadow the purity of their feeling: this is the fact that the Free French Forces depend to a certain extent on London and London has promised a great Arab confederation (evidently Moslem) for after the war.

The Arab nationalist movement would certainly tend in spite of this promise made to gain its good will, to lean toward the Axis. Nevertheless, if certain reports may be believed, the finances of the Syrian movement have been aided not only by the British but also by Soviet contributions. Soviet official documents attribute to the communist elements a dominant role in the "revolutionary" activity (i.e., anti-European and anti-French) of the Arabs in Syria and Lebanon. The nationalist party, nevertheless, would not hesitate to turn against former sponsors if it believed it to be in its interest. Obviously everything will depend on the state of the forces. Here, as elsewhere in the Orient, the Roman maxims "Show force in order not to have to use it" preserves its full value.

One could only hesitate over the attitude of the heritic sects of Islam: Druses, Alaouites, Kurds. Their role is important because they are the fighters of the district, the traditional mercenaries and always military adventurers. It is these which the Arab nationalist party uses whenever it wants to cause rather serious disorders. Thus the Druses, Kurds and also Maroccains (who are the warriers

of Maghreb) provided the framework of Arab guerrilla warfare in Palestine in 1936-39. But these minorities, as we have already indicated, are most strongly opposed to the whole Pan-Arab or Pan-Islam program. They will be for the powers which guarantee them the greatest autonomy and pay them the best (this will appeal particularly to the great feudal families which hold most of Jebel Druse).

One last problem should be examined in the existing situation: what would be the role of the Vichy government in case the military situation should bring the Syrian problem back to the limelight? Vichy has envisaged, at least since the spring of 1941, an eventual program of reconquering the "dissidence", that is to say, the territories which have gone over to the Free French Forces. Strong pressure in this direction is exercised by the Germans. But these hopes of reconquest have appeared to be directed more toward Equatorial Africa than toward Syria, surrounded on all sides by territories controlled by the United Nations. What part of the French population remaining in Syria would wish a return to the administration of Vichy? Without doubt a very small part, if any. The resistance of the Dentz regime is explained by the fact that the general had under his command colonial troops (which like to fight, no matter against whom), well equipped and officered by officers of the army of the Levant and of North Africa. Now this group of officers, like the officers of the navy and for almost the same reasons, have rarely been pro-English. A great number of the French officers of the Levant believed, rightly or wrongly, that the Syrian revolts and especially that of the Jebel Druse were inspired by the English. They tended to believe Pan-Arabism a British intrigue intended to evict France from the Moslem world. The Franco-British alliance was never very sincere in the Levant. From this came the resistance to the armies, though in part French, of General Wilson in 1941. It does not seem, on the other hand, that there is as much to object to in American politics in the Orient and the entry of the United States into the war has certainly greatly decreased the possible influences of Vichy. The entry of Pierre Laval into the government, will

have only added to the number of determined partisans of the United Nations amongst the French of the Levant. This point should not be concluded without recalling the essential role played amongst this French colony of Syria by the organizations of the Catholic Church which certainly does not take the part of the Axis in any part of the Mediterranean.

Finally public opinion in the Levant is not blind to the economic situation. This has been greatly improved since the administration of General Catroux included Syria and Lebanon in the whole economy of the Orient and brought an end to the British blockade which was exercised against the territories under Vichy. This return to economic prosperity has helped to reenforce the popularity of the Free French and in a more general way that of the United Nations.

Such is the present political situation in the Levant under French mandate. It will develop according to the play of forces. The Orient has always been a land full of surprises, but these surprises scarcely occur in the face of an adequate military force.

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Distribution of Representation

Deputies according to Lebanese Constitution of 1926, amended 1927 & 1929, and consequent electoral laws:-	Christians	Moslems	Total
Elected Deputies	22	20	42
Appointed by decree of President of Republic (distribution arrived at by custom, not specified by law)	13	8	21
	35	28	63
Decree of Tabet, June 1943 (all elected)	32	22	54
Request of Nahas Pasha (see below)	29	25	54
Decree of Hellou (July 31, 1943)	30	25	55

Moslems and Nahas Pasha Oppose Tabet

Tabet's decree abolishing appointed deputies and increasing elected deputies in favor of Christians, infuriated the Moslems. Under the leadership of Sheikh Mustafa Khaled, Grand Mufti of Lebanon, they formed a

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committee, including Sunnis and Shias, and also the Druzes. It comprised many prospective candidates and other notables. Strong protests were lodged with the French, and copies were sent to the British and American Ministers. Ahmed Bey Daouk was sent to Egypt to approach Nahas Pasha for help.

On June 28 a vigorous press campaign was opened in Cairo newspapers protesting against the Tabet decree. (Note: The campaign was in all probability inspired by the Egyptian Government, and there is s ome evidence that it had British approval if not active stimulation; see comment on Spears' speech below).

Nahas Pasha sent a telegram to General Catroux in Beirut (exact date unknown) urging reconsideration of the matter, suggesting a ratio of deputies of 29 to 25. Catroux called on the Mufti and said that he approved of a compromise as suggested by Nahas Pasha. The Moslems retained their committee, with Umar Bey Daouk as lay chairman.

Prior to issuance of the Helleu decree, Umar Bey claimed that the Committee (or Conference, as it was sometimes called) had as its object the insistence on Moslem rightd of electoral representation and share in Government offices, and in taxation, proportional to their numbers in the population. Just as France was responsible for keeping their share low, so it was French domination that they now opposed; and after the Tabet discriminatory decree they were absolutely determined to fight the unfair distribution of deputies. This latter was their prime objective.

Umar Bey was asked whether, if a satisfactory solution such as the Nahas Pasha suggestion were adopted, the Moslem Committee would continue to centralize and direct Moslem policy. He replied that in such an eventuality, probably each candidate would proceed on his own, and no single list or platform would be drawn up or adhered to. It is believed, however, that the actual identity of successful candidates is a matter of comparative indifference, and that Moslem rights in the economic and administrative field will be upheld by all candidates. They have been driven into a new internal unity.

Umar Bey was very moderate in expressing his hope for a union with neighboring Arab States. He hoped that an independent Lebanon would maintain community in customs control and finance, abolish internal passport and trade barriers, etc. He deprecated local division along sectarian lines, and maintained that it was unnecessary and secondary. He made no claims for Pan-Islamism.

Other Lebanese, Christians as well as Moslems, indicated that if Moslem deputies were not increased, there would be enormous pressure to detach the predominantly Moslem south, Bekaa and Tripoli regions (none of them in the pre-1914 Lebanon) and let them revert to Syria. There were members of both sects who favored this alternative to the unfair domination of Moslems founded on the Tabet decree.

General Spears returned to Lebanon from England and requested the Mufti to agree to a slight reduction of the Moslem claims. The Mufti replied that if this request meant that Great Britain was interfering, and would continue to interfere, the Moslems would gladly accept any compromise Spears would suggest.

Then came M. Helleu's decree of July 31, 1943, his explanatory speech on the radio, followed by a talk by General Spears. The latter spoke of Moslem acceptance of the new 30-25 ratio of deputies, and appealed to Christians to accept it. The friendly, pro-Moslem tone of the talk was well received by the Moslems, who only regretted his emphasis on "France" when he said: "France, by the measures which have just been taken by M. Helleu, has begun to implement the promise made." They ask how "France" is doing this, when there is only a self-formed Free French administration and a Committee of National Liberation, and even these are not recognized as speaking or acting for the French Government.

Christians

The majority of Christians have been brought up to fear Moslem domination above everything else, and although many educated men and women have progressed intellectually beyond this stage, yet subconsciously, at least, the old fear persists. The impetus given by the British to Arab aspirations and Arab initiative in settling their affairs has meant, to Christians of Lebanon, raising the chances of being submerged in an Arab (i.e. Moslem) sea.

Hence Christian obsession with retaining foreign (i.e. Christian) control, and Maronite attempts to keep a working and safe majority of deputies. By now, most Christians feel that their first choice for the controlling power, America, is out of the question. They feel that their second choice, England, is not to be depended upon, because:

1. She has not fulfilled her somewhat vague and misleading promises.

2. She seems to have gone in for pro-Moslem activity to keep a hold on her wider interests.

3. She cannot or will not stand up to French pressure (e.g., affair of Rashid Mukaddam of Tripoli) or protect those who work for her from French vengeance.

Therefore France is the only acceptable foreign protector, in spite of her record and the weak constitutional position of French representatives and the bleak future of French prestige. The Maronites in particular will stick by the French and suppress their own misgivings, though many of the Greek Orthodox and minority sects are much more amenable to genuine cooperation with Moslems for the sake of Arab unity.

The stiffening of organized Moslem resistance brought about closer contacts between Christian sectarian leaders. The Maronite Patriarch assumed the initiative, called meetings of bishops of various churches. One can safely dismiss the rumors that they threatened to boycott any elections on a basis other than the Tabet formula by excommunicating Christian candidates. But though it is true that the Greek Orthodox leaders formed a semi-lay committee to work for the welfare of their sect, and adopted a rather conciliatory, middle-of-the-road policy, yet inter-religious tension has definitely increased.

The Helleu decree and the Spears speech, caused the Patriarch to order his relative in the triumvirate Government, Tawfik Lutfallah Awad, to resign; this he did, and distributed leaflets explaining his righteous stand. (Awad, with a far from savory reputation, has been nicknamed by the press in past years by a diminutive of his first name, Toutou, which is also a common name for a pet dog, and in conversation in Beirut he is frequently referred to by this contemptuous epithet).

The Patriarch further protested violently, in the name of all the Christians. It is said that he informed the Armenians and other Minorities of his stand on their behalf, as they had each lost a deputy, but that they requested him to accede rather than have their claims cause a clash. Two days later, having thus established his position as guardian of the faithful, the Patriarch ordered Awad to withdraw his resignation, and a second set of his proclamations appeared.

General

In spite of the broad general split between Christians and Moslems, there are bitter feuds within various sects - the Karameh-Mukaddam rivalry among Tripoli Moslems, the Majid Arslan-Kamil Jumblat-Jamil Talhouk triangle among Druzes, and the Edde-Tabet group versus Sheikh Bisharah Khouri and his Destour party among Christians.

The Lebanese system permits anomalies such as enabling the Christians to cast the deciding vote between Karameh and Mukaddam. These feuds therefore cut straight across the general cleft, and obscure its outlines, but it remains, underneath, the superstructure, ready to come devastatingly into the open. It owes its depth and importance to the French policy of "divide and rule", skillfully propagandized throughout this generation. One is led inevitably to the conclusion that the French desire, even above the welfare of their mandated territories, to retain control of at least a reduced Lebanon at all costs.

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Near East

August 27, 1942

Mr. Jesse MacKnight
508 Hutchins Building
Tenth and D Streets
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. MacKnight:

I had yesterday a long conversation about Arabic affairs with a Boston lawyer who is himself an Arab. He tells me that the Arabic-language newspaper Al Areus, which used to be published at 41 Worcester Street in Boston, has been dead for about two years. This information will probably be of interest to Mrs. Altman.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) B. D. Meritt

B. D. Meritt

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Syrian and Lebanese American Federation of the Eastern States

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LIST OF MEMBER [illegible] WITH THE SYRIAN-LEBANESE-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE EASTERN STATES.

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Brotherhood Orthodox Souedie Syrian Society	737 Broad Street

Danbury

Syrian-Lebanon American of Danbury	258 Main Street
Sons & Daughters of Pioneers Club	51 William Street

New Haven

Syrian-Lebanon-American Progressive Society	137 Orange Street

Norwich

Syrian American Brotherhood Society of Norwich	41 Thames Street

Torrington

Syriqn and Lebanese American Club	220 Church Street

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Waterbury

Lebanon Syrian American Club	113 Grand Street
United Ladies Lebanese and Syrian Am. Society	Willow and Main Streets
Young Lebanon Syrian American Club	247 South Main Street

Winsted

Syrian American Ladies Club	P.O. Box 305
Syrian American Club of Winsted	P.O. Box 305

New London

Syrian American Society of New London	P.O. Box 1097

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Syrian American Club of Washington, D.C.	1332 5th St. N.E.
Syrian Washingtonian Club	3200 16th St., N.W.
(contact) Joseph S. Sado, Majestic Apartments, 3200 16½ St., N.W.	

MASSACHUSETTS.

Adams

Lebanese Social Club of N. Adams, c/o Edna C. Shakar	87 Commercial St.
Syrian American Club, c/o Joseph George	50 Summer Street

Boston

Syrian American Club of Boston	44 West Newton Street
Syrian Women's Club of Boston	190 Beacon Street
Syrian Relief Association	Room 315, 60 State Street
Syrian Child Welfare Society	93 Tyler Street
Syrian Ladies' Aid Society	44 West Newton Street

Fithburg

Syrian American Club of Fitchburg and Winchendon c/o Healime P. Joseph	93 Oak Street

Lawrence

Syrian Young Men's Assn. Inc.	241 Oak Street

Lowell

Syrian-Lebanese American Association of Lowell c/o Frank Skafi	Fletcher Street

Norwood

Syrian American Club of Norwood, c/o Emilie Moses	15 Dean Street

MASSACHUSETTS (continued)

Pittsfield
Syrian American Club of Pittsfield c/o E.B. Karam 16 South Street
Syrian American Ladies' Auxiliary c/o M.D.Hashim 137 W. Housatonic St

Quincy
Arab Banner Society
Sons of Lebanon of Quincy 66 Winter Street
Ladies' Auxiliary Sons of Lebanon Society Lebanon Street
Lebanon Street

Springfield
Syrian American Assn. of Springfiled c/o Cosmo M. Asmsara,Esq. 115State

Worcester
Syrian American Association of Worcester 31 Wall Street

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Dover
American-Syrian Assn.
Manchester
Syrian-American Citizen's Assn. of Manchester 5 Orchard Street
37 Spruce Street

New York.

Albany
Syrian Business Men's Assn. of Albany c/oFred Etoll 11No. Pearl Street

Carthage
Syramerlc Club of Northern and Central N.Y.
c/o Miss Malaky Maroun 221 State Street

Geneva
St. Michael's Youth Society c/o Mary George,Sec. 24 Geneva Street

Glens Falls
Syrian Ladies' Club 25 Rogers Street

New York City
Arab National League 303 5th Avenue
The Jedeetha United Society, Inc.c/o T.N. Akl 208 5th Avenue

Oleon
Amer. Lebanon Club,c/o George W. Sadler,Sec. 406 Exchange Street

Poughkeepsie
Knights of Lebanon Club
Lebanon American Club, Inc. Room 205, 234 Main Street
25 N. Hamilton Street

Troy
Syrian American Club of Troy and Capital District 179 Fourth Street

Binghampton
Aleph Fa Lam Club c/o MissTillie Ellis,Sec. 37 Vermont Avenue

Greensburg

PENNSYLVANIA

Greensburg
Oriental Girls' Club c/o Miss Lily Joseph 743 Highland Avenue

McKeesport
Syrian Lebanon Society c/o Mr. A. Salim 211 Fifth Avenue

Scranton
St. Joseph's Syrian Women's Society 234 So. 10th Avenue

Syrian Civic Society of Lackawanna County 634 No. Sumner Avenue

Syrian Civic Society Auxiliary of Lackawanna County
634 No. Sumner Avenue

Washington
Young Syrian Ladies' Society c/o Mrs. Alexandria M. Elias
960 Chartiers Street

Wilkes-Barre
Matin-Arnouk Girls' Club 90 Stanton Street
Syrian Girls' Fellowship Club c/o Miss Josephine Saba, Pres.
763 No. Washington Street

RHODE ISLAND

Central Falls
Maria Rose Charity Association c/o Mr. Louis Joseph
311 Dorrance Bldg. Pawtucket
Syrian American Association 182 Washington Street

Pawtucket
Syrian American Association 81 Park Street
Syrian American Democratic Club 100 Park Street

For information re other regional Federations contact -
the following:

Midwest Federation of Syrian-Lebanon American Clubs
Mr. S. J. Saad, Regional Manager
The Maytag Company
1230 So. Western Ave. Chicago, Ill.
(Mr. Saad was past president)

Southern Federation of Syrian-Lebanon American Clubs
Mr. J. M. Abraham, 3537 West Capital Street
Jackson, Miss.

Western Federation of Syrian Lebanon American Clubs
Mr. A. M. Malouf, 224 E. 11th Street
Los Angeles, California

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September 1, 1942.

Mr. E. B. Hitchcock,
Foreign Origins Section,
War Savings Staff,
Treasury Department,
Room 604 - 700 12th Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hitchcock:

I spoke on the telephone this morning with Mrs. Seabury about a list which I have received of affiliated members of the Syrian and Lebanese American Federation of the Eastern States. She told me that you have the address of this federation at 60 State Street in Boston. My informant tells me that there are three similar federations for the mid-west, the west, and the south. I give you here the addresses:

The Mid-West Federation of Syrian-Lebanese American Clubs,
Mr. S. U. Saad,
Regional Manager, The Maytag Company,
1230 South Western Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.

The Southern Federation of Syrian-Lebanese American Clubs,
Mr. J. M. Abraham,
3537 West Capital Street,
Jackson, Mississippi.

The Western Federation of Syrian-Lebanese American Clubs,
Mr. A. M. Malouf,
224 East 11th Street,
Los Angeles, California.

Each of these organizations has many chapters, but the home office, so to speak, in each case is at the address I have listed here.

With best greetings, I am, as ever,

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) B. D. Meritt

BDM/jmn

B. D. Meritt.

Tab 2

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WITHDRAWAL NOTICE

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The item identified below has been withdrawn from this file:

File Designation AB 71-80
Rpt 8364

Date Sept 4, 1942

From Simmons

To State

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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
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INTEROFFICE MEMO
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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

FROM: J. A. Morrison, East-European Sec. DATE Sept. 16, 1942

TO: Mr. DeWitt Poole

SUBJECT: Mrs. J. Aggiman

Mrs. Aggiman is the wife of the late Jacques Aggiman, a prominent engineer-contractor of Ankara who came to this country about a year ago and who died suddenly here in Washington during the summer. He was well, and I believe, favorable known to Mr. Howland Shaw of the Department of State, who, as you know, served a number of years in our embassy in Turkey.

I first met the Aggimans in Turkey in 1930 and again in 1932. Since their arrival in this country I have seen them both frequently and came to know Mr. Aggiman very well.

Mrs. Aggiman has written me recently, asking if there might be some niche in the war effort where she might be useful. It has occurred to me that your part of our organization might be interested in her. In addition to her command of languages (Turkish, Greek, French, and I believe Italian). Mrs. Aggiman has an intimate knowledge of personalities in Turkey, particularly those in the government. Her husband was on close terms with the late President Ataturk and was a member of the pro-Ally group in the Peoples' Party. It is my understanding that he held a Canadian passport (he was in Canada during World War I) as well as his Turkish papers.

If you are interested and desire further information before contacting Mrs. Aggiman, I shall be glad to be of any help within my competence.

Mrs. Aggiman's address is: Hotel Wellington, Seventh Avenue at 56th Street, New York.

J. A. Morrison

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APEX BUILDING 153

September 23, 1942

Mr. Jesse MacKnight
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. MacKnight:

As you know, I receive from time to time memoranda on the Arabic-language press in the United States from one of the professors at Princeton University. He is well acquainted in Arabic circles in New York and occasionally comes by information which he feels that he must give to someone and frequently he gives it to me, although it is not, strictly speaking, within the province of foreign political activity.

Just this week I have received word that he has strong suspicion that four individuals in particular are making a business of anti-British gossip. He claims there is n evidence, so far as he is aware, that these men are Axis agents or enemies of this country, but he believes that the intensity of their hate for Britain makes them desire her defeat. These four individuals are:

Nazim Adhami, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Ali Joudy (Itenrary), c/o Palestine Trading Co., New York City
Muhammad Ibrahim, c/o Azeez Shaheen, 305 West Adams St, Chicago, Ill.
Shahir Dahir, Beitein Co., New York City

I do not know whether you care to proceed to any investigation on evidence of this kind, but it seemed to me my duty as a private citizen to pass the information on to you for any use you care to make of it.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) B. D. Meritt

B. D. Meritt

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Princeton, N. J.
September 20, 1942

Letter to Jesse MacKnight 9/29/42 CONFIDENTIAL B. Dm.

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APEX BUILDING 153

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Some Axis Sympathizers(?)

[This information is based on a private and reliable source which I am not at liberty to divulge. It is given for further investigation by government agencies.]

British-Arab relations have not been free of concern to the United Nations. While the majority have desisted from embarassing Britain, some among the Arabs have been active on behalf of the Axis. Many of these are in South America. Fortunately, this country is almost free of them. There are, however, a few who hate Britain to the extent that they are practically pro-Axis. I submit the names of four individuals who seem to have made their business anti-British gossip, and attempt to influence their fellow Arabic-speaking individuals against Britain. While they have neither the means nor the position to do much damage, their zeal in preaching against Britain might result in disunity among an otherwise loyal foreign community in the United States. There is no evidence that they are Axis agents or enemies of this country, but the intensity of their hate for Britain makes them desire her defeat. It might be wise to watch them. If they are innccent, an investigation will not harm them; and if they are guilty, they should be stopped before any damage is done.

The names are:

Nazim Adhami, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Ali Joudy (Itenrary), c/o Palestine Trading Co., New York City
Muhammad Ibrahim, c/o Azeez Shaheen, 305 W Adams St., Chicago
Shahir Dahir, Beitein Co., New York City.

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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

INTEROFFICE MEMO

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OCT 10 11 16 AM '42

FROM: DeWitt C. Poole

DATE: October 9, 1942

TO: Mr. John C. Wiley

SUBJECT: Dr. Hoff's Report on Iraq

Dr. Hans Hoff was referred to me by Count Ferdinand Czernin, who said that he might be of interest since he had just returned from Iraq. I referred the matter to Francis Kalnay because Iraq falls in his area of operations. Mr. Kalnay has now sent me the enclosed copy of the record of his interesting interview with Dr. Hoff.

Enclosure

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Mr. DeWitt C. Poole

Attached is copy of my interview with Dr. Hoff, whom you referred to me.

TO: Colonel Buxton

September 30, 1942

FROM: Francis Kalnay

SUBJECT: DR. HANS HOFF
IRAQ

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Residence: 119 West 80 Street, N. Y. C. (SUsquehanna 7-7475.)
Dr. Hoff, a former Austrian, is an eminent nerve specialist and brain surgeon, with special skill in tropical neurology and psychiatry, who was a Professor at the University of Vienna for more than ten years. He is 45 years old, has a Czech wife who is also a physician, and a five year old child.

Shortly after his arrival in the United States in 1938, he received an invitation from the Government of Iraq to teach at the Medical School in Baghdad, and left for that country on Sept. 3, 1938. He remained in Baghdad for four years and returned to the United States on September 2, 1942, by Clipper to Miami. He has applied for a commission in the Army. Dr. Hoff travels on an American laissez-passer and has taken out "first papers." He speaks English, German, Arabic and a little French.

Undoubtedly an outstanding individual, subject voluntarily gave up a very lucrative practice and position in Iraq and returned to the United States in order that he might "do something essential" to help win the war. (His salary in Baghdad, apart from private practice, was about 250 pounds a month, and the Prime Minister of Iraq offered to double his salary and give him Iraq citizenship if he would stay.) He gives the impression of being a man of high courage and intelligence, with keen insight and understanding of human motives.

In his intimate relationship with the leaders as well as the common man of Iraq, he is in a unique position to exert political influence and secure information there. He has friends among high Government officials, political, social and business leaders. He was their physician, well liked and trusted. He is also a personal friend of Ali Jawdat, present Ambassador to the United States. Subject stated his willingness to return to Iraq, if it should be felt that he could be more useful to the war effort by remaining in that country.

Appended to this report is a list of important figures in Iraq, with brief descriptive notes, prepared for us by subject. Also, three photostatic copies of documents signed by Tahsin El-Askari, H. C. Sinderson and Jamal Baban, respectively.

THE MEDICAL SCHOOL AT BAGHDAD:

The Medical School at Baghdad is under the sponsorship of the Iraq Government. The Dean, Mr. Sinderson, is an Englishman and the official language of the school is English. Of the fourteen professors, all were English with the exception of subject and two Iraqi. There are about fifty on the teaching staff, and around 250 students.

PREVALENCE OF DISEASE:

Subject stated that nearly everybody in Iraq suffers from dysentery, malaria, hookworm and a disease caused by a Euphrates River amoeba which enters the bladder. Typhoid, typhus and syphilis are widespread; also a form of tropical neurasthenia caused by intense heat. Subject, who is a scientist as well as a physician, discovered the source of transmission of Bagel's disease, a form of syphilis found in the children of Bedouins. About a million and a half people suffer from this illness, out of a population of approximately five million.

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS:

Ninety per cent of the Iraqi are non-Christian. The KURDS, who inhabit northern Iraq, are pro-British, as are the ASSYRIANS, who are Christians and form a very small part of the population. The JEWS, whose influence is small and who live in constant fear, are also pro-British. A few of them are wealthy; the great mass is extremely poor. The CHALDEANS, middle class people, many of them hotel-keepers, are pro-Nazi. The ARMENIANS,

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END

who were largely pro-Nazi, have, since Russia's entrance into the war, somewhat changed their attitude. While they are anti-Communist, they are pro-Russian. The ARABS are divided into the Sunni and Shiah religious sects, and hate each other. The Sunni are smaller in numbers but greater in influence, since they are the governing class. They incline toward Turkey, and are pro-Nazi. They form 70% of the population in Mosul; 95% in Baghdad and 80% in Basra. The Shiah form the mass of the population of the lower class, and their spiritual center is Najaf. They incline toward Persia.

The Arab is inclined to believe stories of German successes, and feels the British "have nothing to show." He is apt to be enthusiastic about the Germans "until he gets too close to them." Subject believes that in the event the Germans were to break through the Caucasus, the major part of the Iraq population would be disinterested, while many would fight on the side of the Nazis. "The Arab is a fighter, and he admires Russia for her military resistance." However, subject added, the Arabs have little interest in Russian ideology.

DESERT TRIBES:

There are between 10 and 15,000 men in a desert tribe; they are brave men and excellent fighters. The Arab regards himself as a completely free man who, although under the influence of his sheik, looks upon him more as the father of the family than as a dictator. He admires other free men, and is impressed by good horsemanship and courage.

IRAQ INDUSTRY:

While Iraq is preponderantly agricultural, there are some industries with which subject has some familiarity. In Baghdad, there are textile factories, a few soap factories and other mills, mostly in the hands of pro-Nazi Arabs. He related a story of one mill which received an order for blankets from the English Army. It employed about 360 workers at an average wage of one and a half pounds per month. It was said that the owner made over ten thousand pounds on this single deal.

FOOD:

Subject stated there was no scarcity of food in Iraq, although sugar is rationed and bread is of an inferior quality.

DR. KROBA, THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR:

In 1938, when subject arrived in Baghdad, he found the German Ambassador, Dr. Kroba, deeply entrenched in Baghdad society. He had a staff of about 20 very able men, all specialists and all propagandists. The Ambassador was very popular, and used to invite all the leading individuals, including professional people, businessmen, etc., to special weekly entertainments at his home. He even invited the English, assuring them he was not a Nazi.

"If any of the sheiks needed money, Dr. Kroba would always help him out." Many times, when subject visited native patients, he would find Dr. Kroba sitting at the bedside. He and his aides carried on a very effective campaign of personal propaganda.

BAHRI:

Bahri, who works with the Nazis and used to broadcast for them from Berlin, is no longer heard on the air. Subject was told that he has been made a "Minister" in Italy. By the same token, the Mufti, also in Italy, now calls himself "Premier of the United Arabic States." Bahri, in subject's opinion, is utterly corrup t, and would work for anybody who paid him well. His wife and child are in Iraq.

ANTI-SEMITISM:

Anti-semitism, largely Nazi-inspired, is widespread. Both the German and Italian broadcasts now concentrate their efforts on promoting anti-semitism. Every night at 7:30, a broadcast is heard in Baghdad, in German, warning rich Iraq Jews that they will be killed and their property confiscated. They are singled out by name on the air.

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SLEEPING-CAR CONDUCTORS POSSIBLE SOURCE OF COMMUNICATION:

It is the opinion of subject that the Turkish sleeping-car conductors transport information back and forth for the Nazi underground.

RASHID ALI AND THE 1941 REVOLT:

One of subject's patients was Rachid Ali, former Prime Minister. According to subject, he is a man with limitless ambition; not so much pro-Nazi as pro-Rashid Ali. It was he who started the rioting against the British. He promised the British that he would see that their women and children were taken out by plane; however, when they reached the place where the planes were to pick them up, they were held as hostages instead.

At the end of four days, the Iraq ammunition gave out. Some pro-British sheiks were sent to convey this information to the British, but in spite of this knowledge, British troops did not arrive for a month. Bridges were destroyed by the Iraqi. The Iraq general made a treaty with the English, who agreed not to send troops into Baghdad. During this time, the Iraqi killed about 1,000 Jews in Baghdad.

BRITISH COUNTER-PROPAGANDA INEFFECTIVE:

In May, 1940, anti-British propaganda in Iraq became very open, and the British community was very much disturbed by the lack of protest by their government representatives. They felt that Sir Basil Newton, their Ambassador, was doing nothing to combat Nazi influence. He has since been recalled and replaced by Sir Basil Cornwallis. Henihan

It was only after the 1941 Revolt that the British began to use counter-propaganda. However, in subject's opinion, they are going about it in the wrong way. The Foreign Office sent out young men whose only qualification was that they could speak Arabic, but who had absolutely no understanding of the people. They do not mix with the population, but remain aloof. The Iraqi and old Arabs are very suspicious of propaganda. They do not believe most of what they hear on the radio or see in the movies. The only way to approach an Arab is through "personal propaganda," like that of Dr. Kroba.

Illiteracy in Iraq is almost universal. The attractive booklets which the British send are read only by a few pashas; the population itself has little notion of what they contain. The native administration is poor, and the populace blames the British for their lowered standard of living.

The British Embassy is "full of young men" who are scorned by the sheiks because they are not fighting. "The British," they say, "are not fighting. That is why they lost Singapore." About 250 young Britishers in Iraq tried to enlist in the British Army at the outbreak of the war, but not one of them was accepted, which was a great blow to all of them. Subject himself has offered his services to the British on three occasions, but beyond receiving a letter each time saying he was being "considered," no action was taken.

The British maintain the Institute of Foreign Relations, which costs a good deal to maintain but accomplishes little.

THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH "TOMMY" IN IRAQ:

The one group of Britishers to whom the Iraq people really seem to warm up are the common British soldiers. They show no attitude of superiority; they ride on buses together with the natives, and subject has seen many examples of friendliness toward them on the part of the Iraqi. These men, in themselves, he believes, "are Britain's best propagandists."

NURI PASHA AND ABDUL MAHDI:

Nuri Pasha, the present Prime Minister of Iraq, is a good friend as well as a patient of subject, who regards him as a very able man, not so much pro-British as pro-Arab. Nuri feels that the only way to free the Arabs is through an Allied victory, and that

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under the Axis there would be no chance for freedom. (Subject admitted that he himself had probably to some degree helped to mould Nuri's attitude.)

Abdul Mahdi, Minister of Economy and leader of the Shiah, entertains the same point of view as Nuri. However, subject stated, both these men are losing popularity.

ABDUL ILLAH, REGENT:

Subject treated the former king, and became acquainted with Abdul Illah, the present Regent. He believes that the latter is 100% British.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS:

There is a concentration camp at Samarra for Iraqi, and two camps for Germans. The guards are fearful of the inmates, and the German radio can be heard within the camp walls all the time.

KIND OF PROPAGANDA NEEDED IN IRAQ:

Subject believes that the most effective propaganda is that which would stress the fact that it is in the interest of the Arabs that the United Nations win. "It is not necessary for them to love England," he said, "as long as they can be made to feel it is in their interest to fight on England's side."

Moreover, he stated, since 95% of the population is illiterate, and since they are dubious of what they hear on the radio, the best way to disseminate ideas is through personal contact. The Nazis took advantage of this fact when they sent Dr. Krobe and his aides. The Nazis have also used native dancing girls, who have considerable influence on the men, and subject believes they could be used by either side.

TYPES OF MEN WHO COULD CARRY THE UNITED NATIONS MESSAGE:

In the opinion of subject, there are two types of men who could carry on effective personal propaganda among the Iraqi, to counteract Nazi influences. One would be older men, who could win the respect of the people, since they are impressed by age; the other would be young officers. He suggested that the latter live with the desert tribes in democratic fashion. As long as they are guests of the tribe they would be "utterly safe," since one of the prime Arab tenets regarding hospitality is the almost passionate protection of the guest under the roof. They would respond particularly to young officers who could ride well. In his opinion, these men could win over some Arab tribes within a few months.

Subject feels that Americans could wield a greater influence than Britons, since they are by nature more friendly and adaptable.

INFLUENTIAL FOREIGNERS LIVING IN IRAQ:

Dr. Sinderson, Dean of the Medical School, and his wife are very well liked. So, too, are Mr. Walter, general manager of the Anglo-Iraq Oil Co. (I.B.C.) and Mr. Nairn, a New Zealander who built the air-conditioned buses.

Subject also mentioned Dr. Markowski, a Pole with influential patients, and Dr. Kropach, an Austrian refugee with great influence among the sheiks, as possible channels of Allied propaganda.

Subject himself is on friendly terms with all strata of the population. Many of them were unaware of the extent of his knowledge of Arabic and spoke freely in his presence; some, incidentally, have since been interned as enemies of the United Nations.

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PROMINENT IRAQ FIGURES:(With description by subject)

Jamil El-Madfaii
Former Prime Minister of Iraq, very popular in the North. He is honest though somewhat narrow-minded, and is pro-Ally. He is against Nuri Pasha for the arrest of Ibrahim Khemal and the present Iraqi Minister to Turkey (both of whom were suspected of participating in the murder of the former Minister of Finance, Rustem Haidar, a close friend of Nuri Pasha). Madfaii also protested the hanging of Nuri Sabaui and the officers who led the 1941 Revolt. He disapproves of the concentration camps and feels that Nuri Pasha is cooperating too strongly with the British. The present Nuri Cabinet is regarded by the people as a one-man "occupation Cabinet." A Cabinet with Nuri Pasha and Madfaii would be popular. Madfaii can be approached through Khalas Beg and Tahsin Askari (see notes below).

Ibrahim Khemal

Former Minister of Finance, regarded by the British as an eventual successor to Nuri Pasha. Clever, with limitless ambition, he is the same type as Rashid Ali - now 100% pro-British, but actually 100% for himself.

Joseph Chapira
Formerly Director of the Industrial & Agricultural Bank. He is a Christian. At present his attitude is not clear; in case of a Nazi occupation, he would certainly be on their side.

Abdul Karim El-Kaderi
A big merchant and member of the Chamber of Commerce of Basra.

Karimkly Zada Ahmad Agh
Influential merchant in the north of Iraq.

Hikmat Sulaiman
Former Prime Minister in Bekr Sidki's Cabinet. His group have socialistic, pro-Russian tendencies. This group can be approached through Professor Shawket Zahawi, Pathologist of the Royal Hospital. Sulaiman can be won over by flattery.

Abdul Mahdi
Minister of Economics. Pro-Ally; convinced that only an Allied victory can bring Freedom to the Arabs. He is a religious fanatic, most powerful of the Shiah leaders. He has behind him the religious sheiks of the Shiah, who have an immense - though not generally known - influence on the Shiah population. Dr. Safar, subject's former assistant, knows all of them, and because subject treated most of them in his capacity as a physician, his name will open the door to these men who are not politicians. They live in Nejef, and their influence reaches as far as Persia.

Abdul Jabar
Minister of the Interior. He is more intelligent than Abdul Mahdi, but less influential. Also more progressive. He is pro-English but, like all Shiah Ministers, it is not because of democratic ideals but rather because the Sunni have been pro-German. The Shiah, therefore, expect a British victory will bring with it the overthrow of their Sunni overlords.

Fatha Jamali
Director General of Education. Was educated in the United States and has an American-born wife. Admires German culture, but not Nazis. Is a nationalist, quite anti-English but strongly pro-American.

Dr. Matta Akrawi
Dean of the Teacher's Training College, with enormous influence on teachers. He is a Christian, a nationalist, was educated in the United States and can be easily approached by an American.

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Abdul Karim El-Ozzri
Former Director General of Economics, very able, ambitious, neutral. He and Fatha Jamali have the greatest influence on the young, educated Shiah.

Dr. Hanna Khayatt
Director General of Social Affairs, leader of the Catholics in Iraq. An able man, but not to be trusted too much. He is clever, and it might be possible to convince him that his own cause is identical with that of the United Nations. His brother, a physician of Mosul, is in a concentration camp because of Nazi sympathies.

Kamel-El-Kaderi
Sunni, President of the Chamber of Commerce. His mistress, a Jewess, has a great influence on him. Previously somewhat of a Nazi-sympathizer, he has now changed his attitude. His son, educated in Germany, has been imprisoned for violation of foreign exchange restrictions. This man can be approached through his son, or through Jamal Baban, Minister of Social Affairs, his closest friend who is pro-British and pro-Nuri Pasha.

Jaffar Abud Timan
Former President of the Chamber of Commerce, Chairman of the Oil Extraction Company. A Shiah, he is very intelligent, and very influential in the south. While officially very reserved, he can be approached privately and his advice would be of great value.

Dr. Pachichi
Best known Mohammedan physician, member of a very influential family. Although anti-English, he could probably be approached by an American. An able man.

Khalas Beg
Director of Land Settlement. Brother-in-law of Jamil El-Madfaii (former Prime Minister). Although he will not respond to any official English approach, he is for the Allied cause. He is a very good friend of subject, and will cooperate if his name is mentioned. His knowledge of the people of Mosul and the tribes in the north is very valuable. He is not on too good terms with Nuri Pasha.

Sheik Ali
Worshipped by the Kurds. He is somewhat unstable mentally, and anti-Arab.

Mirza Farreg Haj Sheriff
An intelligent businessman with great influence in the Sulemaniah region (capital of Kurdistan).

Alid Pasha Dogramaji
Leader of the Turks. Pro-Turkey, pro-Ally. Can be approached through his son, Dr. Dogramadji who is 100% pro-English.

Jassim Kaderi
Senator, friend of Taha Pasha (who was very pro-Nazi). His influence has decreased, but he is still very active. Can be approached through Dr. Kropach, his personal friend.

General Emin Omari
Former Chief of Staff, pro-Nazi, very ambitious, with great influence on the younger Army officers. (The influence of the present higher officers in the Army is very little).

Staff Col. Rafic Aref
Knows the situation very well and will give advice. Although his pride will not let him admit it openly, he is actually pro-British. He would turn down an official English approach. A personal friend of subject, mention of whose name would bring cooperation.

Major Dhagestani
A very clever and able young officer. Strangely enough, although the majority of his friends are British, he professes to dislike the English and admire the Nazis. He could be brought into the Allied fold if properly convinced that the Allied cause is also his cause.

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Dr. Chorbachi
Sunni. Most influential of the younger physicians, under Nazi influencebut proper personal contact could easily change his attitude. Enjoyed living in England.

Dr. Mahdi Fawzi
Same as Dr. Chorbachi.

Miss Naim Zaki
Mohammedan medical student. Has great influence on the students of the Medical College.

Mr. Awzawi
Christian. Same as Miss Zaki.

Tahsin-El-Askari
Iraqi Minister to Cairo, Egypt. Brother-in-law of Nuri Pasha and Ibrahim Kamal. Honest, but not clever. Will do anything to further the Allied cause.

The nephew and sons of the late Sheik Agil of Mosul, formerly Nazi admirers, are now pro-English. They "adopted" subject as a brother, and if his name is used unofficially they will cooperate.

Chaldeans can be influenced by their Archbishop in Mosul. Chaldean priests generally admire the Nazis and believe that the Nazis, being Christians, would overthrow the Moslems.

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B. D. Mer(Initialed) B. D. M. October 14, 1942

Mr. I. D. Shapiro

Our good friend from Atlantic City has sent to me the names of seven Moroccan acrobats who are in the armed service of the United States, with their present addresses as they were supplied to him. They are as follows:

Ambark Ben Mohamed
Med. Dept. 1201 St.
Sc. Sta.
Camp Fort Jay, N. Y.

Mostapha Hanloot
Pvt. Co. D. 2d
Bn 922nd
Eng. Reg.
George's Field
Spokane, Wash.

Hassan Lakader
1229 R.C.
Camp Upton, N. Y.

Mohamed Ben Said
P.F.C. Co. G. 39th Inf.
Fort Bragg, N. C.

Abdel Kader Ben Larpi
1229 R.C. Co C.B. K. 5
Fort Dix, N. J.

P.F.C. Jerome Ali
Battery D. 228 F.A.
Fort Bragg, N.C.

Mubarak Mohamad
Fort Dix
New ~~York~~ Jersey

I am able to add one that I have found in my own hometown of Princeton, New Jersey. Armtack Ben Mohamad of 31 Green Street, Princeton, New Jersey, is not yet in the army. He is 44 years old, a native of Morocco, and is registered with the Mercer County Local Draft Board #1 as Draft No. 10631, Series 463. He works at the Nassau Tavern preparing vegetables. He has no schooling, by religion he is a Moslem, and by profession - when not preparing vegetables - an acrobat and tumbler.

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Memo to Shapiro 10/14/42
B.D.M.

October 13, 1942

Dear Dr. Meritt:

Enclosed please find the names of seven Moroccan acrobats who are in the armed service of the United States, with their present addresses as given to me. I have sent to everyone a small gift of sweets on the eleventh of October, which was the Muslim holiday, to fulfill my promise to those who scoured around and procured the names and addresses. If the spelling of the names, as well as the directions of the addresses, seem odd, I am handing them in just as they were given to me by our illiterate Moroccans.

Respectfully submitted,

G. Kheiralla.

(Dictated, but neither signed nor read.)

Aimbark Ben Mohamed
Med. Dept. 1201 St.
So. Sta.
Camp Fort Jay
N. Y.

Mostapha Hamlot
Pvt. Co. D. 2d
Bn 922nd
Eng. Reg. George's Field
Spokane,
Wash.

Hassan Lakader
1229 R.C. Camp Upton
N.Y.

Mohamed Ben Said
P.F.C. Co. G. 39th Inf.
Fort Bragg
N.C.

Abdel Kader Ben Larpi
1229 R.C. Co C. B.K. 5
Fort Dix, N.J.

P.F.C. Jerome Ali
Battery D. 228 F.A.
Fort Bragg
N. C.

Mubarak Mohamad
Fort Dix,
N.J.

October 20, 1942

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To : H.I.Katibah.

From : B.D. MERITT

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Subject : Answers to Questionnaire on Syrians and Lebanese in U.S.A.

4.1.2

A. Statistical Data:

1. The last census gives the number of Syrians (and Lebanese) born abroad as over 50,000. This number multiplied by four, the average size of family will give us 200,000. Probably the total of Syrians and Lebanese of foreign birth and born in the U.S.A. is nearer to 250,000. It is most difficult to determine the ratio of the Lebanese to the Syrians in the United States. This is due mainly to the fact that great many Lebanese insist on calling themselves Syrians. In all likelihood the ratio of Lebanese to Syrians is more than 7 to 1.

2. The most important Centers of Syrian and Lebanese confluence in the United States are the following cities, as much as possible in the order of importance:

New York, Detroit, Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Lawrence, Chicago, Charleston, W.Va. Pittsburgh, Jacksonville, Fla., Toledo, Akron, Canton, Youngstown, O., St. Louis, Utica, Buffalo, N.Y. Indianapolis, San Antonio, Texas, Houston, Texas, Richmond, Va. etc. etc..

The chief centers of emigration of Syrians and Lebanese are: Northern Lebanon (Bsharri, Ehden, Zghartah, Ito etc.), Matn, in Central Lebanon, Shuf, in Central Lebanon, Kisrwan, In Central Lebanon, and Marj-Uyoun, Mashgharah, Aitanaet etc. Southern Lebanon; Damascus,

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Aleppo, Homs, in Syria proper, Qalamun (Nabk, Saidnayah, Yabrud, Dairatiyah) in Hinter Syria, Jabal Amil, in Southern Lebanon, the Nusairiyyah district, north of Labanon, the Husn district, northeast of Lebanon, Beirut, Zahle, Buka (Rashayyah al-Fukhkhar, Aitha Ain Arab, Muhaidthah etc,)

4. Every one of these districts mentioned above has a corresponding town or city in the United States where its emigrants have congregated, for the obvious reason that those who first settled in a city or town in the United States, "sent after" their kin from their own hometown. Thus the Damascenes are to be found in Boston, where as one Damascene told me, you can still find the old Damascene manners and drawl of the Christians of the quarters of Bab Sharqi and Bab Touma, better preserved than in Damascus itself.) The Alepponese are to be found in Brooklyn and Utica, N.Y. ; the people of Judaidat-Marj-Uyoun are congregated in Oklahoma, in Wichita, Kansas, and in Detroit; the people of Ito are in Peoria, Ill., the people of Hadsheet in St. Louis, the people of Nabk in Jacksonville, Fla., the Salibeeys of Suk al Gharb are in North Carolina, the Homsites in Brooklyn, Detroit and Pennsylvania, the Rahhayaites in Grand Rapids, the Aithatites in Charleston, W.Va., Toledo, Ohio and Grand Rapids, Mich. the Zahlites in Chicago, Peoria and scattered, the Metnites and other Lebanese fairly well scattered, the Saghbinites, Aitaneetites and Mashgharites in Cleveland, the Tripolitans (Syria) in Toledo, Pennsylvania, and scattered. etc.etc.

It is almost impossible to make accurate, or even general statements on the capital invested in Syrian businesses, including Lebanese, because there are so few bona fide corporation , and what corporations there are are usually family affairs.

In a general way one could indicate the lines of business usually entered into by Syrians and Lebanese, with probable combination congestu- ~~re~~ of the capital involved in some cases. The biggest bulk of Syrian business is still in the hands of first-generation Syrian and Leba - nese, with a tendency in the second-generation Syrians and Lebanese, or in those who came pretty young to this country, to take over, or, in fewer instances to strike out on their own.

Whereas formerly peddling was almost identical with Syrians (and it is still true that most Syrians started as peddlers), today the business most-frequented by Syrians is grocery. Some of the lea - ders in this line are Hamadeh (Mahmoud, Kamil Hamady etc.)Bros. of Flint, Mich. Their places sell something like $5,000,000 worth of groceries a year; next in importance are Farha Bros., in Wichita, Kansas (first generation came young), the Jemails (first generation) of Houston, Texas, the Sfeirs of Detroit, Mich etc. At one time the Andrew Bros. (Khalil, Ibrahim and Salim) were among the foremost pri - vate fruit shippers in the whole country, and they are still big. James Haddad of Chicago is among the big bottlers of orange crush. Both the Andrews and Haddad are from Zahle, which probably claims more fi-

nancially successful Syrians or Lebanese Americans than any other town or city in Syria and Lebanon. Other important shippers or wholesalers in the produce and fruit business are the Dunns (Zahle) of Detroit, the Haddads of Los Angeles, Charles Lyon (Zahle) of El Paso, Barber Faris, (Aitha), Toledo. The Family Dairy of Detroit, a corporation, is run by Syrians from Damascus and Zahle, Fred Kadane, Dallas, Texas, has a dairy and produce place, Suleiman Bassett, of Toledo has a big private peanut plant; S.Abdou in El Paso has a big egg and butter wholesale business; Joseph Younes of San Antonio has a big fish and poultry market; the Azar Bros., one in El Paso, one in San Antonio, shell pecans. This does not begin to exhaust the Lebanese and Syrians in the grocery and food industries. At one time it was said there were 5,000 Syrians (Lebanese) grocers in Detroit, obviously an exaggeration; today there are approximately 700 or more. In Charleston, W. Va., I was told Syrians hold sixty grocery stores. In many small towns the Syrian grocers practically monopolize the grocery business, as in Spring Valley, Ill.

Perhaps next in importance comes the manufactures of women's wear and baby dresses. New York is by far the most important center for this industry among the Syrians. Such names as Barsa, Mu'akkad, Sayyour, Hadad, Arida were, and many still are names to reckon with in the lingerie and negligee industry, also kimonos,

which I was told were introduced in this country by Syrians. Los Angeles is a big center of women's cheap dresses and sportswear, with the Mode-O*Day by the Malouf Bros., leading. The Maloufs of SanFrancisco also are big in this industry. These Maloufs come from Kafr-Sghab, Central Lebanon. The biggest pants manufacturer in the United States, and perhaps in the world is Maroun Hajjar, of Dallas, Texas. It is estimated that this year his sales will amount to 8½ million dollars.

Linen and lace, once the most important industry frequented by Syrians, now comes third or even lower. New York is still the chief center. The Mallouks, Bardawils, Jabaras, Lians, Mabaraks, Boutross lead in this industry. Syrian Jews are now crowding the other Syrians from this business.

Some Syrians, notably in Richmond, Va., are in the restaurant business.

There are some Syrian contractors. The biggest in this line are the Mitris of Los Angeles; there are a few contractors now in Cleveland, where many flourished before the crash of 1929.

There are few Syrian farmers and ranchers. I heard of a Saliba in Colorado, who is among the prosperous sheep herders in the country, with some of the finest breeds in his corrals.

There are a number of Syrian and Lebanese doctors in the United States, one of whom, Dr. Michael Shadid, is the founder of co-operative medicine in this country. Other distinguished sur -

geons and physicians are: the late Dr. F.I. Shatara, Dr. Solomom David of Houston, Dr. T. Nicola of New York, both bone surgeons, Dr. F.Akl of New york, DR.L. Sa'di of Detroit, Col. Mughabghab of New Orleans; also of that city, Dr. Haik and Dr. M.De Bakey, the latter Associate Professor of Medicine at Tulane University. There are a few Syrian Lawers, none of whom may be called prominent as far as I can make out. George Farris and Joseph Ferris in New York are among the most successful (not related.) In Grand Rapids, Mich. Joseph Deeb is a federal prosecuting attorney. ~~Mostly second generation~~. Azar in Akron, Ohio, was assistant district attorney of that city.

There are quite a few young engineers, second generation, who have not had time to distinguish themselves. Among the first gene - ration engineers there is Suleiman Haddad of Brooklyn, and Prof. M. Malti of Cornell University, professor of electrical engineering. Among the younger promising engineers M.Halbouty of Houston, geologgist, Raymond David, Petroleum with the Union Oil Co., and other whose mames need not be mentioned.

Among the oil men, or rather wild-catters, may be mentioned George Kadane of Wichita Falls, Texas, and Bob Manziel in Tyler, Texas, both of whom came young from Lebanon.

B. Outstanding Syrians and Lebanese in the United States; This is a most difficult subject to write about. Many outstanding Syrians, such as Abrahan Rihbany in Boston, of the late Dr. N. Salloum in Toledo, both married to American women, withdrew from

~~the~~

the Syrian communities, and their qualities as leaders had little effect on the Syrians themselves. In others claim to leadership is strongly contended, and their leadership is confined to their own faction, such as the late Naoum Mokarzel and his brother Salloum, present editor of al-Hoda. Still others., like the late Gibran K. Gibran, Ameen Rihani, Philip K.Hitti, exercized a certain wide influence, but can hardly be considered leaders, in the strict sense of the word. Limited as it is, Syrian and Lebanese leadership consists of those who were willing to work through organizations, to editors of the various Arabic newspapers and to the clergy.

Among these may be counted men like Archbishop Anthony Bashir, Mons. Ghosn, the late Dr. F.I. Shatara, the late Suleiman Baddour, Dr. N. Barbour, N.G. Badran, T.Facker, E. Madey, Joseph Ferris, George Dager, S.Mokarzel, all of New York and Brooklyn; Charles Andrews M.K. Doumany, Maj. Saidy, George Fuleihan of Los Angeles; Joseph K. David of Jacksonville, Fla. Louis Shamie, Ahmed Bader, Father Benjamin Hafiz, of Detroit, Faris Malouf, George Barakat of Boston; S. Saad of Chicago; Dr. Solomon David of Houston, ~~Amis Fuleihan composer etc.etc.~~

1. About 95% to 97% of Syrians and Lebanes in the United States are citizens.

2. I do not know of any non-citizen leaders.

It would be much better to give the names of "Key Men" in the various cities, which were visited personally by this writer,

than to give names of designated heads of societies ~~in~~ of so-called leaders. Those key-men often are leaders, and sometines are popu - lar, likeable men who know everybody and seem to be liked by every- body. With each I will give a brief description of business and acti vities.

In New York and environs:

E.J.Audi, 233 4th Ave.,N.Y.C. Graduate of Colgate, in furniture business, very intelligent and wise spokesman for the Arabs; executive member of dormant Arab National League.

S. Mokarzel. 55 Washington St., High-school and self-educated editor of al-Hoda, head of the Lebanese party and Leba- non League of Progress.

Ali Mahadeen, 3711 Hudson Blvd.,Jersey City, N.J. Self-educa ted level-headed Moslem leader with wide influence throu ghout the U.S.A., vice-president of Arab National League.

Archbishop Anthony Bashir; Syrian Orthodox primate in the U.S.A intelligent, Arab in views, enjoying wide influence in U.S.A.

For Upper New York State:

S.Deep, 249 Delaware Ave.,Albany N.Y. - Secondary education in Lebanon, very well read and intelligent. Rug merchant; knows all types of people in upper part of New York state, with a sense of humor and oriental flourish in conversa - tion.

Cleveland, Ohio:

Father Elias Meena, 1448 Holmden Ave.,Syrian Orthodox pr- iest from Tripoli, intelligent, popular.

Canton, Ohio:

Salem Shaheen, 217 Tuscawara W. - Merchant, leader of the Shaheen clan, from 'Urnah, a town near Damascus.

Akron, O.- Robert Azar, 214 W. Chestnut St., lawyer and assistant destrict attorney, popular.

Toledo, O.
Archbishop Samuel David, 624 Mongolia St.-Syrian Orthodox bishop under Archbishop Bashir, leader of 'Aitha group.

Louis Darah, 2204 Lawrence Ave. - Owner of drycleaning establishment, leader of group opposed to Archbishop David popular and well-liked even by opposing group.

Youngstown, O., - Jimmie Khoury, 2529 Hillman ST., Arab in views, comes from Palestine, originally from Damascus, popular.

Rev. Peter Eid, 823 Wilson Ave.- Maronite priest, young, educated, recently arrived from lebanon.

Detroit, Mich.
Rev. Benjamin Hofiz, 601 Boston Blvd.- Educated and eloquent Syrian Orthodox priest, formerly Protestant and educated in a Protestant theological seminary. Very active socially, ardent Arab.

John W. Coury, 2727 Barlum Tower-Lawyer, handsome, sporty popular, leader of his townspeoples' folks.

Ameen Malooly, 2510 Orleans, intelligent, artistically inclined, leader among Catholics of Detroit, came from Zahle popular with all.

Ahmed Badder, 10401 Dix Ave., Dearborn. Very ~~a~~active in Arabic organizations, also Islamic ones; leading figure in Arab National League, moderate influence among fanatically inclined Moslems and ardent Arabs; some of whom may be described as reactionary. Valuable contact.

Louis R. Shamie, 1020 Fox Theatre building - Orthodox layman and leader of the Damascus group in Detroit; editor of Grocer's Spotlight, intelligent, graduate of a Damascus protestant missionary school, good speaker, popular, inclined to play politics, interested in enhancing position of Syrians and Lebanese in Detroit and other cities.

Mohammed Mousa, Leland Detroit Hotel, Moslem and whole-some influence, married to American woman, comes from Palestine, ardent Arab, tolerant and practi - cally intelligent.

Jack Youssephany, 628 Buhl Building, lawyer, educated, leader ~~in~~ of the Syriac Christians of Mosul in Detroit.

Flint, Mich.:

Najib Samra, 1907 Detroit St. - Intelligent, self-educated, radical, socialistic, ardent Arab nationalist, out-spoken, very sincere. Inclined to shock the sensibilities of old-fashioned stick-in-the mud Syrians and mocks popular leadership of clergy and newspapermen.

Grand Rapids, Mich:

Edward Ellis, 300 Ellsworth St. - Soft-spoken, poised, successful business man, leader of 'Aitha group in Grand Rapids.

Alexander K. Mallick- 244 Granville Ave. - leader of the Rashayya group in Grand Rapids and elsewhere inclined to vanity, but otherwise a fine man.

Dr. Arthur J. Tesseine, 325 Madison, S.E. - active Catholic leader, American born, but mixes a lot with older generation, well liked popular physician and surgeon.

Grand Haven, Mich:

Joseph Ahmed Nejem- one of the most interesting Moslems in the U.S. - liberal, who created quite a stir in all Arabic capitals of Islam and press, because of his fearless attacks of the reactionary leadership of such men as Emir Shakib Arslan, who is now Nazi propagandist, if I am not mistaken. Very valuable man to contact.

Chicago:

George Coury - 120 S.La Salle, broker, graduate of Notre Dame, American born, active in Federation work of Syrian and Lebanese organizations, well - liked, moderate.

Edward Ellis

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Sam Saad, 1230 S. Westerm Ave.- Popular leader in Federation work, high-school educatinn, practically-minded and wise; active in Americanization work, as well as in Syrian Affairs.

Milwaukee, Wis.-
James Arrieh, grocer, active in federation Syrian and American activities. Charles Nabkey and Jameel Hishmey (for Palestinians.)

Michigan City, Ind; The most distinguished Lebanese in this city is Mons. Michael Abraham, who is highly educated and has travelled extensively in Near East. Well known in Catholic circles of Chicago.

Peoria, Ill., - of the first generation Syrians of Lebanese there is hardly one who may be considered distinguished; but Charles Ryia is well-known and popular; restaurant owner.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa :
For the Christian community George A. Nassif, popular rug man, self-educated, interested in Syrian affairs; for the Moslem community (one of few such communities where they have a mosque and school to teach Arabic), Hasan Igram (511 Ave. M., N.W.)

Omaha, Neb. : Rev. W. Mansur, and evangalist who has written much on Syrians and Lebanese in the U.S.A. for Syrian English publications, somewhat verbiose and general, but good - hearted and anxious to do something for the betterment of his people. 3015 Hamilton Ave.

Philip Abood, lawyer, interested in Syrian-Lebanese affairs, especially federational work.

Sioux City, Iowa:
Very Rev. M.M.Yanney, well-liked and has contacts with American Protestant clergy, priest for the Syrian Orthodox. His education is limited, but well acquainted with his own people.

St. Paul, Minn.: Both Rt. Rev. Peter Fara Assemani and Rt. Rev. Peter P. Aschar are well-acquainted with Syrians and Lebanese in their state. Maronite priests, both well edu-

cated in Lebanese schools and theological seminaries. Former's address: 602 University Ave. , N.E. Minneapolis, Minn.; the latter's address : 201 Robie St., St. Paul, Minn.

A valuable man to know in Minneapolis is Dr. Afif Tannus Dept. of Sociology, University of Minn.

Indianapolis, Ind.:
A. Frederick Zaney, People's National Bank, is editor of The Syrian Voice, lawyer, well-acquainted with Syrians, somewhat of an opportunist.

Fort Wayne, Ind:
Cuzma T. David-124 E Wayne St. - an old Protestant immigrant from Rashayyah, well-liked, enthusiastic Mason, also interested in Syrian-Lebanese affairs. Of the younger generation Albert Luffy, government employe and Thomas Ember are interesting to know, both interested in their people.

Louisville, Ky.- George Leo Jurige, 214 S. Preston St., is an ardent Arab, though coming from Lebanon proper. Has a distinguished cartoonist son on the Louisville Courier-Journal, and himself an Arabic folk-poet.

Columbus, O.-N.Khourie, 43 E. High St. - distinguished merchant does not mix much with Syrians in city, but well acquainted with community.

Charleston, W.Va/.- Rev. Raphael Husson, Syrian Orthodox priest (111 Brown St.) is well acquainted with Americans and Syrians (and Lebanese), self-educated mostly. I believe he was born in this country and brought up abroad in his little town 'Aitha, as a child.

Faris Masrie, of Princeton, W. Va., is a valuable person to meet for information on Druze communities of Va., W. Va. and Tenn. Educated in native schools abroad, and has written in Arabic.

Richmond, Va., - Mostly a Lebanese community. Rev. Anthony Korkmaz, Maronite priest, highly educated, 2501 Broad St., is key-man there. Also J.M. Shaar, 535 Broad, well-liked restaurant man.

Salisbury, N.C. - A.B.Salechy, 715 S. Main - Very popular lyman in Protestant Sunday school activities among Americans, and leader of the Saleebys (probably only because of his American contacts and highly ambitious nature.)

Florence, S.C. - Nsib S. Baroody, distinguished business man of this city is well-liked and has large circle of friends among Americans.

Jacksonville, Fla. The distinguished and key-man of this city is Joseph K. David, ice manufacturer, founder of Syrian American Club of city and state, interested in Americanization and fraternal club activities, civic affairs etc., and also in Syrian-Lebanese federation activities.

Los Angeles - This has a big and extensive Syrian-Lebanese community, and quite scattered. The following are well-known business men who have taken interest in their people's interests and are all good American citizens

B.I.Malouf, 421 N.Las Palmas, Holly wood.
Michel Ackary, 719 E. Los Angeles.
Ernest Malouf, 155 W.Washington Blv
M.K.Doumani, 639 S.Spring.
Charles Andrews, 1315 E. 7th St.

This last is a distinguished gentelman, much interested in Syrian affairs and has contributed much of his means and time to their projects. Tends to show more sympathy and generosity than judgement. Good American citizen, as all above.

San Francisco - Hard to pick a key-man. Rev. Ibrahim Corey, 2107 Pierce St., formerly of Pittsburgh is the Orthodox priest of the community, and well acquainted with most. Another key-man for contacts and knowledge of community is Elias M.Jeha of 1306 Sierra St., Berkley, Calf.

Arizona :

S.E.Rayes, 274 East St.,Globe is key-man for Lebanese activities throughout Arizona; Wade Nader, former teacher at the American University of Beirut, ~~Miami~~ is a valuable contact. Also Sam Jabbour, The former lives in Miami, the latter in Globe, Ariz. Jabbour is veteran of last world war.

El Paso, Texas:

Key-man is Kazin K. Kazin, photographer, well-acquainted with Syrian and Lebanese activities, intelligent, good American.

San Antonio, Tex:

George Azar, business man, intelligent, interested in Syrian and Lebanese activities. Rev. A. Dahdah, Maronite priest.

Houston; Tex :

Dr. Solomon David, distinguished surgeon, wide contacts with Americans and own people, especially of Rashayyah. Intelligent, somewhat conservative, but open-minded. ..

N.D.Jamail - 322 Everton St. - commonly considered leader of the Jamail clan (there are 300 of them alone in Houston.) Lebanese leader, open-minded, intelligent, self-educated.

Kamal Antone 414 Hunt - American born, but much interested in Syrian affairs (although from Lebanon) one of the founders of the Southern Federation of Syrian and Lebanese clubs.

Shreveport, La.:

George A.Haddad, 985 Thora Blvd. - Intelligent rug man, elementary education in native Baruk, Lebanon, but improved a great deal in this country. Ardent American, with wide contacts, well-acquainted with Syrians and Lebanese in Mississippi, Louisiana and other states. Although now tends to withdraw from his people.

Dallas, Texas:

This city boasts in having the biggest Syrian (Lebanese) manufacturer in this country(J.M. Haggar)

Contacts more with Americans and in business matters. Fred Kadane also businessman is valuable contact for Syrian and Lebanese affairs.

Oklahoma City, Okla.:
F.H. Barkett, 9N.Robinson, well known, well-acquainted with all immigrants of Judaidat Marj-'Uyoun in Oklahoma and other states. Intelligent leader, educated in village schools but improved greatly in U.S.A. Has many friends throughout country, interested in American and Syrian-Lebanese affairs.

Kansas City, Mo.:
Frank Sweyden, 319 Alemeda Rd., business man (interior decorator of note) is a very enthusiastic American, also interested in affairs of own people and well-acquainted with them.

St.Louis, Mo.: This is a city of Syrian(Lebanese) politicians and some say of Syrians (Lebanese) gangsters. More than half of the Lebanese citizens of this city come from one town Hadsheet. It has two Maronite Priests, one for the Hadsheet people, one for the others. A typical politician is Joseph Slay (907 Hickory St.)Dr. Elias S. Khalifah, recent immigrant and assistant professor of dentistry in Washington University, is a valuable man to contact.

Another interesting man to meet is Prof. Wade D.David.brother of Solomon David of Houston, Tex.,2918 College Ave. Alton, Ill.Also Father Seraphim Nassar, of Spring Valley, Ill who was known at one time as the priest of 9 states. He has travelled a great in the U.S.A and knows perhaps more Syrian (and Lebanese) people than any one I know of. Recently he has withdrawn from active interest in own people and is devoting himself to writing. Sponsored translationof Orthodox book of Prayer to English, and is much interested in preserving

the Orthodox faith for the second and third generation Syrians. Interesting to discuss problems of Syrians and Lebanese in this country, although he hardly speaks English, in spite of his over 35 years stay in this country. Somewhat conservative in views, but open-minded.

C. Societies:

There are literally hundreds, perhaps thousands of societies for the Syrians and Lebanese in this country. It may be truly said that whenever two or three Syrians get together they form a society. In many cases those societies are town, or district societies - such as the 'Aitaneet Society, the Jazzin Society, the Kisrwan Society, the Knights of Furzul etc. Among the most important of those town societies are the Damascus Fraternity, the Homsian Fraternity (both in the Eastern states), the Zahle Society (Mid-Western States), Kfeir Society (Mid Western), Kurbe Society (Mid - Western), Doumanian Society (Los-Angeles) the Knights of Furzul (Omaha, Neb.), the Jazeen Society (two of them) in New York and North Lebanon Society (Detroit).

Among the federational societies - societies with national membership - the following are the more important:

The Eastern Federation-Headquarters in Boston, Mass. The key-man to contact Faris Maloud, 73 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.

The Southern Federation Headquarters in Texas (San Antonio, Houston, or Austin, or some other southern state where secretary happens to be). Man to contact, Herman Nami, 706 Brady Bldg. San Antonio, Texas.

American Syrian Federation 21

The Mid-Western Federation, Headquarters in Indianapolis Ind. Man to contact, A.Frederick Zainey, People's Bank, Indianapolis, Ind.

Western Federation - Headquarters in Los Angeles. Man to contact, Charles Andrews, 1316 E. 7th St.,Los Angeles, Calif.

There is a movement to unify these Federations, composed of Syrian and Lebanese societies, and an incipient National Federation was actually formed, and a president, George Coury, 1208 La Salle St., Chicago,Ill., was actually named. But as far as I know there never was a meeting of this National Federations, The federations, in spite of a great deal of good which they have accomplished, are still on the level of social clubs of federations, where Syrian lad meets Syrian gal. The Southern Federation has a scholarship fund, and the Eastern Federation sponsored a Hitti Scholarship at Princeton University. American politicians quickly sensed the political advantage of those federations, to the benefit of Syrians and American politics.

Next in importance, or scope, to these federations, comes:

2

The Lebanon League of Progress, Headquarters in New York in fact the office of al-Hoda, 55 Washington St., and the man to contact is S. Mokarzel, 55 Washington St.,New York, N.Y. This

organization is the staunch champion of the Independence of Lebanon, and draws inspiration from Lebanon and French sources, but cannot be said to be dominated by them.

2.1

The Arab National League. Headquarters, New York, N.Y

This is the nucleus around which are crystalized the Arab national sentiment in the United States. The society, at present, is dormant. When it was active, however, it did a great deal of work for the cause of the Arabs in Palestine. The man to contact is E.J. Audi, 233 4th Ave., New York, N.Y.

Because of its active opposition to Zionism, this organization attracted much more attention than it would have otherwise merited. For the same reason it has been approached obliquely by Anti-Semitic organizations, but the policy of the League had been always to avoid such entanglements, and to restrict itself to its main object. It may be equally be said that the League came in contact, and deliberated with, Jewish groups seeking to effect some understanding between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, without success.

The Syrian-American Clubs. Started in New York before the last world war, and at one time were very effective and influential in Syrian American politics. The particular club's importance today depends on the membership and leadership in each city. The man to contact is Joseph Ferris, 291 Broadway, New York N.Y. Among the most important chapters, really independent societies with similarity of objectives, are the ones in Chicago,

the one in Los Angeles, the one in Jacksonville, Fla, the one in Peoria, Ill. etc.

The Bakurat al-Durziyyah, as its name indicates is the chief Druze organization in this country. I believe their headquarters are in Detroit, Mich. But the most active man, I think, and one most ardent and active in Draze nationalist causes is Frank Nasser (Nasrallah), 3 Golden Hill, Danbury, Conn.

For Moslem organization contact Ahmed Badder, 10401 Ave. Hyland Park, Mich. There are two camps among the Moslems of Detroit and vicinity, the Sunnites and the Shiites, with usually poor leadership.

There is also a Maronite organization in Detroit, and other sectarian societies. In Detroit one feels the spirit of religious factionalism among the Syrians and Lebanese more than in any other city in the United States.

The Damascene Fraternity may be contacted through John Mudarri, 8701 Shore Road, Brooklyn, N.Y. ; the Homsian Fraternity through A.A. Haddad, 303 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. ; the Aleppian groups through S. Ayoub, 125 Prospect Park, New York, N.Y.

There may be other important organizations, but I believe this covers the most important.

It is very difficult to reply to questions in this section, as listed in order. Number of Chapters, number of Members in each chapter would require a census. This is almost true of officers also.

6. As for purpose and activity or activities of those societies it is almost true of all, with the notable exception of the Arab National League and the Lebanon League of Progress, that they are non-political, except in a general American way, showing due interest in Americanization. They are mostly social, some benefi - ciary, to a very limited extent. In this connection it is import ant to mention the Syrian Ladies A id Societies, which may be considered components of the Syrian American Clubs. In New York the person to contact is Mrs. S.Y. Alkazin, 530 - 2nd St., Brooklyn. This is a purely charity society.

7. Unlike many societies of other nationalities in the U.S., it is notably true that there is very little influence from foreign countries, not even from Syria and Lebanon, or Palestine. What influence there is, is moral and is based on community of interest. The nearest to any such influence is accorded to the Arab National League. Yet, it is notoriously true that the Mufti of Jerusalem, the titular head of the Arab national movement in Palestine, did not rely in his confidential contacts on the Arab National League, but on individuals , usually inclined to be more fanatic than patriotic. One of the chief sources of weakness in the Arab National League was precisely this lack of complete confidence on behalf of the Mufti and other leaders of Palestine and Syria. Perhaps the unuttered reason for

this is that the leadership of the League has been, naturally enough, Christian. The League received no money from abroad.I do not know about the Lebanon League of Progress, of which it was rumored in the days of its late leader, Naoum Mokarzel, that it received money from the French, although indirectly, it was said. This is, as far as I am concerned hearsay. In the case of the Arab National League I know it received no money from abroad. On the contrary, the chief function of the League in the minds of a great majority of its followers, was to collect funds and send them to the Mufti, or his agents in Damascus.

8. The source of wealth of all Syrian and Lebanese societies are memberships and contributions.

In the days of the Syrian revolution, 1925-27 it was estimated that the various chapters of the New Syria Party (succeeded practically by the Arab National League) collected over a quarter of a million dollars to aid the revolutionists and for relief. The Arab National League hardly approached one fifth of this sum.

D. Transient Population:

It is most difficult to answer the questions of this section accuretely, as there are no Syrian or Lebanese consuls in America, and the French consulate is shunned by Syrians and most Lebanese. Even if if were otherwise, I know of no Syrian or Lebanese students who make a bee-line to the French consulate for registration. My own estimate of Syrian

and L

and Lebanese students in U.S.A. colleges and universities is less than 50 a year, perhaps less than 20.

E. Commercial and Financial Establishments:

1. There used to be two Syrian or Lebanese banks-the Faour Bank and the Bank of Lebanon, and both went out of business with a failure of the first and a bust-up of the latter, Both banks were run by third rate business men. Until recently there was a third, automobile loan bank in Los Angeles, B.I.Malouf owner. I was told this, too, went out of business.

2. I know of no single Syrian or Lebanese corporation, except, as stated previously, family corporations, such as the Hamady Bros. Corp. in Flint, Mich.

3. They have no possible contacts with either Syria or Labanon, or any other foreign country.

F. Publications:

The following are Arabic dailies serving the Syrians and Lebanese in the U.S.A.

1. Al-Hoda - 55 Washington St. New York, N.Y. S. Mokarzel owner, editor. Staff at present, Philip Kahwaje, Alexander Antoun and Rt. Rev. Ananias Kassab. The oldest Arabic newspaper still extant in U.S.A.; the mainstay of the Lebanese independence cause in U.S.A., and through North and South America Its type of journalism has been personal and abusive in Language;

its news coverage most complete of Arabic newspapers. Most important publication in the Lebanese or Syrian Diaspora in its influence on the home politics of Lebanon.

Meraat-ul-Gharb - 80 Washington St., New York, N.Y. Owner Mr. N Diab; editor Nasib Arida, (succeeded by Fred Ghain) no staff. Until recently this next oldest rian newspaper was daily, now three times a week. The opposition organ to Al-Hoda. Founded by Najib Diab, now dead, it soon became the crystalization point of sustained, sensible opposition to Al-Hoda. Its policy was pan-Syrian, recently tending to pan-Amabism. At all times "Nationalistic", which practically meant in the minds of most readers, opposition to the Lebanonx separatist movement. It is also, all in all the most liberal newspaper in the United States for the Syrians and Lebanese.

As-Sameer, 109 Atlantic Ave. Brooklyn, N.Y. Editor owner, Elia D. Madey. Although recent, succeeding a magazine by the same name, it is ably edited by the foremost Syrian poet. Tends somewhat to muck-raking in its bitter opposition to Al-Hoda. The editor -owner is a son-in- law of the late founder of Maraat ul-Gharb, who, failing to get control of that paper, turned hiw maga - zine into a newspaper, opposing both Meraat ul-Gharb and Al-Hoda. The policy of As-Sameer is comewhat equivocal, and onee was the indirect and unofficial spokesman of the semi-fascist Syrian organization known as the Syrian Nationalist Party (Al Hidhib ul-Suri- -l-Gaumi.) On the whole it is nationalistic, with now and then an

inspired editorial. The editor is more of a poet than a journalist.

Madey has no staff, but one able assistant, Farid Ghosn, formerly editor of al-Fajr, in Lawrence, Mass. (Now with al-Mercant.)

Al-Bayan, 107 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. Present owner Amin David (Fayyad) of Washington, D.C.; editor his brother, Said David, formerly of Venezuela. This semi-weekly Arabic newspaper was founded by the late Suleiman Baddour, a Druze leader in this country. It became the organ of the Moslem leaders in this country who tried to oust Baddour, or publish another paper to compete with Al-Bayan failed, mostly because of poor editorial material among these people. Al-Bayan is the most ardent pan-Arab publication in the United States, and South America. It tends to be pan-Islamic and has been until recently very much under the influence of the reactionary Moslem leader, and Axis sympathizer, Emir Shakib Arislan, now said to be in Geneva, Switzeralnd. Because of its extremism in its views al-Bayan opposed the Arab National League of damned it by faint praise. Although it should have been the logical organ of the league.

This paper has no staff.

The Syrian Eagle-181 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. Owned, edited, set in type (mostly) by N.G. Badran, the one-man newspaper man. This newspaper championed a sectarian Greek Orthodox cause, known as the Antiochean movement, which aimed at

bringing the Syrians Orthodox Church in the U.S.A. under the religious leadership of the Antioch see in Damascus, instead of the Orthodox Russian Mission. The editor is sincere, though single-minded, and his paper has supported the Arab cause in the U.S.A. Daily.

Al-Sayeh, 303 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. Owner, editor and founder A.A.Haddad. This is the most literaty Arabic newspaper in the U.S.A., and was the official organ of the Pen League (Ar-Rabitah al-Qalamiyyah, founded by the late G.K. Gibran. No staff. Semi-Weekly.

3.1
Al-Akhlaq (Character), 59 Washington St. Present editor, Jacob Raphael. Formerly this newspaper, semi-weekly, was a magazine by the same name. Its editor went into partnership with the late J,M. Khoury, editor of Ash-Shaab. On the death of the latter, or before it Raphael became sole owner and editor. It is a liberal Lebanese newspaper, and had its justification in winning for itself a section of the Lebanese element in U.S.A. which became dissatisfied with the leadership of late Naoum Mokarzel, founder of Al Hoda.

None of these newspapers, I believe, has a circulation more than 5000, or rather subscription list. For it is true that in Syrian newspapers the circulation is several times the size of subscription, and none of them receives any financial aid from abroad, as far as I know. On their views relative to politics of this country, almost all were Republicans, as the huge majority of Syrians we-

re Republicans until a decade or so ago; but they are not beyond being somewhat mercenery when the elections come around.

There are no important Arabic publications outside of New York. Of these less important newspapers two are published in Detroit(Al-Ittihad, the older, is published by Joseph Jonakeem)

There are today only two publications of any significance in English, the Syrian Ark, published by A.Frederick Zainey, People's Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind., and the Federation Herald, of Boston, Mass., published by the Eastern Federation of Syrian and Lebanese Societies, and edited by George Barakat.

Until recently there were quite a few, that appeared for a time and passed on. The most important and oldest of these was the Syrian World, founded by S.Mokarzel as a magazine, then changed to a weekly newspaper and published by H.I. Katibah. When I was in Los Angeles I was told by the editor of the Syrian-American News, Samuel Mamey, that he was going to revive it. Although I was also told that he sold the list of subscription ~~subscribers~~ to A.F. Zainey.

Today the Syrians and Lebanese in the United States have no Arabic magazine, and only the Ark, which is a newspaper in magazine form, in English.

G. Radio Broadcasts: 4.10 1

The Arabian Nights Program

9 1. Station

2. No particular sponsor run by ads from Syrian

merchants, and voluntary contributions through an annual benefit.

3. Once a week, reaching the Eastern states.

4. No propaganda of any sort that I am aware of.

There are at least two other radio broadcasts I know of, both in Boston, one run by Shagoury, the other by M.S. Abourjaily. Neither of them, as far as I know, have any propaganda platforms, and both are commercial, sponsored by advertisement subscription, and American political campaign contribution.

I was told there was another radio broadcast, of similar nature, in Pittsburgh, Pa., run by Ameen Haddad.

H. General Considerations.

1. Lebanese separatists (following Al-Hoda); Arab nationalists, and Syrian independence partisans, some of whom follow the leadership of the semi-fascist al-Hidhib ul-Qaumi, but not necessarily all, or even the majority. Concerning politics of the United States, now mostly are pro-Roosevelt or New Deal, and a small minority who are bitterly opposed to New Deal, or some of its features

2. There is hardly any direct foreign influence or propaganda among Syrians and Lebanese of the U.S.A. However, the Mufti of Palestine may be said

to have a small following among Palestinians and Moslems, and a few Christian Palestinians in this country; Emir Shakib Arislan has a larger following among Druze and Moslems in this country, although he has lost much of his popularity since he turned pro-Axis. The Patriarch of the Maronites also has a large following among the Maronites.

3. With the exception of the late Dr. F.I.Shatara, and S. Mokarzel, editor of Al-Hoda, there is very little influence exercised by Syrians and Lebanese in this country over the political trends in Syria and Lebanon. This influence is non-official

4. Present political views of 99 per cent of the Syrians and Lebanese today in the United States is for the Allied Cause. This is true since the United States entered the war. Before that there was a strong and bitter feeling against Great Britain. In the case of the majority of these their views might well be expressed in the words of one of them, who said, "We wish to see Great Britain licked within an inch of her life! "None, or very few indeed, wished to see Great Britain completely defeated by Germany. Even the most ardent Arab nationalists, with the exception of very few, were even Nazi sympathizers.

I. Sources of information.

The writer of this report was the former Director of the Arab National League. Most of his information is first-hand, from long contact with the Syrians and Lebanese in the

United States, both as editor and general writer. Before coming to New York, over a month ago, he finished a two year tour throughout the United States, with the exception of the Northwestern states, for the purpose of collecting materials on the Syrians in the United States. Over two hundred articles on this general topic appeared in Al-eraat-ule Gharb under the title "From New York to Los Angeles." It was planned to write some kind of a critical book on the subject later. The war has put off this project indefinitely.

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Alan Cranston, Esquire
Foreign Language Division
Office of War Information
Room 3212-A
Railroad Retirement Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cranston:

One of our friends has had occasion to talk with Dr. Afif Tannous, an Arab who was born in Lebanon and educated as a Christian at the American College in Beirut. He has done graduate work at Cornell and in 1940 he joined the staff of the Agricultural College at Minnesota. He is very much interested in Arab-American politics and is at the present time an American citizen.

Dr. Tannous suggested that our Government should make greater effort to use some of the Moslem-Arab leaders in this country in our appeals to the Arab world. He points out that the proportion of Christian Arabs in this country is really very high compared to that of the Arab lands of the Old World where Moslem Arabs predominate. He suggested that Dr. Lutvi-Sadi, a Detroit physician, might address the Arab world with the authority of a Moslem and so reach that vast majority of simple, more or less untutored, folk who are apt to listen to the Grand Mufti.

Apparently Dr. Tannous knows Professors Hitti and Faris of Princeton, whose advice on Arab matters he thinks would be good.

I send this information on to you for whatever value it may have, in case you wish to make use of it.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) B. D. Meritt

B. D. Meritt

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Interview with Afif Tannous, October 27, 1942

Background: Dr. Tannous was born in the Lebannon and educated as a Christian Arab at the American College at Bierut. A deep interest in the agricultural problems of his country brought him to Cornell in 1937 for graduate work. In 1940 he joined the staff of the Agricultural College at Minnesota. An American citizen he is nevertheless active in Arab-American politics and is a strong believer in Arab nationalism.

Arab-American Politics:

Organizations.

The largest organization is the American-Syrian Federation which for purposes of administration is divided into the Eastern, Southern, Middle Western and West Coast Divisions. The Eastern Division is confined to New England and New York with New York City as headquarters. The other divisions center on Atlanta, Chicago and San Francisco. The Federation is a rather loose confederation of locals largely given to social and cultural functions and embraces Syrians, Lebonnese and Palestine Arabs. Local Chapters sometimes refer to the organization as the American-Lebonnese Federation. This change denotes a sharp division within the Federation the explanation of which requires an understanding of the religious organization of the Lebannon itself.

In direct contrast to the rest of the Arab world which is at least 90% Moslem, the Lebannon is 60% Christian and 40% Moslem. Of the Christian fait - 60% , 30% or half are Marenites, 20% Greek Orthodox and the balance other sects. The followers of St. Maron have been united with the Church of Rome since the 12th. century, but remain as a special sect of the Catholic Church.

As the dominant Christian faith in the Lebannon they have for centuries defied the Turks and other Moslems. They have worked with the French in Syria for an independent Lebannon and are opposed to any sort of Arab federation. Thus in this country they show their independence wherever they are the majority by changing the name of the Federation to the words"American-Lebannese".

The second organization of importance, but not as large numerically, is the Arab National League. 2.1 The objectives of this organization are four.

1. Help the Arab countries obtain independence.
2. Work for Arab confederation.
3. Oppose Zionism.
4. Spread the Arab cultural heritage.

Up to a year ago this group were very active under the strong leadership of Dr. Shatara. His death has cast the organization adrift temporarily as a new dynamic leader is sought.

Prior to the entrance of the United States in the War the Syrian Nationalist Party, 2.2 a fascist sponsored organization under the control of the Italian Government, had established a few locals in this country. However, some of the Italian consuls played their hand too openly and the organization was repudiated by all but a small group of violent Arab Nationalists. Despite the desire for Arab independence by the overwhelming number of non-Maronite American-Arabs they were completely unwilling to be the dupes of the Italians, whose record of double dealing , from the Arab point of view, is only equalled by that of the English and French.

Several local Arab-American organizations with either Maronite or Greek Orthodox orientation are in existence, but Dr. Tannous said

that he would have to do some checking to find out their present status.

Arab-American Press.

For the Maronite group the paper Al-Hoda, published by Salum Mukerzel, is the leading voice. Since the Maronite Arabs probably form a majority of the Arab-American world this paper has a large following and its point of view is somewhat out of proportion to conditions in the Arab world itself, where the Maronites, outside of the Lebannon, are of no importance. The paper quite naturally stands for an independent Lebannon and is strongly opposed to Arab Federation. Up to the fall of France it was a strong adherent of the French regime in Syria. Dr. Tannous predicted that the paper will exert every possible pressure for the separation of the Lebannon from Syria and Palestine in the peace settlement and that it may propose reguge under the Fighting French if the " heavenly signs are auspicious ".

Opposed to Al-Hoda are the papers Mirat-al-Gharb and Assamer. Both papers voice the Arab national policy , but the Mirat-al-Gharb, directed by a Greek Orthodox group, has the offical support of the Arab National League. Here again we find a Christian Arab sect exerting influence out of proportion to the distribution of forces in the Arab countries.

The Syrian Ark, a monthly edited by Fredrick Zeiney, is of some importance, but in general it strives to give the news as a whole without orientation.

General:

Dr. Tannous stated that the great majority of Arabs came to this country at a time when they were under Turkish dominace and that they had made the transition to Americanism faster

than some races. He felt that despite the isolationist stand of the leaders of the Maronite- Arabs in the past that no basic conflict with this country existed. A good portion of that stand he felt was simply part of the personal editorial vendettas of some of the leaders.

He suggested that greater effort should be made to dig out and use some of the Moslem Arab leaders in this country in our appeals to the Arab world. He citied Dr. Lutvi-Sadi, a Detroit physcian, as one who could address the Arab world with the authority of a Moslem. So far as Tannous is aware we have relied on Christian Arabs in our radio work while he points out that the vast majority of the Arab world is a sea of simple, more or less untutored Moslems who look to the Grand Mufti. Badly burnt by past experience with the English, French and Italians this world is now only luke warm to the United Nations. While they may be vaguely aware of the type of treatment they would receive from the Nazis they are not impressed with accounts of German terrorism---it like as not makes the Germans appear in the role of great warriors, especially when combined with the daring tactics of a Rommel.

If they were convinced that the United States really meant to stand by the liberation of all colonial peoples they would, in the opinion of Dr. Tannous, deal with us on a very frank basis as our record in the Near East is honest. Settlement of the problem of India would have an electrifying effect. This move combined with the increasing flow of men and war materials in the Near East would serve to make them active allies.

Other authorities:

Dr. Tannous referred to Professors Hitti and Faris of Princeton as objective and scientific reporters on the Arab-American world.

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He further suggested contact with Mr. George Barakate, a Boston attorney.

Dr. Tannous is very willing to clear up such points as he can by correspondence at any time. His address is as follows;

Dr. Afif Tannous
Agricultural Memorial Union Building,
College of Agriculture
St. Paul, Minnesota

F.F. B. Jr.

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Banquet in honour of George Wadsworth

A special committee of Americans of Syrians and Lebanese descent was organized under the Chairmanship of A. Barsa in order to hold a dinner in honour of the Hon. George Wadsworth, Consul General and Diplomatic Agent from the United States to the Republics of Syria and the Lebanon. The dinner was held on Friday, October 30, at 7:30 p.m., at Damascus Restaurant, New York City. Principal speakers were George Ferris, attorney, and Philip K. Hitti, professor at Princeton University.

About ninety persons were present. The general atmosphere was one of gratification and hope. All pledged their loyalty to the United States, and wished the Consul General success in his difficult mission.

The assembly was American in every respect. While all were enthusiastic over the developments of American and Syrian and Lebanese relations, the majority revealed its dissatisfaction with French policy in those two lands. Everything, however, was restrained. All hope that this step would lead to the final recognition of the independence of the two countries, without reservation.

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To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Private E. P. Jallouk

I submit the name of Private E. P. Jallouk, Co. G., 1229 R.C., Fort Dix, N. J. as a person who might be useful to the Armed Forces of the United States in the Near East.

Private Jallouk is a graduate of St. George's School, Jerusalem, Emory College, Atlanta, Ga. He is a member of the Native Church of England, Palestine, and has served as memebr of the Board of Directors of the Jerusalem Y. M. C. A. He is also an accomplished singer, though by profession a business man.

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November 19, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILEY:

One of the influential voices used by the Axis for propaganda to the Arab world is that of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. A report from the Arabic-language newspaper Al-Hoda of New York on November 12 states that he broadcast from Bari, Italy, after the American landings in North Africa and called upon the Arabs to resist British and Zionist imperialism.

Professor Nabih Amin Faris of Princeton calls my attention to the significant fact that the Grand Mufti is not reported to have called for resistance to America. In his opinion this implies (1) that the Mufti himself does not entertain hostility toward America, and (2) that he knows he cannot call upon the Arabs to resist America because they look towards America for help.

Professor Faris has a suggestion which I pass on to you for what it is worth. It falls in the realm of psychological warfare. He believes one must recognize as facts that the Grand Mufti is an important national leader, that he is the undisputed leader of the Nationalist Arabs in Palestine, and that for obvious reasons he is not sympathetic to Britain. British policy in Palestine drove him out of his home. His mistake, according to Professor Faris, is that he sought refuge in the wrong place. Professor Faris believes that it might be possible to get him to a refuge where he would no longer be of use to the Axis.

If it were possible for someone through a neutral party, say the Turkish Ambassador in Rome or in Berlin, to communicate with the Grand Mufti, he might suggest to him that it is time for him to perform the Holy Pilgrimage. Once he arrives in Mecca, he might be persuaded by Ibn-Saud to remain in the Holy City. Through Ibn-Saud again, he might be persuaded to meet an American representative. In fine, this might be a way of winning him to our side, or at least getting him away from the Axis.

It occurs to me that you may want to give consideration to this idea, whatever you may think of its feasibility.

(Signed) B. D. Meritt

B. D. Meritt

BDM:mfk

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War Committee Formed.

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Recently a joint Syria-Lebanon War Committe has been formed in Pittsburgh. The reported objectives of the committee is to promote participation of the two groups in the sale of war bonds and to raise funds for the purpose of purchasing war ambulances and kitchens.

The committee is composed of:

Dr. George J. Sarraf (legislator), chairman

Z.E. Hallow, vice-chairman.

John Esau, secretary

Philip Nassar and Peter Bettes, co-treasurers.

NOTE: Additional information will be sought on request from O.S.S. or as further inquiries seem desirable.

Neo Gov

R X

November 28, 1942

Mr. Poole:

While I was talking with Mr. Aglion this morning he gave me the attached which is an outline of a book he has written on Islam and which is to be published soon. He thought you might be interested in seeing it. The book will be about 100,000 words long.



FROM: DEWITT C. POOLE

outline of my book
to be published by Reynal & Hitchcock

A. Lin

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I S L A M

One quarter of the population of this globe -- that is to say -- about 400 million human beings -- is Moslem. What force do they represent ?

From Tangiers to Sumatra -- from the Equator to the twenty-fifth degree latitude -- the immense majority of the population of the world is Islamic. China, in view of numerous conversions, has a total of twenty five million Moslems; in Russia there are twenty million of them. Less important Moslem communities are to be found in Albania, Yugoslavia, Poland, and even in Finland.

Strategically, the Moslem populations are located at the most important crossroads of the civilized world -- Dakar, Tangiers, Suez, Aden, Ceylon, Java.....

The extraordinary Arab literature : the famous poems of Omar Khayam, the books of wisdom, the teachings of the Koran, and the Moslem philosophy, all these have made a considerable contribution to the civilization of the world.

The Western countries have also been influenced in many ways by the culture of the Orient. To the Moslem peoples we owe the compass and many of the primary laws of navigation. They charted the first maps of the sea. To them. also, must go

the credit for having formulated the rules of algebra. They added much to the then-existing knowledge of geometry. They were the link between the civilizations of India and China, as well as those of the Far East and the Western World. From a mechanical point of view they were equally advanced, having led in the construction of ships from the ninth through the fifteenth century.

Islam has had its glorious epoch. It dominated simultaneously Southern Asia, Northern Africa, and half of Europe. From Vienna (Austria) to Poitiers (France) Arab warriors have pitched their tents. After long wars, as a result of which Christianity failed to perish, the Moslems returned to the Orient. During the last century, it was thought that Islam would remain forever motionless and would sleep on surrounded by the splendors and the glory of her past.

This sleep -- was it the sign of weakness preceding death, or was it the sleep permitting of a reawakening of an Islam bursting with energy and strength ?

The slumber of the sons of Ishmael was distrubed fifty years ago for the first time in centuries, by a prophet called Abd El Wahab, who said that the way pointed toward a reform rendering the moslem religion more strict and in more severe conformity with that which had been practised in ancient times. Innumerable tribes from the deserts of Arabia and Iraq answered his call. Thus was born a new Islam -- one which was reformed and ultra-conservative.

Another movement, born of ideas just the opposite of those of Abd El Wahab, came into being when a Turkish general, Kemal Attaturk, reformed the old Ottoman Empire and made out of it a modern, non sectarian state. The creation of modern industries, the semi-nationalistic and statist organization of Turkey, had an enormous effect in all parts of the Orient. Iraq, Persia, and Afghanistan followed, to a greater or lesser degree, this same route. The birth of a non-sectarian Islamic movement is an event of capital importance, to which very insufficient attention has been called.

The co-existence of these two reforms -- one touching the most religious of extremes, and the other going to the laic extreme -- engenders no serious trouble among the Moslems; but resulted, in both cases, in the development of anti-European movements. It has fostered among the Moslems a much greater realization of their strength.

This strength is growing in a great many ways. Before the war, the industrialization of the Orient, which had been growing at a rapid pace, permitted the anticipation of an era soon to come, when the Moslem countries, with their very cheap handicraft, would, after satisfying their own needs, commence to compete against European products. It must be realized that, after the war, Japan will not be the only country to compete with the products of Europe and America. To greatly facilitate such competition, there are to be found in the Orient vast stores of raw materials; there is petroleum in Iraq, cotton in Egypt and in India, as well as colossal stocks of tin, rubber, iron, copper, etc. in the Malay peninsula.

The development of teaching, the facility with which the Oriental students adapt themselves to our culture and learning, makes us think that soon the Western world will no longer be their master.

The loss of prestige suffered by the white man during the past ten years, and, above all, since the beginning of the current war, will hasten the political upheav ls which are bound to come in the Arabian countries.

The Oriental races, with their fighting potentialities, have not yet been put to the test in this war. The final outcome of the battle may well depend on the eighty million Moslems from the northern part of India, who, undeniably, have for centuries had a war-like, military spirit. The new status of India can be either favorable or unfavorable as far as they are concerned, and because of this, they will not let history pass them by without making a powerful contribution.

The Middle East - Iran, Iraq, Arabia, Transjordan, Palestine, and Syria are countries which are now in a state of complete revolution -- both social and economic. Egypt, whose population has multiplied fourfold in twenty-five years, is rapidly attaining a state of European civilization. Northern Africa, which is entirely Moslem, and which is bent under the combined yoke of France, Italy, and Spain, is gradually regaining a consciousness of her unity.

Islam sleeps no longer.

Her sheiks are converting hundreds of thousands in Africa and in China. Her numbers are growing all over the world in a

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

highly impressive fashion.

In the realms of ethics, politics, social progress, economics, science, and military tactics, her awakening has begun. Her forces are re-shaping themselves.

When considering the conflicting forces in this war, as well as the plans for peace, nothing constructive can be done without first taking into account the awakening of the sons of Ishmael.

Raoul Aglion

March 26, 1942



B.

OSS
SECRET
F N B

FOREIGN DIVISION
AB-92

D. C. Poole December 15, 1942

Lieutenant Colonel Ellery C. Huntington

In reading the Syrian-language press in the United States, Professor Nabih Amin Faris of Princeton has gathered a number of names of Syrian-Lebanese reported as being in the armed forces of the United States. The attached list, according to his records, names Syrian-Lebanese from the city of Lawrence, Massachusetts. It is arranged geographically by communities in the Near East.

The list is sent to you for whatever interest and value it may have.

Initialed - D.C.P.

O. O. I. - F. N.-MASTER COPY
Document Number
Distribution:
Original Lt. Col. Huntington
Copies D.C.P. F.N.B.

DCP/jc

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APEX BUILDING 153

Princeton, N.J.
November 30, 1942.

RESTRICTED

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Syrian-Lebanese in the Armed Forces of the United States

I enclose a list of the Syrian-Lebanese Americans in the armed forces of the United States. All are from Lawrence, Mass. The names were gleaned from the various Arabic papers.

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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

DATE: December 11, 1942

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TO: Mr. D. C. Poole

FROM: B. D. Meritt

AD-52

SUBJECT:

In reading the Syrian-language press in the United States, Professor Nabih Amin Faris of Princeton has gathered a number of names of Syrian-Lebanese reported as being in the armed forces of the United States. The attached list, according to his records, names Syrian-Lebanese from the city of Lawrence, Massachusetts. It is arranged geographically by communities in the Near East.

SYRIANS AND LEBANESE OF LAWRENCE, MASS., SERVING IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES

ZAHALAH--LEBANON

Henry Nagib Salibi Nassar

Fred Nagib Salibi Nassar

Robert George Salibi Nassar

Philip George Salibi Nassar

Salibi Shahin Nassar

John Shahin Nassar (Marine Corporal)

Rimond Shahin Nassar (Marine)

Fred Elias Zakhia

Eddy Elias Zakhia

John Mosa El-Ghsin

George Joseph El-ashaktouty

Theodore Hanna El-Malouf

Ibrahim Aziz Aziz

Ragi Aziz Aziz

Sami Addu Aziz (Sailor)

John Dawalibi

Jack Dawalibi (Sailor)

William Fahd Shaib

Fouzi El-Maarawi

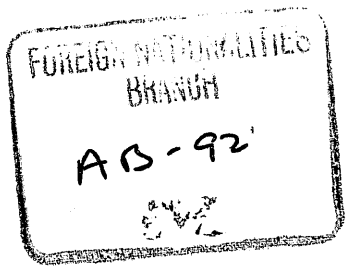
Nichoal Ibrahim El-Brdawil

Theodore Ibrahim El-Brdawil

Farid Azir Korbag

Iskander Axir Korbag

1.5 pcs



Stanly Khalil El-Barkas

Frank Khalil El-Barkas

Fredrick Ibrahim El-Barkas

Nadrah Nichola El-Barkas

Joseph Elias El-Basha (Marine)

George Elias El-Basha

Joseph Zaidan El-Kasouf (Marine)

George Zaidan El-Kasouf

Nagib Faris El-Malouf

Shible Mikhaeil El-Himssi (Coast Guard)

Nolan Girgi Haikal

Nagib Atta El-Malouf

Arthur Wadi' El-Malouf

Joseph Faris El-Malouf

Sam Wadi' Abu Khattir

George Malouf

Miss Alice Joseph Abu Nadir (Home Defense)

SAGHBIN--LEBANON

Anis Salim Khalid Awin

Iskander Mikhail Daher Awin (Marine Corporal)

Nichola Mikhail Daher Awin (Air Corps)

Miss Anni Mikhail Daher Awin (Home Defense)

Edmond Mikhail Daher Awin (Under call)

Jimmy Massoud Elias Awin (Sailor)

John Moosa Simia Awin (Coast Guard)

Ghanim Naif Ghanim

Michal Naif Ghanim

George Shukir Alla Nichola

Joseph Shukir Alla Nichola

Shakib Shukir Alla Nichola (Corporal)

Adib Shukir Alla Nichola

Antoun Faris El-Battal

Wadi' Bolous El-Khouri

Jacob Tahan (Navy)

Jimmy Salim Tamir (Ain Zibdah)

Joseph Nagib Faris (Ain Zibdah)

SHILFA

Ibrahim Milham Khalil

George Milham Khalil

Jimmy Tanious Khalil

Karim Milham Rizk El-Malouf

EL-ZARORIAH

John Ghalib Baz

Lewis Salim Elias

Jommy Soliman Kiami (El-Showere)

EL-SHABANIAH

Dr. Mikhail Kanaan

Joseph Naif Faris

William Joseph Faris

Tawfik Abdu Tanious

Farahat Francis Khalil (Corporal)

Louis Francis Khalil

Fuad Abdu Mirai'

Tawfik Boutrus Hanna

William Assad Khattar

Micke Assad Khattar

Louis Tanious Kanaan (Marine)

Anis Tanious Kanaan

Alfred Girgis Samaan

George Joseph Shadid

Farid Joseph Shadid

Salim Afram Shadid

Joseph Boutrus Shahin

Shahin Boutrus Shahin (Corporal)

SLIMA--LEBANON

Joseph Elias Shakir (Coast Guard)

George Boutrus Saad Alla

ANDARA

Adib Joseph El-Haddad

Adib Joseph Gebrail

AIN EL-HOUR

Tom Shahin Khattar

Michal Nagib Moosa

William Said Faris

Jimmy Fahd Joseph

AITA

Edward Anssarah

Fouzi Anssarah

FALOUGHA

Mansour Hanna Nassif

Joseph Hanna Nassif

Micke Wahba El-Rami

Edward Wahba El-Rami

Dawud Soliman Habib

George Nimr Goudi

Emile Nimr Goudi

Miss Esther Khattar (Home Defense)

Micke Kalim Habib

Elias Joseph El-Kafouri (Navy)

Esbir Joseph El-Kafouri (Coast Guard)

Mickail Tanous Ibrahim (Kafr Kadi)

Naim Faris Karam (Kafr Shima)

AL-MAANIAH--LEBANON

Khalil Magid El-Khouri

George Magid El-Khouri

Abd-Alla Elias Daher

George Joseph Daher

Tom Mansour El-Khouri

Kamil Nimr Nadir

Radwan Assad Mansour (Corporal)

Assad Farid Daher

Nkhla Mobarik Habib

Ramiz Mickail Gabriel

Shafik Milad Daw'

Nabih Abdu Mansour

AL-MOHIDATHAH

Tawfik Assad Abu Kamal

Emile Assad Abu Kamal

George Assad Abu Kamal

Mitri Abu Kamal

William Habib El-Akl (Navy)

Robert Nichola El-Akl

MARG EL-BIKA'--LEBANON

Soliman Abd Alla El-Barkha

Charles Daher Murad

William Elias Rizk Alla (Sida)

KAB ELIAS

Fuad Girgis Yamin (Corporal)

Fris Nimr Simia

Charles Nimr Simia (Navy)

Dabroun Nimr Simia (Marshall Marine)

Fred Girgis Faris (Corporal)

Girgis Samaan Korban

Frank Shukr All Karban

Elias Makhoul El-Haggar

Fuad Ibrahim El-Bassit (Navy)

Farid Dahir El-Haggar

Filkis Milham Zarzour

Emile Milham Zarzour

Pauline Milham Zarzour (Nurse)

Faris Joseph El-Haggar (Pilot)

Habib Assad El-Haggar

Fredy Na'oum Kiamah (El-Showere)

Lidya Nabhan (Home Defense)

Faris Joseph El-Haggar (Pilot)

MASHGHARA

Dr. Soliman El-Haggar (Captain)

Pfilip Naim Nichola El-Dibs

Shakib Nichola El-Dibs

Faris Nichola El-Dibs

George Nichola Abu Ghanim

Jack Nichola Abu Ghanim (Navy)

Aziz El-Haggar

Alfons Dawud Abu Araj

Nagib Dawud Abu Arraj (Coast Guard)

Emile Joseph El-Haggar (Márine)

EL-WARDANIAH

Sa'id Daghir

ASHASH

Philip Assad Kanfoush

Tom Sasin Saab

Habib Sasin Saab

George Masouad Assad

Louis Aboud Makhraz

Tom Aboud Makhraz

Albert Elias Farah (Pilot)

Joseph Elias Nafaa'

Jimmy Kablan Nafa'

Joseph Masouad

SYRIAN AND LEBANESE IN THE UNITED STATES ARM FORCES LAWRENCE,MASS.

ZAHALAH--LEBANON--

Henry Nagib Salibi Nassar

Fred Nagib Salibi Nassar

Robert George Salibi Nassar

Philip George Salibi Nassar

Salibi Shahim Nassar

John Shahin Nassar ----- Marrine Corporal

Rimond Shahin Nassar ----- Marrine

Fred Elias Zakhia

Eddy Elias Zakhia

John Mosa El-Ghsin

George Joseph El-ashaktouty

Theodore Hanna El-Malouf

Ibrahim Aziz Aziz

Ragi Aziz Aziz

Sami Addu Aziz --- Sailor

John Dawalibi

Jack Dawalibi --- Sailor

William Fahd Shaib

Fouzi El-Maarawi

Nichoal Ibrahim El-Brdawil -

Theodore Ibrahim El-Bardawil

Farid Azir Korbag

Iskander Azir Korbag

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Stanly Khalil El-Barkas

Frank Khalil El- Barkas

Fredrick Ibrahim El- Barkas

Nadrah Nichola El-Barkas

Joseph Elias El-Basha ---Marrine

George Elias El-Basha

Joseph Zaidan El-Kasouf --- Marrine

George Zaidan El-Kasouf

Nagib Faris El-Malouf

Shible Mikhaeil El-Himssi --- Coast Guard

Nolan Girgi Haikal

Nagib Atta El-Malouf

Arthur Wadi' El-Malouf

Joseph Faris El-Malouf

Sam Wadi' Abu Khattir

George Malouf

Mics Alice Joseph Abu Nadir ---- Home Defense

SAGHBIN - Lebanon ---------

Anis Salim Khalid Awin

Iskander Mikhail Daher Awin ----Marrine Corporal

Nichola Mikhail Daher Awin ---- Air Corp.

Miss Anni Mikhail Daher Awin ---Home Defense

Edmond Mikhail Daher Awin ----Under Call

Jimmy Massoud Elias Awin --Sailor

John Moosa Simia Awim --- Coast Guard

Ghanim Naif Ghanim

Michal Naif Ghanim

George Shukir Alla Nickola

Joseph Shukir Alla Nichola

Shakib Shukir Alla Nichola --Corporal

Adib Shukir Alla Nichola

Antoun Faris El-Battal

Wadi' Bolous El-Khouri

Jacob Tahan ---Navy

Jimmy Salim Tamir--(Ain Zibdah)

Joseph Nagib Faris -- (Ain Zibdah)

Shilfa---------->

Ibrahim Milham Khalil

George Milham Khalil

Jimmy Tanious Khalil

Karim Milham Rizk El-Malouf

El-Zaroriah--------

John Ghalib Baz

Lewis Salim Elias

Jimmy Soliman Kiami (El-Showere)

El-Shabaniah--------

Dr. Mikhail Kanaan

Joseph Naif Faris

William Joseph Faris

Tawfik Abdu Tanious

Syrian Lebanese (cont.) ---4---

Farahat Francis Khalil---Coporal

Louis Frncis Khalil

Fuad Abdu Mirai'

Tawfik Boutrus Hanna

William Assad Khattar

Micke Assad Khattar

Louis Tanious Kanaan --- Marrine

Anis Tanious Knaan

Alfred Girgis Samaan

George Joseph Shadid

Farid Joseph Shadid

Salim Afram Shadid

Joseph Boutrus Shahin

Shahin Boutrus Shahin---Corporal

Slima -- Lebanon--------

Joseph Elias Shakir -- Coast Guard

George Boutrus Saad Alla

Andara----------

Adib Joseph El-Haddad

Adib Joseph Gebrail

Ain El-Hour---------

Tom Shahin Khattar

Michal Nagib Moosa

William Said Faris

Jimmy Fahd Joseph

Aita-----

Edward Anssarah

Fouzi Anssarh

Falougha---------

Mansour Hanna Nassif

Josehp Hanna Nassif

Micke Wahba El-Rami

Edward Wahba El-Rami

Dawud Soliman Habib

George Nimr Goudi

Emile Nimr Goudi

Miss Esther Khattar -----Home Defense

Micke Kalim Habib

Elias Joseph El-Kafouri --- Navy

Esbir Joseph El-Kafouri---Coast Guard

Mickail Tanous Ibrahim (Kafr Kadi)

Naim Faris Karam (Kafr Shima)

Al-Maaniah Lebanon---------

Khalil Magid El-Khouri

George Magid El-Khouri

Abd-Alla Elias Daher

George Joseph Daher

Tom Mansour El-Khouri

Kamil Nimr Nadir

Radwan Assad Mansour --Corporal

Assad Farid Daher

Nkhla Mobarik Habib

Ramiz Mickail Gabriel

Shafik Milad Daw'

Nabih Abdu Mansour

Al-Mohidathah---------

Tawfik Assad Abu Kamal

Emile Assad Abu Kamal

George Assad Abu Kamal

Mitri Abu Kamal

William Habib El-Akl ---Navy

Robert Nichola El-Akl

Marg El-Bika' Lebanon-----

Soliman Abd Alla El-Barkha

Chrles Daher Murad

William Elias Rizk Alla (Sida)

Kab Elias--------

Fuad Girgis Yamin--corporal

Syrian Lebanese (cont.) ---7---

Fris Nimr Simia

Chrles Nimr Simia---Navy

Dabroun Nimr Simia ---Marshall Marrine

Fred Girgis Faris---Corporal

Girgis Samaan Korban

Frank Shukr All Karban

Elias Makhoul El-Haggar

Fuad Ibrahim El-Bassit---Navy

Farid Dahir El-Haggar

Filkis Milham Zarzour

Emile Milham Zarzour

Pauline Milham Zarzour--- Nurse

Faris Joseph El-Haggar--Pilot

Habib Assad El-Haggar

Fredy Na'oum Kiamah-(El-Showere)

Lidya Nabhan- - Nurse Home Defende

Faris Joseph El-Haggar ---Pilot

Mashghara------

Dr. Soliman El-Haggar-Capt.

Pfilip Naim Nichola El-Dibs

Shakib Nichola El-Dibs

Faris Nichola El-Dibs

George Nichola Abu Ghanim

Jack Nichola Abu Ghanam----Navy

Aziz El-Haggar

Alfons Dawud Abu Araj

Nagib Dawud Abu Arraj ---Coast Guard

Emile Joseph El-Haggar--Marrine

El-Wardaniah-----

Sa'id Daghir

Ashash ------

Philip Assad Kanfoush

Tom Sasin Saab

Habib Sasin Saab

George Masouad Assad

Louis Aboudxkkkx Makhraz

Tom Aboud Makhraz

Albert Elias Farah---Pilot

Joseph Elias Nafaa'

Jimmy Kablan Nafa'

Joseph Masouad

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SYRIANS-LEBANESE

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Additional Information on Syria-Lebanon War Committee (see Report 45).

The following is quoted from one of the perople who assists me in obtaining information. It represents the most that immediate inquiries can conveniently find out:

"The Syrian-Lebanese Committee (Syria-Lebanon War Committee) was organized by Mr. Z. E. Hallow with Dr. George J. Sarraf as chairman. It was organized during the United War Fund Drive (Oct. 19-Nov. 9, 1942), but due to conflicts encountered within the group--namely, the question of separation versus unity of the Syrians and Lebanese--no effort was expended on the United War Fund. Some of the Lebanese pulled out and, with the approval of the Allegheny County Committee on War Bonds set up a Lebanese War Bond Booth (CFB: numerous groups here have such booths). Mr. Hallow and Mr. Sarraf are still attempting to unite the two groups. A meeting was held on Friday, Nov. 27, 1942, to discuss what this Syrian-Lebanese Committee might do in relation to the war effort. Interest seemed to be centered in the possible purchase of war bonds, support for the "Blood Bank," and the ultimate purchase of ambulances by the Syrian-Lebanese group for the American Red Cross."

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A:A 5
2

December 16, 1942

Dear Mr. Berle:

I send you for such interest as it may have a copy of a report by Professor Nabih Amin Faris of Princeton University, on the reaction of the Arabic-language press to the appointment of Mr. George Wadsworth as Diplomatic Agent in Beirut.

You will understand, of course, that what is stated in this report is entirely upon the private responsibility of Mr. Faris.

An extra copy of this letter and of the enclosure is sent herewith in case you should care to send these on to the Division of Near Eastern Affairs.

Sincerely yours,

Signed - De Witt C. Poole

DeWitt C. Poole

The Honorable A. A. Berle, Jr.
Assistant Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

DCP/cc

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Princeton, N. J.
December 13, 1942

AR3-74

From: Habib Amin Faris

Subject: The Arabic Press and George Wadsworth

Based on my reports of Oct. 11, on The United States and Syrian and Lebanese Independence; Nov. 1, on Banquet for George Wadsworth; Nov. 8, on Reaction to the Banquet for Mr. Wadsworth; Nov. 15, The Hon. George Wadsworth; and on personal findings in conversations with editors and other Arabic-speaking individuals.

Reaction to the appointment of George Wadsworth as Diplomatic Agent in Beirut and Damascus is best described under two headings: the man himself and the office to which he has been selected.

1. The man himself. On the whole there is a general agreement that Mr. Wadsworth is the right man for the job, that he is able and qualified to perform a difficult task. Here and there, however, there is some apprehension that he is a little favourably disposed to Zionism, in view of what he is supposed to have done while he was stationed in Jerusalem. This view is, nevertheless, not widespread or articulate.

2. The office to which the man has been appointed. All factions have been elated that the United States has deemed it worth its while to send a diplomatic agent to the two Near Eastern republics. All factions hope that this step is indeed the prelude to a closer relationship between the United States and the two republics which will soon lead to full recognition

of their independence. In the meantime only al-Hoda sees in this representation a "tacit recognition" of that independence; the other papers are less sanguine and more skeptical, not indeed of the good faith of the United States, but of the likelihood that, after the war, Syrian and Lebanese interest could compete with French imperial plans. The fact that the United States had assured the French of the integrity of their empire enhances this skepticism. Arab opinion, as it were, is holding its fingers crossed and hoping for the best. But there is a fatalistic attitude underlying the reaction of Syrians and Lebanese: they cannot convince themselves that France would eventually renounce its imperialism, or that the United States would go out of its way to insure that renunciation. It must be remembered that the French, all varieties, still regard these two lands as an integral part of their empire.

Near East

Letter to Mr. Berle from NCP 12/10/42 C.

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Princeton, N. J.
December 13, 1942.

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DEC 16 1942

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F N B

To: Benjamin ~~G.~~ Merritt

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: The Arabic Press and George Wadsworth

[Based on my reports of Oct. 11, on The United States and Syrian and Lebanese Independence; Nov. 1, on Banquet for George Wadsworth; Nov. 8, on Reaction to the Banquet for Mr. Wadsworth; Nov. 15, The Hon. George Wadsworth; and on personal findings in conversations with editors and other Arabic-speaking individuals.]

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The Arabic-press and George Wadsworth (cont.)

States and the two republics which will soon lead to full recognition of their independence. In the meantime only al-Hoda sees in this representation a "tacit recognition" of that independence; the other papers are less sanguine and more skeptical, not indeed of the good faith of the United States, but of the likelihood that, after the war, Syrian and Lebanese interest could compete with French imperial plans. The fact that the United States had assured the French of the integrity of their empire enhances this skepticism. Arab opinion, as it were, is holding its fingers crossed and hoping for the best. But there is a fatalistic attitude underlying the reaction of Syrians and Lebanese: they cannot convince themselves that France would eventually renounce its imperialism, or that the United States would go out of its way to insure that renunciation. It must be remembered that the French, all varieties, still regard these two lands as an integral part of their empire.

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Capt. Neumann (A-2)

Major Doering (Soc'iat)

Mr.Donald McKay (B.Anal.

Mr. Dewitt Poole (F.N.)

Mr. John C. Hughes (N.Y

Mr. Fred C. Oechsner (MO)

Mr. Edmond Taylor (PWS)

Mr. Wilmarth Lewis (R&A)

Mr. S. E. Gleason Jr. (PWR)

Dr. James Rogers (Planning Gr.)

Dr. Edward Mason (J.I.C.)

Mr. Russell Dorr

Mr. G. W. Cottrell (B R)

Mr. Leonard Wilson (Map Div.)

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FROM: F. L. Belin

For your information and [illegible]

DATE: JUL 8 1943

RECEIVED JUL 1943 (10)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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COUNTRY Iran

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DISSEMINATION NO. A 9459

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PWS	✓
B. ANAL	✓
R&A	✓
M. DIV.	
FN	✓
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MO	✓
CE	
IP	
NY	✓
LONDON	
ALGIERS	
CAIRO	
BR. LI	
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E. EUR	
F. EAST	
ITALY	
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W. EUR.	
LONDON D.	✓
ALG. D.	✓
CAIRO D.	✓
INSTR.	
R. R.	✓
REG.	✓

POLITICS

The "Millspaugh project" was first presented to Parliament on the 24 of Esfand (March 16th) and was at once turned over to the Parliamentary committees on finance and commerce who reported it back to Parliament on the 30th of Farvardine (April 20th). Debate was begun and it was passed on the 14th of Ordebehisht (May 5th). The bill appeared in three forms: as first submitted, as altered by the comitties, and as finally passed. The first and final forms were very much alike. The committee draft contained a proposal for a seven-man board to supervise the enforcement of the project which was left out of the final draft. The second and final drafts contained a provision against officials engaging in the commerce of foodstuffs.

The period of seven weeks taken to pass this important project seems much longer than necessary for a reasoned study of it and if future bills intended to implement various sections of the project are as slow of passage, Dr. Millspaugh will be greatly hampered in his work. The fact is that Parliament is not too anxious for Dr. Millspaugh to proceed along the lines he has already indicated since his proposals will strike at the well-to-do, a class of which Parliament is very largely composed. However, the deputies realize that the general public is strongly behind Millspaugh and they hesitate to actively oppose his plans. Undoubtedly some who speak in his favor will vote against his bills since no record is kept of the way a deputy votes. The Tehran press claims to support Millspaugh, but does so somewhat half-heartedly and with petty criticisms - here again the press is controlled by the wealthy landowning

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classes. It must be realized that the passage of the bills sponsored by Dr. Millspaugh will not immediately solve the financial and economic problems of Iran for the most difficult task will be to achieve an equitable and thorough enforcement of such bills with the rather corrupt and inefficient officials on hand. One tendency can be noted: the partial closing of the bazaar, actually brought about by local merchants although they deny such activity. For the past month and more large scale trading has practically ceased in the bazaar. Certain rumors circulate about Dr. Millspaugh's future plans such as the one that a very high daily tax will be placed on private cars. This rumor has already brought the price of cars down from fantastic levels.

The cabinet of Soheily is not displaying any marked activity nor do any of his ministers seem to be outstanding figures. Bayat, the new Minister of Finance, is a man of good common sense and can be expected to cooperate fully with Dr. Millspaugh. There are indications that a cabinet crisis may develop about the middle of June when the new income tax bill is debated in Parliament.

During the month past, Parliament approved only a handful of bills. One of the most important was the Irrigation Bill which provides a credit of 45 million rials for each of the next ten years to put into operation plans for irrigation and drainage. After years of neglect agriculture and its fundamental problems seems about to receive the attention which it merits.

Speakers in Parliament continue to hammer on the theme that the value of the rial is not correctly adjusted to the pound sterling and the dollar; that the rial is worth far more and something should be done about it. Nothing will be done. The same type of complaints continue to be made against allegedly large purchases of foodstuffs by the Allies within Iran. It is worthy of note that the American command is leaning over backward in an effort to feed the American troops only on supplies brought from the U.S.A. and to buy nothing in the local market. As a result the soldiers' meals are rather monotonous and are not yet adapted to the summer season. Eggs are purchased locally, but practically no fresh vegetables or fruits.

Eleven Tehran papers were suspended for about two weeks, most of the because they attacked the British behavior here as being unprincipled - "like unbridled wild horses" -

usually as they put a false interpretation on local incidents before an impartial account of the incident in question had appeared.

TYPHUS

Much less was printed this month than last about the current typhus epidemic and it can be assumed that cases are rapidly declining in number. The government is spending 8 million rials to combat this plague.

FOOD

Supplies of all foodstuffs are more abundant. "Free" sugar and rice have come down about 25 percent. Vegetables now on the market include aspargus, peas, beans, squash and cucumbers: fruit- cherries, apricots and strawberries. Eggs have not dropped very much, but chickens are somewhat cheaper- a small one is about $1.25.

Meat is still scarce and sells for prices above those fixed by the Muhicipality.

SMALL CHANGE

A very embarrassing feature of daily life is the almost complete disappearance of the metal one-half rials pieces. It is certain that these coins have been collected and melted down by speculators since the metallic value of the material is higher than the coinage value. The government has done nothing to stop this traffic, but does speak of minting new coins of a lower metallic value or issuing paper money of very small denominations.

RUSSIANS

The Russians are thoroughly publicizing their economic and cultural relations with Iran. The actual medical aid of the Russians is probably small but each item gives another chance to stress the good relations between the Red Army and the Iranian people.

There is little evidence of Russian plans for the future for areas they now occupy in Iran with the exception of the existence of an Anti-Fascist League in Azerbaijan.

They continue to nullify the effects of British publicity whenever possible as illustrated by their offer of 25,000 tons of wheat to Iran and the British comments on this action.

AMERICANS

The behavior of the soldiers in Tehran shows an improvement due to better policing of the streets.

Many noted American figures, military and civilian, have passed through Tehran in recent weeks and in many cases the American command has held a reception to which many Russians, a few British and still fewer Iranians were invited. Apparently the general staff does not go out of its way to promote friendly relations with the British and some of the latte latter are beginning to speak about the possible existence of an anti-British attitude in the American command.

Construction of the American camp some 2 miles northwest of Amirabad is somewhat behind schedule. The soldiers are already living there. About July 1st the officers and all the headquarters offices now located in Tehran will be moved to that site. After this date it is planned to keep the soldiers out of Tehran proper.

The Iran-American Relations Society continues its efforts to acquaint the Americans with Iran by means of guided tours, lectures in English at Amirabad and Camp Attebury, at the railroad station, and by a garden party held at a typical Persian town house.

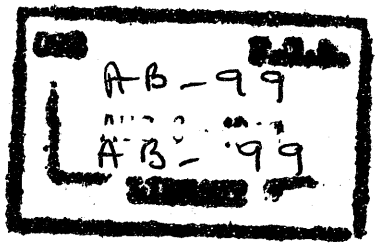
TRENDS

No specific or new trends have been noted in this month.

AB-98

ORGANIZATION	BRANCHES	MEMBERSHIP	N.	L	REMARKS
SYRIAN					
Most Rev. Ernest L. Petersen, Metropolitan AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH & THE Primate AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH (SYRO ANTIOCHEAN) 1811 N. W. 4th Court Miami, Florida	47	18,527	v		
Rev. Elias G. Sugar ASSYRIAN ORTHODOX APOSTOLIC CHURCH 62 Street and Monroe Place West New York, New Jersey	4	3,000	v		
Mr. A. Joseph Maloof, Secretary MIDWEST FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SYRIAN LEBANON CLUBS 325 Lemcke Building Indianapolis, Indiana	60	4,000			
Miss M. Hesni, Secretary SOUTHERN FEDERATION OF SYRIAN LEBANON AM. CLUBS 1212 No. Robertson Street New Orleans, Louisiana	50	2,000			
Metropolitan Antony Bashir, Archbishop SYRIAN ANTIOCHIAN ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE 239 - 85th Street Brooklyn, New York	70	20,300			
Mr. Shukry E. Khoury, Secretary SYRIAN LEBANESE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE EASTERN STATES 60 State Street Boston, Massachusetts	65				

AB





August 3, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL MAGRUDER:

I report for such interest as it may have that word is around among one or more of the important newspaper correspondents in Washington that Colonel Harold Hopkins has been sent to Saudi Arabia to persuade Ibn-Saud to come to some arrangement with the Zionists. It is said that this was Winston Churchill's idea and that it was subsequently approved here.

Word is also about in newspaper circles that a joint British American declaration on Palestine impends.

I am not sending this to anyone except you. I take its main interest to be the reflection in the newspaper fraternity of facts which are probably already known to you.

Initialed - D.C.P.

DeWitt C. Poole

At the State Department I gather that there is substance back of these stories but I was not told its precise nature.

DCP:mb

PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTEROFFICE MEMO

RECEIVED
JAN 23 1943

TO: Mr. D. C. Poole

DATE: January 22, 1943

FROM: Carl W. Blegen

SUBJECT:

Mr. Afif Tannous, who received his undergraduate training at the American University of Beirut and who is now instructor in rural sociology at the University of Minnesota, has expressed, as viewed by a Maronite Christian and ~~member of the~~ Lebanese separatist ~~group~~, A. has expressed the considerable satisfaction felt among Arab-Americans of different shades of political opinion with the recent developments in North Africa. General Giraud's cooperation with the American forces, on the one hand, has encouraged the Maronite group because France has been their traditional protector against the non-Christian Arabs, and the participation of French officers is taken to symbolize the continued interest and assistance of France. The Moslem Arabs, on the other hand, are heartened by the actual presence in Africa of powerful American armed forces. Despite the disillusionment of the last war and the refusal of the Crane Commission to answer their appeal ~~that the~~ for United States ~~be their~~ sponsor, when? their faith in the non-imperialistic motives of America is strong.

Some alarm is, however, felt, by Arabs: over the wide publicity recently given to the project for forming an independent Jewish army. Nationalist Arabs fear that such an organization might

not be disbanded at the end of the present war, but might be used to drive the Arabs from Palestine without further ado.

Very different from the foregoing is the view ~~of the~~ taken by Nationalist Syrian Arabs ~~which received expression in the columns of the newspaper~~ Al-Bayan of Brooklyn. ~~In the issue of~~ January 12, 1943 discussed editorially the economic distress in North Africa, ~~is discussed in a long editorial which~~ stating that the American occupation has yet produced no improvement in the situation. Al-Bayan ~~continues to be much annoyed by~~ objected to the American correspondents' references to the French as ~~if they~~ were native North Africans with rights in the country, ~~while~~ and to the fact that they the Arabs themselves, their sufferings, sacrifices and devoted service in the Allied cause, ~~are~~ rarely if ever mentioned. It declared that The treatment of the North African situation as an American-French affair has caused widespread resentment in Arab circles. To the Arab the French are almost as bad as the Nazis.

The report that Ibn Saud, ruler of Saudi Arabia, on his way back from Egypt stopped in Jerusalem for conversations with British and American representatives has been mentioned in the Arab-American press. While in Jerusalem the King is believed to have paid a visit to the tomb of the late King Husayn, his former adversary, whom he is said to have eulogized for his staunch defense of Palestine as an Arab land. Al-Bayan ~~on~~ January 9 printed a long article by al-Shaykh Khalif al-Rawwaf, the only Saudi Arabian in the United States, praising Ibn Saud for his statesmanship and his defense of Palestine against Zionist ambitions. See B [D] ~~Al-Hoda of New York in its issue of January 12~~ quoted a story from a philatelist paper that a stamp

to commemorate the union of Syria and the Lebanon would be issued early in April. Mournfully remarking that there is no smoke without fire, Al-Hoda hopes that the alleged union would be of economic rather than political character. Comment among Arabs in this country indicates their belief that the British with American support are making a determined effort to reach a real agreement with the Arabs whereby the Arabs would swing actively toward the Allies, achieve some form of federation for which they have been striving, and at the same time solve the Zionist problem by doing away with the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine in return for a larger immigration of Jews, divorced of all politics, to other Arab lands. The article by Judah L. Magnes in the current number of Foreign Affairs, and the statement of King Abdullah of Transjordan in which he calls for an Arab federation and the end of the mandate system -- all approved by Britain -- point to the existence of a tacit agreement between the moderates of both Arabs and Jews on these details. Al-Hoda, representing Lebanese separatism, is not enthusiastic over these developments. In fact, on January 12, 1943, it (See D) It is thought not unlikely, however, that some kind of an assurance has been given the Lebanon guaranteeing its autonomy and safeguarding the religious freedom of its predominantly Christian (Maronite) population.

Earl N. Bergen

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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES: memorandum to the Director of Strategic Services from the Foreign Nationalities Branch

Number B-22 February 1, 1943

ARABIC AND ZIONIST VIEWS OF NORTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS

The American campaign in North Africa has aroused the enthusiasm of Christian Arabic-speaking peoples in the United States, while the nationalist pan-Arabic element tends to be hostile toward American collaboration with the French in the Near East. In both the Yiddish- and the Arabic-language press, discussion of post-war Near Eastern federation plans (said to have Anglo-American backing) has been stimulated by reports of the recent activities of Emir Abdullah of Transjordan and Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia.

A Maronite Christian and Lebanese separatist who was educated at American University in Beirut and is now teaching in the United States has expressed his belief that General Giraud's cooperation with the American forces has pleased the Christian Arabs, who consider France their traditional protector, and that the Moslem Arabs, distrustful of France, are nevertheless heartened by the actual presence of powerful American armed forces in Africa.

The pan-Arab al-Bayan of Brooklyn (January 12, 1943), however, charges that the American occupation of North Africa has not alleviated economic distress in that area. Furthermore, al-Bayan objects to American correspondents' references to the French as native North Africans with rights in the country. The Arabs themselves, their sufferings, sacrifices and devoted service in the Allied cause, al-Bayan argues, are seldom mentioned. It asserts that the treatment of the North African situation as an American-French affair has caused widespread resentment in Arab circles, to whom the French are almost as bad as the Nazis.

Meanwhile all Arabic groups continue to deplore the increased publicity recently given to the project for forming an independent Jewish army. It is feared that such an organization might not be

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disbanded at the end of the present war, but would be used to drive the Arabs from Palestine.

The report that Ibn Saud, pan-Arab leader and ruler of Saudi Arabia, went to Jerusalem for conversations with British and American representatives has been featured in the Arabic language press in the United States. While in Jerusalem, according to these reports, Ibn Saud paid a visit to the tomb of the late King Husayn, his former adversary, whom he eulogized for his staunch defense of Palestine as an Arab land. Al-Bayan (January 9, 1943) printed a long article by al-Shaykh Khalif al-Darwazi, described as the only Saudi Arabian in the United States, praising Ibn Saud for his statesmanship and for his defense of Palestine against Zionist ambitions.

An interview which the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan granted to a representative of the United Press has increased Zionist fears of a movement for the post-war creation of an Arabic federation. The United Press report from Jerusalem was given front-page space in the pro-Zionist Day (New York, January 17). The socialist Forward (New York, January 15) printed the story under a banner headline: "The Arabs in the Near East are planning to establish their own state."

The Emir Abdullah, it was reported, stated that conferences were being held by Arab leaders on the question of establishing a federation of all the Arab countries immediately after the war. According to the Emir, before such a federation could be established, there would have to be a settlement between Palestine, Transjordan, Syria and the Lebanon, on the one hand, and Iraq and Egypt on the other. When the United Press correspondent queried the Emir on the implications of such a federation for Zionist plans, the Emir replied that this would be decided after the formation of the Arab federation. According to the United Press dispatch, the Emir emphasized that the Treaty of Versailles dismembered the Arab lands and that the peace to come after the present war would have to remedy this situation.

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The Forward, commenting on this dispatch, stated that the Emir's reference to the Treaty of Versailles contained an echo of the Nazi and Fascist propaganda which had been spread among the Arabs for many years. Actually, said the Forward, the Arabs lost nothing by the Versailles Treaty. Until the first World War the several now independent Arab states were provinces of the Turkish Empire. The British (and the Versailles Treaty), said the Forward, wrested these provinces from Turkey and established several independent Arab states. Abdullah's remarks, concluded the Forward, boded no good for the Jews.

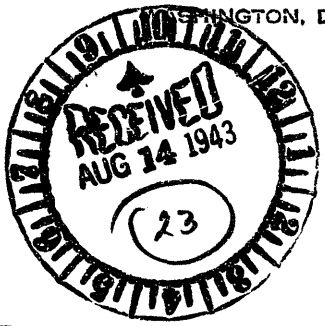
Comment among Arabs in the United States, it is reported, indicates their belief that the British, with American support, are making a determined effort to reach a real agreement with the Arabs, achieve some form of federation, solve the Zionist problem by doing away with the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine, and at the same time make possible a larger immigration of Jews into other lands. Support for this program is seen in the Ichud (Unity) party of Judah L. Magnes in Palestine, and in the position taken by Abdullah.

Opposition to these tentative proposals is expressed by al-Hoda, which represents the Maronite, Lebanese-separatist view. On January 12, 1943, al-Hoda quoted a story from a philatelist paper to the effect that a stamp to commemorate the union of Syria and Lebanon would be issued early in April. Mournfully remarking that there is no smoke without fire, al-Hoda hoped that the projected union would be economic rather than political.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.



COUNTRY Iran

SUBJECT Tribal News

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SUB SOURCE

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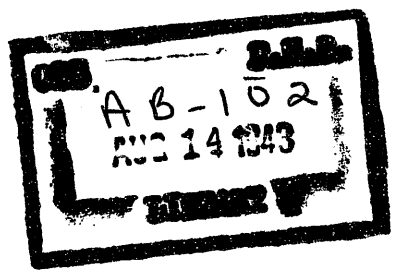
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TRIBAL NEWS :

Reports from the Kurdish north area reaching Erbil indicate that the serious food shortage caused by the Sunn (?) pest damage continues. Due to this and relaxation of police control in Persia, the Kurd is reverting to his old custom of raiding, and many small marauding parties are operating continuously. Distribution of wheat in afflicted areas continues under the general supervision of local air liaison officers, but they are hampered by shortage of transport and personnel.

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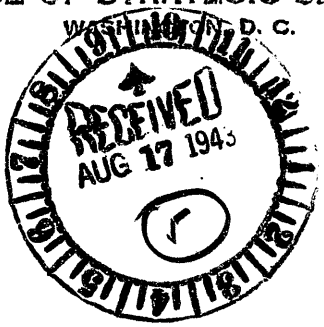
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.



COUNTRY Iran

SUBJECT Tribal News

SOURCE Z

SUB SOURCE

DATE OF ORIGIN June 1943

PLACE OF ORIGIN Iraq

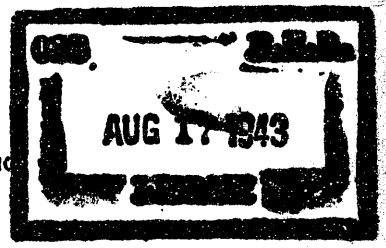
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Subject: Tribal News

This number was in error, and should be changed to A-8620-a.

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February 8, 1943

Brigadier General Frederick Osborn, U.S.A. N 162
Director, Special Service Division
War Department
Room 2-E 600, Pentagon Building
Arlington, Virginia

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Dear Fred:

As a result of our political contacts with the foreign nationality groups in the United States, cases of army morale come to our attention from time to time. A recent talk with Donald Young leads me to believe that you would wish to have these referred to your office as a matter of information. Please let me know if you care to have this done and indicate the manner of doing so which will cause the least amount of inconvenience.

1. Save Kosanovich, who was until recently a Minister of State in the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile, residing in New York and a good friend of mine, has brought to my attention the case of Ivan Larie, a private in the United States Army who has just been drafted into the Austrian Unit, according to information which Kosanovich supplies.

Although born in Graz (Austria), Private Larie is a citizen of Yugoslavia. He previously volunteered in the United

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States Army for service in a ski unit. He was sent to Camp Canterbury, Indiana, whence he has now been transferred to the Austrian Unit.

In view of the bitter feelings entertained by Yugoslavs toward the Archduke Otto, which feeling has been in turn transferred in some degree to the Austrian Unit, Mr. Kosanovich asks if something cannot be done to rescue Private Lardo from his present position.

2. Dr. Nabih Amin Faris at Princeton, who helps us with Arabic contacts, brings to our attention the case of several Syrian and Lebanese soldiers now stationed at Fort Dix, New Jersey. According to a letter from Faris, these men apparently joined up with the Fighting French and were brought to the United States for training. They reached Fort Dix after an unhappy experience in the South where they were treated as Negroes. Two of them wandered one day recently to Brooklyn and stopped in a shop owned by a Syrian to whom they related their story and begged for help. They later sent a letter by hand to this same man whose name is known to Faris but he feels he is not at liberty to reveal it at this point. This man talked the matter over with various persons in the Syrian community, including the editor of the Arabic-language newspaper, al-Hoda, who declined, however, to use the story in his newspaper out of consideration for the Free French. A copy of the letter of complaint came to Faris hands. There is enclosed an

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English translation which Paris has supplied.

Paris continues: "The Free French have been embarrassing to our cause in Syria and the Lebanon in more ways than one. This latest incident, should it become known, will arouse great resentment among the Arabic-speaking community here, and certainly abroad."

My conversations with Donald Young and also with Major George leave me with the impression that, as the Army grows ever larger and so becomes simply a replica of our gen[illegible]opulation, this Branch and your office can be of mutual as[illegible] Per-haps you would like to have your office placed o[illegible]istribution list for the considerable number of confidential [illegible] secret memoranda and reports, which we issue with a good deal of frequency now, relating to the foreign political developments among the foreign-nationality groups?

With kind remembrances, I am

Yours as ever,

Initialed - D.C.P.

DeWitt C. Poole

DCP:mfk

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FOREIGN DISTRICT
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January 19, 1943

On behalf of the Lebanese and Syrians in the Fighting French Army

To Mr.

Sir:

As you already know from our friends, we are partisans of De Gaulle, because we believe that one day Syria and the Lebanon would become free, enjoying complete sovereignty.

We are now, however, extremely disappointed. We the Lebanese and Syrians (in the Fighting French army) are in a pitiful condition.

[illegible] to be possible that De Gaulle and others of his (French) followers should have the temerity to deem us debased, below the human level, simply because we are Syrians?

They treat us with insult and cruelty; they consider us beneath the whites and even the Negroes in the French army. They have gone as far as forbidding us to speak our own Arabic language. We can speak no other language: French or English, because we do not know either.

Sir: We cry out for redress. We pray for help. We wish to volunteer to fight in the Arab army -- to be able to receive orders in our sacred Arab language. We wish to return to our homeland.

(Signed)

Abdo al-Chalayini	As'ad Asir	Ibrahim Sa'd	Ibrahim Salim (X)
Ibrahim Yusuf	Munir Antar	Diab Khalil	Faid Abdallah
Ham Rul	Ilyas Ya'qub	Abdo al-Salim	Salim Thabit al-Shami
Sholom Habib	Hanna Makhkhul		

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3 Memos to Brig. Gen. Osborn 2/8/43 DeP

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~~630 FIFTH AVENUE~~
~~NEW YORK, N.Y.~~
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

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February 1st, 1943

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Mr. DeWitt C. P
Foreign Nation
Office of Str
Washington,

My dear Poc

I close here a l... to me by Professor Nabih A. Faris ... enclosure which he sent to me signed by ... number of Syrian Arabs who had joined ... the Fighting French and are now in training down near Camp Dix. Faris's letter and the enclosure pretty much tell their own story. I called Faris on the telephone yesterday to talk with him about the treatment of which these Syrians complain, and he gave me a few additional facts.

These Syrians come from the Caribbean area, and he tells me they volunteered with the Fighting French. They were sent to this country and were first quartered down in the south. They were grouped with colored troops, which they resented, and they were expected to observe all the Jim Crow rules. These restrictions have been eliminated by the transfer to their ... in New Jersey, I understand; but apparently these Syr... s still suffer from what they call inhuman treatment at the hands of their non-commissioned officers and even commissioned officers. They do not speak French and cannot understand commands given to them in French, and for disobedience they have been beaten and put in the guard-house. They claim that they are forbidden to speak Arabic.

It seems to me that our report through Faris is pretty much one-sided, but if true it looks pretty bad. I told Faris that this seemed to me a problem for army morale, and that I thought it should be brought to the attention of General Fred Osborn. At any rate, I refer the matter to you in the hope that you will make the proper move to have

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those in authority who are most concerned informed of the situation.

Sincerely yours,

B. D. Meritt

C.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION
224 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
AB-102

January 26, 1943

Professor Benjamin D. Merrit
Associate Director
Foreign Nationalities Branch
Office of Strategic Services
Washington, D. C.

4.7.1

Dear Professor Merrit:

A problem of primary importance has been brought to my attention. I take the liberty to submit it to your consideration.

In the Fighting French army camp near Fort Dix are several Syrian and Lebanese soldiers. They have been in the French Army in the West Indies, and when the Free French gained control of that region, the men were brought to this country, ostensibly for further training. Instead they seem to have been subjected to infamy and cruel treatment, similar to that of a concentration camp.

Two of them wandered one day to Brooklyn and stopped at a shop owned by a Syrian, to whom they related their story and begged for help. Later they addressed, by carrier, a letter to the same man. The merchant, whose name is known to me, but whose identity I am not at liberty to reveal, talked the matter over with the editor of al-Hoda, a Free French mercenary; also to the editor of the Meraat-ul-Gharb, and to a third person in one of the government offices in New York. These men did not know what to do about it, and the editor of al-Hoda refused to tell their story in his paper, out of consideration for the Free French. Then the story came to me by accident I took upon myself to get a copy of the letter which they addressed to the Syrian merchant (translation enclosed).

Mokarzel 1.8

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION
224 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

The Free French have been an embarrassment to our cause in Syria and the Lebanon in more ways than one. This latest incident, should it become known, will arouse great resentment among the Arabic-speaking community here, and certainly abroad. More important is the fact that no nationals of two independent countries could be so held against their will, unless they were guilty of criminal or political offence.

I shall refrain from any further steps in this case until I hear from you. If it is at all possible to help these men, I shall greatly appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,

Nabih Amin Faris 4.3 on France

Nabih A. Faris

NAF:RR
enclosure

D.

COPY

January 19, 1943

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
AD-103

On behalf of the Lebanese and Syrians in the Fighting French Army

To Mr.

Sir:

As you already know from our friends, we are partisans of De Gaulle, because we believe that one day Syria and the Lebanon would become free, enjoying complete sovereignty.

We are now, however, extremely disappointed. We the Lebanese and Syrians (in the Fighting French army) are in a pitiful condition.

Could it be possible that De Gaulle and others of his (French) followers should have the temerity to deem us debased, below the human level, simply because we are Syrians?

They treat us with insult and cruelty; they consider us beneath the whites and even the negroes in the French army. They have gone as far as forbidding us to speak our own Arabic language. We can speak no other language: French or English, because we do not know either.

Sir: We cry out for redress. We pray for help. We wish to volunteer to fight in the Arab army -- to be able to receive orders in our sacred Arab language. We wish to return to our homeland.

(Signed)

Abdo al-Ghalayini	As'ad Asir	Ibrahim Sa'd	Ibrahim Salim
Ibrahim Yusuf	Munir Antar	Diab Khalil ;..	Fuad Abdallah
Hem Rul	Ilyas Ya'qub	Abdo al-Salim	Salim Thabit al-Shami
Sholem Habib	Hanna Makhkhul		

AB-R

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
AB-103

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
RECEIVED
FEB 16 1943
PRINCETON, N. J.

Princeton, N. J.
Feb. 14, 1943.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Syrian and Lebanese Volunteers in the Free French Army

[As-Sayeh, New York, Feb. 8, 1943.]

An unusual story of fifteen Syrian and Lebanese volunteers from the West Indies and South America, who had joined the Free French forces with the understanding that they would be sent to the Near East to fight, only to land after a long itinerary in Fort Dix (the Free French section) and be subjected to all sorts of mistreatment, is told on the pages of As-Sayeh. The Sayeh expresses the hope that the problem would be solved in a manner satisfactory to all, so that French prestige, and in turn that of the United Nations, would not suffer among the Syrians and the Lebanese.

[This case was brought to my attention personally before it found its way to the press. At that time I counselled the editors to wait until they are certain that the story is true, and that the dissatisfaction of these men is not only the result of harsh military discipline. In fact I met eight of them in a Syrian shop in Brooklyn, and heard their grievance myself. On Jan. 26, I addressed a letter to a friend in Washington seeking advice. I believe the case is now being submitted to the right authorities.

This all was before the case reached the press. Now we cannot overlook its political repercussions. As-Sayeh is

read in South America, and in all likelihood the story would be relayed to Syria and to enemy circles. Something would have to be done.

The grievance of these men centres around their mistreatment by their French officers and by the negro soldiery from Senegal and French Equatorial Africa. The two groups are herded together by the French and treated exceedingly harshly. They are forbidden to speak Arabic among themselves, though a few know no other language. The French refer to them as "Whites and Syrians", as though the Syrians were not white. They resent this very much, and find nothing in common with the negroes from Senegal. Protests against this treatment has resulted in solitary confinement for at leat eight of them and in the shaving of their heads.

One is amazed at the way the Free French are treating volunteers. This will not help matters in Syria or any where else.

I am convinced that the matter is more than military discipline. French attitude towards the Syrians is not a healthy one. The most unfortunate thing about the whole matter is that it might injure the reputation of the United States where these Syrians "are left to the caprice of French officials". The phrase is one used by some of the Syrians who have heard of the case.]

AB-104

Note on

THE ARAB PROBLEM

Prepared at

The Institute for Advanced Study
School of Economics and Politics
Princeton, New Jersey

August, 1942

NOTE ON THE ARAB PROBLEM

From the Caucasus to the Nile, at the juncture of the three continents of the Old World, extend vast stretches of sparsely settled territory, embraced at the moment by the pincers of the German armies extending along two fronts. Since the outcome of the present struggle will depend in large part on the possession of this Middle East, the attitude of its population, largely Arab and Moslem, takes on considerable importance. The Middle East is principally the Sherq, meaning "east" in Arabic; but in spite of unity of language and culture it possesses the most complex and unstable of political systems. It is our purpose here to analyse the principal elements which make up that system and to point out present tendencies.

Principal political organisms.

The Arab East is comprised of three major independent states: (1) the Saudieh, or the empire of Ibn Saud which extends over the greater part of Arabia, including the ancient kingdoms of Nedj and Hegaz; (2) Egypt, which as a constituted state is by far the oldest and which, by virtue of its population, counting some 16 million inhabitants, is the most important; (3) Iraq, a British mandate emancipated since 1930, with Bagdad, once the city of the caliphs, as its capital.

Surrounding Saudieh, on the borders of the Arabian peninsula, are numerous small Arab states more or less subject to foreign influences, the most important and most independent of which is Yemen. Bordering the Mediterranean, between Iraq and Egypt, are the countries under mandate: in the north, Lebanon and Syria, under French mandate, recently granted independence at least on paper; in the south, Palestine and Transjordania. Syria figures as the fourth state in

the present discussion; for Lebanon, largely Christian, can hardly be considered as Arab, even though it might be governed temporarily by a pro-Arab minister. In Transjordania, the ruler Emir Abdallah, of the same Hussainite dynasty as rules in Iraq, is quiet and unambitious, and can be counted upon as a loyal servant of Britain. In Palestine, due to Jewish colonization, the attitude and rights of a strong Jewish minority (numbering more than 500,000 persons) have made the Arab problem especially acute. Under Mufti Amin-el-Husseini Al-Husayni Jerusalem became the center of pan-Arab and pan-Islamic activity against Europe -- of which first the Jewish immigrants, then the British officials, were the symbol. As events shaped themselves, the Mufti was forced to remove his commanding post first to Lebanon, then to Bagdad, and finally to Berlin. In as much as he is head of a powerful and much respected faction among the Arabs, he constitutes a fifth power to be considered.

Empire of Ibn Saud.

The story of Ibn Saud has been competently and enthusiastically told by his faithful follower, friend and counsellor, Philby. The concluding paragraph in one of his numerous works (Arabia, London, 1930) could hardly state more clearly the ultimate ambitions of the great conqueror and reformer: "If any Arab ruler since the Prophet ever merited the proud but simple title of Calif, Abdul Aziz ibn Abdul Rahman ibn Saud is assuredly such an one. Yet he covets not the title, though in many respects qualified to hold it with distinction.... The Prophet's mantle may only be worn by him who can defend and protect the Prophet's people the world over; and such a task is beyond the modest capacity of the Wahhabi King, who is content to be ruler of the Arabs, keeper of God's House on earth in the holy city of Mecca and defender of the true faith in the land of its birth."

It is clear, from the allusions in this and many other passages, that Ibn Saud dreams of the Caliphate (suppressed by the Turkish Republic in 1924). He would even not refuse the title himself, but would prefer to have, before the office, the power necessary to make himself known to all Moslems not only as their spiritual chief but as their temporal chief and protector against the unfaithful. But since this vast empire from Java to Guinea, from Albania to Madagascar, seems hardly realizable in the near future, Ibn Saud, realist and warrior, would content himself for the present with ruling over the Arabs only. The term "Arab" is vague and elastic, applicable as well to the inhabitants of Arabia alone as to all those speaking the Arab tongue.

Thus the Arabian peninsula constitutes for Ibn Saud merely a minimum program, an initial step. He has already weakened Yemen, has appropriated the vast and empty desert of Rub-al-Khali, and observes not without anxiety the increasing organization under British domination of the sultanates of central and eastern Arabia. A distinguished Algerian, after paying him a visit in 1935 on the Mecca pilgrimage, returned convinced that Ibn Saud would not tolerate for long the independence of these many little Arab states: He would unite Arabia, after which.....God is Powerful! declared the Algerian.

However illusive Ibn Saud's position may seem to anyone attempting to understand the problems involved in the unification of Arabia, it is clear that he considers the greater portion of Transjordania as forming part of the peninsula, and Palestine and Iraq as Arab countries. In 1935 he protested the Anglo-Italian agreement for maintaining a status quo in the Mediterranean. Philby, who has frequently championed Arab rights in Palestine, has written the following characteristic lines in his book on the great Calif Harun-al-Rashid: "Only the lamp remained - the city of Mansur - to survive into our own time to renew in the XXth century the conflict between Iraq and Arabia for the hegemony of an Empire in the making, - an Empire smaller and more compact than that of the

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early Caliphs, but an Empire nonetheless, which needs today no less than it needed then the unity of spirit which is the only sure foundation of strength. But history repeats itself today in the struggle of an Arabian dynasty, self-contained, self-sufficient and independent with another based on the prestige of descent from the Prophet himself by relying on the support of foreign advisers and foreign arms, like the Abasside of the old who looked east for the light which now comes from the west. The conflict begun by Ali is not yet over, and Arabia still seeks her place in the sun. The question left in suspense by Mohammed remains unanswered. Mecca the capital of Islam, may yet become the capital of the Arabs. And the chief office of the State is still open, between a descendant of the Prophet and the greatest of the Arabs. But it is as clear now as it was thirteen centuries ago that the sole hope of the Arabs lies in their ability to unite, to concentrate and to be independent.

This plea in favor of Ibn Saud recalls that the quarrel between Sunnites and Husseinites is none other than the rivalry between Mecca and Bagdad, between the pure Koranic faith, so vigorously and absolutely represented by Wahabism, and Sunnism which has evolved under foreign influence. The greater independence of Saudieh with respect to the European powers and in particular with respect to Great Britain is unquestionable, however much one may be surprised to see it thus stated by a councillor of the king who is not even of pure Arab blood.

A great conqueror, an able diplomat, a vigorous reformer, in possession of Mecca, and ruling over a valliant people ready to sacrifice themselves for him and for the Wahabi faith, Ibn Saud is unquestionably the most powerful Arab ruler in Asia, and the most likely to dominate over the others. But he is growing old (he is already 62); and there are many -- preferring their present (already millenial) faith to Wahabi puritanism -- to whom his fanaticism makes no appeal. Finally, he is known to be completely autocratic and the rulers and

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local chiefs who have thus far escaped his authority have no desire to fling themselves into his arms; they much prefer foreign domination which permits them their lives and their thrones.

Iraq.

Iraq was the first of the mandated states to obtain independence in 1930 under the scepter of Faysal ibn Hussein. This kingdom was the crumb left, by way of consolation, to the leader of the Arab revolt after he had been promised the Caliphate by Lawrence. During his lifetime Faysal, by his personal prestige and his influence in London, might well appear as a rival of Ibn Saud. But today, his grandson, the seven year old king Faysal II, counts not at all in the balance. The controlling feudal aristocracy, however, is eager to maintain the independence of the state in order to protect its own power. It has no desire to see Ibn Saud rule, but is not opposed to extending its own influence and power. Bagdad is one of the chief reserve centers of Islam and the Arab world. Since the death of Faysal, it has been officially the main base for pan-Arab agitation in Levant and especially in Palestine.

Since 1936 the Iraq government has lacked stability: government has succeeded government, placed in office through tribal revolts or military coups d'etat. Each has come into power on a program of defending Arab interests, and each has been finally overthrown on charges of having betrayed them. It has apparently been impossible, then, for any government to follow a pro pan-Arab policy -- a situation which conceals many international rivalries from which foreign intrigue is not absent.

October 1936 to August 1937 was marked by a period of stability under the military dictatorship of General Bekir Sidki Pasha. His widespread diplomatic activity culminated in the Pact of Saadabad, signed at Teheran on July 8, 1937, between Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan. Iraq thus withdrew

from pan-Arabism, escaping from discreet English tutelage, to draw closer to the independent Moslem states. Moreover, Bekir Sidki married a young German girl, a student at the German Archaeological Mission in Bagdad. On the point of leaving for Ankara, on August 11, 1937, he was assassinated by a member of his own guard; and a pan-Arab refugee in Damascas, Jemil Madfah, was recalled to form the new government. The feudal aristocracy, returning to power, pinned the blame for Bekir Sidki's murder, as it had done for the mysterious death of Faysal, on England. At the death of young king Ghazi, in an automobile accident in April 1937, the Mossoul mobs stormed the British consulate and killed the Consul, Monk Mason.

The death of Bekir Sidki, however, did not affect the Pact of Saadabad: Iraq, in a state of anarchy because its foundations rest on no constituted nationality, save the vague term Arab, is gripped between two large Moslem states, Iran and Turkey, both of which have become strong through the efforts of vigorous reformers. It must reckon with both of them — for Turkey can find room for protest in the Kurd guerilla, and Teheran is the political capital of Orthodox Shiism, the religion professed by the majority of the people of Iraq. In this latter problem of religion lies one of Iraq's most serious weaknesses: the whole pan-Arab movement was instigated and fostered by orthodox Sunni, the most ancient and bitter enemies of the Shiahs, who make up 55% of the population. They refused to collaborate with Faysal and have never ceased to look toward Iran where Shiism is the official religion.

Hence Iraq is in danger of figuring as little more than a victim of prey in the Middle East dispute. It could hardly take the lead in any wide-spread political movement: its last attempt, when Rashid Ali declared war on England and called Germany to its aid, ended in failure, after which it sank back into a state of passive expectancy. The present head of the government,

Noury Pasha el Said, is reputedly a faithful friend of England, but this has not prevented him from participating in a variety of governments and from having had associations with Rashid Ali, Bekir Sidki and the Mufti of Jerusalem.

Egypt.

The kingdom of Egypt, quite the opposite of Iraq, is a strong, well organized power. It is the richest, the most thickly populated, the most advanced economically and intellectually of any of the states here under consideration. Its king, Farouk, young and ambitious, is not averse to enlarging his domains; he has indeed the firm intention of doing so and awaits only the opportunity. He listens with respect and reverence to advice from El Azhar University which in Cairo is the center of pan-Arabism as well as of pan-Islamism. Farouk's father, king Fuad, made no secret of his hope that Egypt would one day dominate all east Africa. Farouk, on his part, has his eye on the Caliphate, and at the same time on his inheritance as descendant of the Pharoahs; remembering, too, that in some twenty years, at the expiration of the concession, the ultimate disposition of the Suez Canal will rest with him. He is backed by the Young Egypt Movement within the country, and by the Oulema Movement on the outside.

The Young Egypt Movement envisages for Egypt a brillian future, worthy of its past. It has obtained reforms which have modernized the economy and the customs of the country. It wants to take the lead in the pan-Islamic movement. To this movementh of intellectual and political emancipation is associated a religious one of purification of the faith. Here is apparent the influence of the Oulemas, who, grouped around El Azhar University, seek to recall Islam to its primitive simplicty and purety. The Oulemas are admirers of Wahabism: in 1937, after an absence of twelve years, Egypt once more took its place officially in the pilgrimage to Mecca. But one may presume that Wahabism is not the only

form of religious reform recognised by the Oulemas, and that to Ibn Saud they would prefer their own docile pupil, Farouk. The Oulemas, furthermore, feel themselves responsible for the whole Moslem world and their horizons are not limited to the Arab countries alone. Among the speakers at the Congress which convened in Cairo in October of 1938, to examine the Palestine problem, were delegates from Morocco, Jugoslavia, India and China!

Today the war has been brought to the gate of Cairo and Alexandria, but Egypt preserves its neutrality. In Paris in 1939 several French authorities, including Georges Mandel, then Colonial Minister, and General Catroux, had occasion to warn England that she was placing false hope on the willingness of Egypt to send an army against an eventual Italian invasion. To the battles on the Libyan desert the Egyptian army remains an interested but inactive spectator. It must be remembered that the Egyptian renaissance was directed against Europe, i.e. primarily against England, that the first object of the pan-Islamism of El Azhar is to expel the British Empire from the Middle East. Do they prefer then the domination of the Axis powers? Neither Germany nor Italy have ever governed Egypt and hence have given no grounds for reproach. On the other hand, every weakening of British power increases the chances for the realization of Egyptian hopes.

Other elements.

We shall not review here the case of Syria and Lebanon, analysed in detail in a preceding memorandum. Today, under English pressure and against the will of General Catroux, Delegate General of the Fighting French, prominent champions of the pan-Arab movement are in power in Damascus -- frequently termed the psychological capital of Arabia. With her independence proclaimed, to become effective at the end of the war, Syria awaits only a favorable occasion to assume her role of leadership. But as we have already pointed out, Damascus is surrounded

by minorities hostile to the Damascans and to pan-Arabism. These minorities would have to be crushed by force before any action could be taken. Furthermore, the Syrian Nationalist Movement lacks a leader: its motivating force came from without, from Bagdad, or from Cairo. Emir Arslan or the Mufti of Jerusalem, who could take over its direction, are today officially in the service of Germany.

In Transjordania, Emir Abdallah, the youngest brother of Faysal, shows no desire to become involved in any political movement. He is quite satisfied with his throne in Transjordania, under an English mandate which protects him against possible invasion by Ibn Saud. Such, it is true, is not the attitude of his eldest son Talaat, who has already twice attempted the assassination of his father in order to become the head of the Husseinite dynasty and return it to more active politics.

The Mufti of Jerusalem, Amin el Husseini, would of course be a very likely candidate for the leadership of the pan-Arab Movement, within which he enjoys considerable popularity. After having established working bases in Palestine, Transjordania, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq, he departed for Berlin to take over the direction of pro-German propaganda in the east. The Mufti is a realist: his action is to be explained by the fact that he believes in a German victory and that, further, he has no faith in the English promises.

Impossibility of political unification.

It would be no easy task to bring organization to the complex Arab world. To give it one head while it still has many would be to throw into opposition the followers of all the other chiefs. The organization of the Arab populations is based on conflicting interests which block all political unity: in each country a few large cities, living by commerce and having horizons stretching over at least half a continent, form centers of widespread political activity. All around

are the rural population: fellahin bent over the soil, interested only in the neighboring field, in the yearly rentals due the efendi, and in water - from rain or irrigation - to assure the harvest. Finally, nomads wander practically everywhere intent only on playing as large a part as possible in the affairs of the nearby city with a view to personal gain. The large cities, where so many religions have come into being, now foster nationalist movements.

This conflict between ways of life has its repercussion on political life: all initiative originates in the cities but does not always penetrate the rural districts. The fighting bedouin, thirsting for pillage, allies himself willingly to any cause which promises to be fruitful. But the rural populations desire only peace and the alleviation of crushing fiscal taxes.

In the international field, the Wahabi bedouin has no use for the rural and working classes of Syria or Egypt, while the Egyptian elite — cultivated and refined — show contempt for the ignorant and brutal governments, of feudal and bedouin origin, of Arabia or Iraq.

The most serious schisms exist in the sphere of religion. The concept of a nation is new to the East: it was imported from the West and has never been fully understood. In this part of the world the essential bond of a community, especially in political matters, has always been one of religion and faith. The attempts since 1920 to apply the nationalistic principle have resulted in each sect taking on the aspect of a nation. But as a sect is always dispersed, is attached almost never to any well defined territory, artificial states had to be created with limits determined only by police forces and with profound internal divisions. Wahabi Saudieh is a true state in the western sense only because it has achieved religious unity, for there any deviation from/pure Wahabi the faith is considered heresy and punishable by death.

To impose on large masses of sedentary people a religion for which they have no desire is not easy. Not all Arabs are as convinced as Philby that their only salvation lies in the purification and unification of the faith. Furthermore, a union into one empire or state is certainly not looked on with favor by the powers in control in the many separate states: a single government would greatly reduce their own chances for playing an important role or for exerting their influence. Fundamentally, the Arab notable, once in power, tends to become conservative as a protective measure against the always numerous aspirants to succeed him.

The Egyptians perhaps alone sincerely want a unified state, for they are only too well convinced of their own intellectual superiority over the other Arab peoples to doubt for a moment that in such a state they would control all the important positions. Hence unification along political lines is inconceivable. Even if it were to be shaped along Arab racial lines, that is orthodox Sunni, it would immediately stir up revolt among non-Arab (Kurds, Druses, Alaouites, Yezidis, etc.) and non-Moslem (Jewish, Christian especially in Palestine and Syria-Lebanon) minorities. It is not even certain that the Shiahs of Iraq would not demand to be united with Iran, and that Turkey would not claim Aleppo and perhaps Mossoul. Vienot's attempt at creating a large Arab Syria had only one definitive result: the annexation by Turkey of the sanjak of Alexandrette.

Attitude of Arab populations in present conflict.

Since 1940 the attitude of all active elements among the Arabs has been definitely anti-British: as proof, witness chiefly: the revolt of Iraq, the loyalty of Syria to the Vichy regime, the neutrality of Egypt and Ibn Saud, the flight to Berlin of the Mufti of Jerusalem. First Italian, and subsequently German, propaganda have worked wonders in the Orient. Since 1925 they have been

carried on with greater tact and more ably than British propaganda. Money has flowed freely, almost every nationalist organization being subsidized in some way by the Axis. Hitler and Goebbels have exploited with skill the belief, strong for centuries throughout the Mediterranean area, that the twentieth century after Christ would see the coming of a new order, of a new era in the history of the world.

It did not take much to convince the Arabs that this new order would not be long in coming, and that Germany and Italy, because the strongest, could impose it after their own fashion. In all this Hitler appeared as a new prophet who, among other things, would liberate the Arabs. Orientals do not like to be on the losing side and were, and are now more than ever, opposed to giving aid to the weak, i.e. to England. What is more, why should they help them the English already have promised them everything they want: complete liberty, a great Arab Federation, the Caliphate? All this the English have promised for the moment they are victorious, asking nothing in return from the Arabs other than that they remain quiet. And they will no doubt remain quiet as long as England is strong, but at the first sign of weakness they will turn against her and help Germany. Hitler, on the other hand, has made no such positive promises as Mr. Eden, and to receive his favors it is clear that he must receive help in gaining his victory. The Arabs are well versed in barter. They know that the English, too, are not accustomed to giving way in matters of bargaining so that the British promises, asking nothing in return, seem to them a sign of weakness and hence of no interest, since to keep them requires strength.

There is nothing new of course in promising the Caliphate: Lawrence had already done so to Faysal, who got only Iraq. Furthermore, it has been promised both to Farouk and to Ibn Saud; this makes one too many Califs — so obviously both promises cannot be kept. So the British promises are at once outworn and

too numerous, and above all they have the disadvantage of being already made: England can go no further in favor of the Arab cause. Hence there is nothing more to be expected and so no need to come to her aid. With Germany, on the other hand, favor has yet to be won.

Do the Arabs believe that domination by Germany would be better than domination by England? As we have already pointed out in the case of the Egyptians, having had as yet no experience they have as yet no fault to find. We have seen the reversal of opinion which turned a Germanophile Anglophobe Brittany in May 1940 into a Germanophobe Anglophile Brittainy in October 1940. The Arabs too, Anglophobe today, would no doubt become Germanophobe after some years of German domination, but such a transformation cannot be effected while the English remain on the spot.

What, then, can be done to obtain the more active support of the populations of the Middle East? In the first place: a display of force — there is nothing which Orientals, rarely courageous themselves, respect more.

Second: make it clear to all competent authorities as well as to the people themselves that the Arabs have nothing to be gained from the United Nations if they do not exert themselves to win their share. Spoils divided on the basis of services rendered is a highly respected principle among the Arabs. Such an attitude would make it clear that the Allies are no longer frightened by the Arabs; that, moreover, it no longer rests upon the United Nations to seek the good will of the Arabs but upon the Arabs to seek the favor of the Allies. Recent declarations by the Secretary of State on the fate of neutrals can well serve as a base for such a change in attitude.

Finally, by stirring up immediate competition, advances to the non-Arab minorities (the Lebanese, the Kurds, the Jews) would make the Arabs realize that, if need be, the services of their neighbors — precisely those who cause them

anxiety — can be used against them. Nothing would carry more weight in winning them to the Allied cause. It would be essential of course to replace acceptances of declarations on paper by demands for action. Such a course, it is true, would be very different from that thus far pursued; but it is, in our opinion, the only course which stands any chance of altering the situation.

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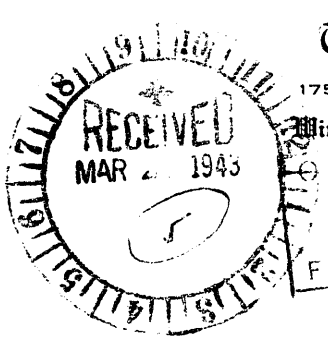
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The Rambles

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Winter Park, Florida



March 27-43

Dear Mr. Fiedelman.

I've enclosed a list of Negro clubs and three organizations which I promised to send you.

I trust to see you when I return to Washington. I called you up about it but you were out.

Sincerely yours

Rev M. Ramsa

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AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Syrian

Assyrian National Ass'n., Inc.,
371 Riverdale Ave.,
Yonkers, N.Y.

Assyrian Nat'l Ass'n of Chicago,
2108 N. Halsted St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Assyrian Nat'l League of America,
1758 N. Park Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Assyrian Nat'l Union, Inc.,
c/o Albert Perch,
29 Coolidge Hill Rd.,
Watertown, Mass.

Newark Branch, Assyrian Nat'l Fed.,
c/o Joseph Rojy,
49 Central Ave.,
Orange, N.J.

Assyrian Nat'l Ass'n. of Conn.,
Yushiya Isaac, Sec'y.,
29 Lafayette St.,
New Britain, Conn.

Assyrian Christian Aid Society,
2438 N. Park Ave.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Knights of Assyria,
c/o Benjamin David,
1021 Edgewood Rd., Elmora,
Elizabeth, N.J.

Assyrian Am. T.A. Society, Inc.,
c/o Sam Badall, Sec'y.,
525 N. Grant Pl.,
Chicago, Ill.

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ASSYRIAN ASSOCIATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS NOT AFFILIATED WITH THE ASSYRIAN NATIONAL FEDERATION:

Yonkers, New York

Assyrian American Citizens' Club,
c/o George Aziz, Pres.
211 Buena Vista Ave.,
Yonkers, N.Y.

Taka-Ardishay Women's Society,
c/o Mrs. Shirin Abraham, Pres.
54 Caroline Ave.,
Yonkers, N.Y.

Assyrian Nat'l Young People's Ass'n.,
371 Riverdale Ave.,
Yonkers, N.Y.

Assyrian Women's Nat'l Ass'n.,
371 Riverdale Ave.,
Yonkers, N.Y.

Massachusetts

Boston United Assyrian Ass'n.,
c/o Charles Chevoor, Pres.
534 Mt. Auburn St.,
Watertown, Mass.

Harpoot Assyrian United Ass'n.,
c/o Zacharia Ohan, Pres.,
139 Park Ave.,
Worcester, Mass.

Rhode Island

Central Falls Mar Afrem Ass'n.,
c/o John Shabo,
175 Woodbine St.,
Pawtucket, R.I.

Connecticut

Citizens Club,
Mr. Joseph Avis,
114 West St.,
New Britain, Conn.

Assyrian Junior League,
c/o Miss Agnes Sargis,
145 Cherry St.,
New Britain, Conn.

California

Assyrian American Benevolent Ass'n.,
2926 Brighton Ave.,
Los Angeles, Calif.

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New Jersey

Assyrian National School Ass'n.,
c/o Masud Farzy, Pres.
68 Horton Ave.,
Lynbrook, L.I., N.Y.

Assyrian Ladies Aid Society,
Mrs. Ovsanna Kedvanly,
246 Park Ave.,
Paterson,N.J.

Assyrian Educational Club,
Mr. Jack Bakal,
523-55th St.,
West New York,N.J.

Assyrian Ladies' Home Society,
Mrs. Elsie Rumana,
41 Montclair Ave.,
Paterson,N.J.

Assyrian Junior Girls' Club,
Miss Sadye Darakjy,
373 Getty Ave.,
Paterson,N.J.

Assyrian Junior League,
Miss Harriet Bazaz,
449 Hudson Ave.,
West New York,N.J.

Assyrian Ladies' Guild,
Mrs. Mary Wallace,
533-39th St.,
Woodcliff,N.J.

Assyrian Churchmen's Society,
Mr. A. Bardakjy,
206 Monticello Ave.,
Jersey City,N.J.

New Beth Nahreen Association,Inc.,
c/o Samuel J. Shamsey, Pres.
455 Cedar Lane,
Teaneck, N.J.

Indiana

Assyrian National Ass'n.,
c/o Aprem Mirza,
660 W. 8th Ave.,
Gary, Indiana

Assyrian American Citizens' Club,
714 Lincoln St.,
Gary, Indiana

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Michigan

Assyrian National Union,
c/o Rev. Shlemon Elia,
1522 Delaware Ave.,
Flint, Mich.

St. John Association,
714 Elmwood St.,
Detroit, Mich.

Illinois

T.A. Women's Society,
c/o Elina Oshana,
2719 Seminary Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Superghan Men's Ass'n.,
c/o M.E. Sargis,
802 Buckingham Pl.,
Chicago, Ill.

Superghan Ladies' Ass'n.,
c/o Mrs. L. Khambab,
902 Newport Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

St. Ephrim Society,
c/o Joel Khabyar,
1058 Armitage Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Allwatch Assyrian Ass'n.,
Stephan Shabaz, Pres.,
646 Webster Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Geagtapa Society,
Nathaniel A. Kambar, Pres.
1626 North Kedzie St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Unity of Degalah,
Ezra Mitchell, Pres.
918 Newport Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

Mar Sargis Ass'n.,
c/o Assyrian Nat'l Ass'n.,
2108 N. Halsted St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Eryava Ass'n.,
c/o Assyrian Nat'l Ass'n.,
2108 N. Halsted St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Gulpasha Ass'n.,
c/o Assyrian Nat'l Ass'n.,
2108 N. Halsted St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Dizataka Ass'n.,
c/o Assyrian Nat'l Ass'n.,
2108 N. Halsted St.,
Chicago, Ill.

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Dear Mr. Beckelman.

Thanks you for your letter of April 7 which reached me while I was in Winter Park. Glad to know that you have received the list of affiliated assyrian organizations.

The address of the assyrian national federation is 17 Academy St. Newark. N. J. The name of the President is Mr. Jos. J. Durna. DURNA

I am delighted to be of service to you.

Sincerely yours.

Geo M. Dawas

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Assyrian National Federation

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29 Belvedere Drive
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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

MEMORANDUM BY THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

Number 118 April 9, 1943

ARAB-AMERICAN POLITICAL REFLECTIONS

Political discussion engaging the attention of the Arabic-language community of the United States during the past two months, although revealing almost complete unanimity on a few questions such as opposition to Zionism and to the project for the formation of a Jewish army, has again demonstrated the underlying political and religious divisions which split this group into factions.

Numbering some 160,000, the Arabic-language community in the United States comprises mainly Arabs of Lebanese and Syrian origin along with much less numerous elements from Palestine and Transjordan, and very small contingents from Iraq, Egypt, and North Africa. Although rather widely dispersed throughout the United States from the East Coast to the West, they have tended to congregate in certain large centers: Boston, Lawrence, Fall River, and Worcester in Massachusetts; New York City; Detroit; Cleveland, Akron, Canton, and Toledo in Ohio; Jacksonville, Florida; Houston, Texas; and Los Angeles. The Lebanese and Syrians are for the most part Christians, the former generally adhering to the Maronite, the latter principally to the Syrian Orthodox Church. (The Maronites are a distinct denomination with their own liturgy but they are in communion with the Roman Catholic Church.) There are also some Moslem Arabs in the United States, and likewise a few representatives of the mystical Druse sect. The following survey touches on the principal subjects of recent political controversy among these elements.

North Africa Arab-American opinion has been enthusiastic over the liberation of Tripoli from the Italian yoke and from Fascist misrule, but fears have been expressed concerning American policy in North Africa. *Al-Bayan*, Syrian Druse newspaper of Brooklyn which is Pan-Arabic in orientation, has been exercised

FNB-INT-2 - Box 2

over the situation in Algeria and Morocco, arguing (January 30, March 9) that the sacrifices made by the Arabs, the losses they have incurred, and the indirect as well as the active help they have given on a generous scale to the allied cause have been virtually ignored in almost all official and unofficial reports from the North African front.

Commenting on this subject, a well-informed nationalistic Arab-American states:

> "Arab opinion in this country and abroad is resentful of the way the North African situation is treated as a purely Franco-American affair, with the native Arab population all but ignored. Arabs regard North Africa as an Arab land and the French as usurpers, and they look forward to the time when they may be rid not only of the Nazi-Fascist threat but also of the French and Spanish. The belief that the United States has guaranteed the restoration of the French Empire does not appeal to the Arabs in North Africa; to them it means the continuation of an abhorrent status quo. North African Arab nationalism has its aspirations. How will these aspirations be treated by the United States, especially when they conflict with the policy of our French allies?"

Turkey Arabs have always been suspicious and alarmed over rumors of secret treaties negotiated by their neighbors. This attitude is reflected in Arab-American comment on the meeting of Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Ismet Inonu of Turkey at Adana. The progressive swing of Turkey toward the side of the United Nations is noted, and the importance of such a development is recognized; but an underlying fear that a deal has been arranged is the cause of some concern to the nationalist *as-Sameer* of Brooklyn (February 4), which hints that it would like to know, but does not openly ask, at whose expense the alleged understanding has been reached. Comment on the article, obtained from a well-qualified Arab-American source, points out that France made a "deal" with Turkey (confirmed by a treaty of June 23, 1939) for the cession of Alexandretta and that as head of the Turkish state Mustapha Kemel Ataturk before his death expressed a desire to regain Damascus. Thus it is not

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unnatural, this source points out, for the Arabs to be somewhat alarmed over a possible Turkish danger to northern Syria.

Pan-Arabism The aspiration to achieve some sort of Arabic unity in Africa and the Near East after the war is a constant subject of discussion and of disagreement among Arab-Americans. Ardent supporters of Pan-Arabism advocate an economic union of all the Arab states and the political union of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan. They generally exclude Saudi Arabia and Egypt because they believe that the first still lags far behind culturally and the second wants to remain a separate nation, unless it can be assured hegemony over the proposed union. Unionist views are strongly presented by *al-Bayan* whenever an occasion offers; and essentially the same attitude is held by the non-separatist Lebanese *al-Islah* of New York. It was *al-Islah* which recently (January 29 and February 5) called for a revival of the Arab National League, the organization voluntarily disbanded in May 1941.

Lebanese Separatists The separatists are the Lebanese Maronites who feel conscious of themselves as a national entity and wish to have an independent republic of their own. Their organ is the daily *al-Hoda* of New York which takes advantage of every opportunity to urge its point of view, often in a challenging and far from conciliatory manner. St. Patrick's Day, for example, was taken by *al-Hoda* (March 17, 19) as an opportunity to compare the Saint of Ireland with St. Maron of Lebanon, and to speak of the Irish and the Maronite *nations*. Concerning *al-Hoda*, an informed Syrian-American of nationalist sympathies makes the following comment:

> "Unwittingly *al-Hoda* offers the best and only explanation for Lebanese separatism when it speaks of the Maronite *nation*. Fear of religious persecution is the basis of Lebanese separatism. This fear has been fostered by French interests and transformed thereby into a fanaticism. Its influence upon the Arab speaking community here is adverse. Proponents of Lebanese separatism fear Arab movements, and Arab movements regard Lebanese separatism as a tool in the hands of French imperialism. Consequently the Arab-speaking community here is hopelessly divided, and the divisive elements echo in every aspect of the community's life."

An instance of this division may be seen in a minor dispute which broke out recently in connection with the Red Cross campaign. The Greek Orthodox *Meraat-ul-Gharb*, which generally follows a middle-of-the-road policy, in its issue of February 19 dealt approvingly with the effort of the Syrian-American community to raise a substantial fund for the American Red Cross. The project was to be a common effort of the community and thus promote unity. Archbishop Anthony Bashir, head of the Syrian Orthodox Church in America, called on his flock to respond generously and to make contributions in the names of the individual churches. The separatist *al-Hoda* (March 6) took exception to this and insisted that contributions should be offered in the names of their donors, Lebanese if they were Lebanese, Syrians if they were Syrians, etc. Thus a political and divisive note was interjected into what might otherwise have been a peaceful united movement.

The Fighting French

The same disagreement appeared in connection with an episode involving the alleged mistreatment of fifteen Syrian and Lebanese volunteers from the West Indies who had been enrolled in the Fighting French Army for combat in the Near East, but who ultimately found themselves at Fort Dix. The story, with many circumstantial details, was first published in the Syrian Orthodox *as-Sayeh*, a non-political journal of New York (February 8), when action to correct the situation of the men had already been initiated. Subsequently *al-Hoda* took the matter up (February 25), stated that its editor had visited the camp and found the soldiers happy and contented, and charged *as-Sayeh* with making an unwarranted attack on the Fighting French. Two days later *as-Sameer*, Syrian Orthodox newspaper of Brooklyn, reported that the fifteen volunteers had been set free and demobilized. The editor took occasion, however, to direct sharp criticism at the French for their arrogant attitude towards Syrians and Lebanese, remarking: "This is not the first time the French have mistreated Syrian and Lebanese volunteers, since they did the same during the last war." In its issue of March 4 *as-Sayeh* replied to the attack

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of *al-Hoda*, asserting that its original statement was moderate in in tone, and making a counter charge which accused *al-Hoda* of placing the interest of France above that of its own people.

An Arab-American of moderate nationalist sentiments appraises the situation as follows:

> "The argument is still raging. It is an indication of seething distrust against France, a protest against French policy in Syria and the Lebanon, and an open declaration that Syrian and Lebanese 'patriots' want naught of France.
>
> "Hitherto two Arabic papers (*as-Sayeh* and *as-Sameer*) have expressed themselves openly against French relations with Syrians and Lebanese, and only one, *al-Hoda*, defended the French. There is no telling when this incident will be closed. It has done more to alienate Syrian and Lebanese opinion from France than anything else in recent months. Syrians in particular have been skeptical about French good faith. Now they have no doubts about French bad faith. To their long list of grievances they have now added another, and it is seized upon to air Syrian and Lebanese sentiment against France."

Another factor disturbing Arab-French relations is the difficult economic situation now prevailing in Syria and the Lebanon. Money is plentiful, but prices are high, food and other materials of prime necessity are scarce, shortages of supplies in the open markets are constantly noted, while black markets flourish. *Al-Hoda* (February 4, 18) has called attention to this problem, and there is talk of organizing a committee to raise funds for relief, but disagreement as to the method to be followed has arisen. Some Arab-Americans believe that only organized relief, along the lines of the Near East Relief after the last war, can be effective, while others insist that individual relief will be adequate, each person here helping his relatives abroad. The advocates of individual relief are mainly the pro-French Lebanese Maronites with separatist leanings, while those favoring an organized effort, believed to be the majority of the community, are the Arab nationalists, Greek Orthodox Syrians for the most part, who hold the French authorities responsible for the present inflation in the Near East.

Reports of distress and famine in the Hejaz, the cradle of Islam, have now aroused the interest and sympathy also of the Moslem community, as evidenced in the March 13 and 18 issues of *al-Bayan*. This paper has named a committee to raise funds, with the publisher of *al-Bayan* as its treasurer.

Commenting on this news an Arab-American of moderate nationalist views says:

> "The activities of this committee will probably go beyond philanthropy. It aims at welding Arab opinion more closely together, in order to face the post-war problems that are destined to confront the Near East. Frankly the committee hopes to awaken Arab opinion here to the spiritual importance of the Hejaz not only in the Moslem world but also in the Arab world. For inspiration Arab nationalism and Pan-Arabism always turn their eyes to the cradle of Islam, the Hejaz."

Anti-Zionism One great problem on which almost all Arab-Americans without exception see eye to eye and toward which they are able to present a solid united front is the problem of Zionism. As explained by an Arab-American commentator, the hostility of the dissolved Arab National League to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine was representative of the position of an overwhelming majority of the Arabs in the United States.

> "The Arab National League," our commentator continues, "was disbanded by the action of its own standing committee in May 1941, six months before Pearl Harbor. The action was taken and the State Department was informed that the step was taken in order to avoid embarrassing Great Britain in its great struggle for the survival of free institutions. Many among the Arabs had hoped to set an example for the Zionists. But with continued and increased Zionist agitation, the feeling spread that something had to be done to inform American public opinion. Iraq's entry into the war on the side of the United Nations removed the fear felt by Arab leadership here of being misunderstood or deliberately misrepresented and accused of pro-Axis

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activity. The crux of the matter is that Arab opinion here and abroad is uneasy about the effect of Zionist agitation. Furthermore, Zionism is an issue on which all Arab factions agree -- all being hostile. Arab opinion expects the liquidation of political Zionism, and would insist upon Iraq's offices in this matter. No settlement which would countenance political Zionism in Palestine has any chance of being accepted by the Arabs."

Expressing a growing feeling of alarm in the face of systematic widespread Zionist propaganda, *al-Islah*, Lebanese but non-separatist, called (January 29) for a revival of the Arab National League. The call was repeated in the issues of February 5 and 16, with an urgent appeal to the Arabic-speaking community in the United States to organize in order to counteract Zionist propaganda. The arrival in this country of Moses Shertok, Zionist leader in Palestine, and his published statement that Palestine should house two million more Jews evoked on February 26, a sharp, sarcastic editorial in the normally moderate *Meraat-ul-Gharb*, which had already issued on February 24, under the caption "Wake Up Ye Arabs," an appeal to Arab-Americans for union and organization to combat Zionist aims. The support given to Zionism by members of Congress and United States Government officials has contributed to an increase of Arab alarm and anxiety both in this country and abroad. Axis propaganda has lost no time in spreading the news to the Arab world in the Middle East that the adherence of American officials to the Zionist cause meant official support of Zionism by the United States Government. The fervently nationalistic *al-Bayan* entered the arena on February 25 with a vigorous denunciation of foreign rule, mandates, and all forms of imperialism, and an urgent exhortation for closer cooperation among the Arabs in the post-war period. This appeal was directed to the Arabs themselves to work out their own salvation; reference to the Atlantic Charter was conspicuously absent.

Anticipating the Zionist mass meeting in New York City on March 10, *al-Bayan* continued its crusade on March 5 with a vigorous condemnation of Zionism and Zionist aspirations in

Palestine, urging all the Arabs in this country to organize and to send telegrams of protest against Zionism to the authorities in Washington.

Advertisements appearing in the metropolitan newspapers on behalf of Zionism and the Jewish army incited the literary *as-Sayeh*, to take up the fight for Arab rights. A strongly worded article in the March 8 issue argued that Zionist claims were irreconcilable with the principles for which the United Nations were fighting this war, since they clearly violated the rights of self-determination and constituted a direct aggression against the native population of Palestine. On March 15, *as-Sayeh* asserted that Zionist propaganda had failed in Britain and was now being disseminated in the United States; it declared that the Zionists by their continued propaganda were already sowing the seeds of another war.

From a trustworthy source it is learned that published expressions of sentiment fall far short of representing the formidable volume of such feelings now stirring the Arab-American community from one end of the United States to the other. The question has become a vital and paramount issue on which Arab-Americans form a united front, forgetting most of their differences and disagreements on other matters. A summary of the present state of the problem, obtained from the source already cited, is worth quoting:

> "Arab opinion here believes that if the Arabs have desisted for the duration from agitation against British policies in Palestine, the Zionists should at least do the same. Furthermore, Arab opinion here and elsewhere is opposed to any Zionist scheme. They see Zionism infringing on the principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. In the minds of the Arabs here and abroad the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter mean self-determination, if they mean anything at all. Incidentally, the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter are our best selling points throughout the Arab world. Espousing Zionist aims would nullify their influence among these peoples."

Support of the War Effort

This survey of political problems about which the Arab-American community is concerned cannot be concluded without reference to the fact that the

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war effort of the United States has received and is receiving the whole-hearted, unreserved support of all groups and factions alike. The situation has been described by a loyal and clear-sighted Arab-American as follows:

> "There is hardly a Syrian-American home which has not already given one or more sons to the armed forces. Many have already lost their sons in the war. This has resulted in increased loyalty and in the feeling that every Syrian home has a part in this war. Sacrifice has made the way more meaningful to the Syrian-Americans. They are therefore more enthusiastic and united behind the war effort. In fact these sacrifices might yet unite all the factions. There would be no more Syrians or Lebanese, but only Americans of Syrian and Lebanese descent."

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April 5th, 1943 Y List

[redacted]

Foreign Origin Section
War Savings Staff
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National Organization of Foreign Origin groups for which we have card file data but no branches list.

104 Organizations
13006 Branches

SYRIAN-LEBANESE

ORGANIZATION	NO. OF BRANCHES
Southern Federation Syrian Lebanese American Club 1625 - 12 Avenue South Birmingham, Alabama Miss M. Heni, Secy. 1212 N. Robertson St. New Orleans, La.	50

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WITH Captain Harry Snyder

SUBJECT Arabs in this country

FOR F.N.B. Flora Lewis

DATE April 28, 1943.

INITIATIVE Flora Lewis

☐ BY TELEPHONE

PLACE Washington, D. C.

☒ FACE TO FACE

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SUMMARY

Captain Snyder is with Military Intelligence here in Washington. He has long been active among Arab groups in this country. This was a preliminary conversation arranged through personal contacts. Captain Snyder said that about five years ago an organization known as the American Friends of the Arabs was formed in this country by Professor Hocking of Harvard, Professor Elihu Grant of Yale, and Captain Snyder. For two years they held round table discussions between prominent Arabs and Jews in this country and worked with Arab and Jewish leaders abroad. Captain Snyder was the executive secretary. The organization has now practically ceased functioning since Professor Grant has died, and Captain Snyder being with Military Intelligence can no longer take an active role. The aim of the organization was to bring about a mutually satisfactory compromise solution between moderate Arab and Jewish factions. Leaders with whom they worked included Judah L. Magnus, Rabbi Wise,

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The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, and the Arab National League in this country.

Dr. Rashid Deen, prominent New York physician, represented the Druses in the round table discussions. Captain Snyder pointed out that there are four big Druse families and that Dr. Deen is a member of one of the four. Unfortunately Dr. Deen has just had a stroke and is unable to continue his work.

Having worked very closely with the Mufti, Captain Snyder believes that he understands his position. Essentially, he says, the Mufti is a very moderate man. However, long experience with British political tactics led the Mufti to conclude that the only result of concessions on his part was continual temporizing by the British, and the only way to gain any definite concessions from the British was to take a very positive stand even though that meant becoming a martyr. He realized that blood had to be spilt in order to force the British hand. Thus, Captain Snyder pointed out, the British White Paper of 1939 was the direct result of the Arab uprisings. According to Captain Snyder, the Mufti was fully conscious of what his joining the Axis would mean but felt that the sacrifice was necessary.

Captain Snyder pointed out that the Arabs in the Near East are now coming to feel that, officially or unofficially, the American government is more and more regarding Zionists favorably. Therefore

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there is a tendency for the Arabs to begin to consider that the American government, and no longer the British, is becoming the arch-enemy of the Arabs. Since the Near East will probably always remain a sphere of British, and not American, influence, Captain Snyder remarked, the British officials are very pleased that the onus is shifting to the American government and have hopes that they will be able to step in and appear as the great moderators and friends of the Arabs.

Captain Snyder pointed out that most Americans are not fully aware of the unity felt throughout th Moslem world. As an example of this unity he mentioned the resolution of the Indian and Moslem Congress, which appeared in the papers today, a formal expression of opposition to United States imperialism as expressed by our interest in Zionist aims.

The Arab National League has been disbanded for some time. There is now a movement for it to come back into existence quite openly and register with the State Department. The unofficial president is E. J. Audi.

Arab activity in this country is currently very much on the increase. In two weeks there is going to be an important meeting between prominent Jews and Arabs in this country. The exact auspices of this meeting is not quite clear. Captain Snyder is one of the prime moving spirits. Francis Katani, a Palestinian Arab, and Audi, are the organizational leaders for the Arabs in this meeting. The

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Jewish representatives cannot yet be announced. Captain Snyder had just come from a conference with a prominent Jew who is interested in participating. The intense opposition of the extreme Zionists to any moderate measures, Captain Snyder pointed out, makes Jewish participation a very delicate problem. He recalled the difficulties that Rabbi Lazaron had gotten into, as an example. Captain Snyder is going to be present at the organizational meeting, covering it for Military Intelligence. However, he very much discouraged the idea of a representative of our office being there at the first meeting.

Captain Snyder expressed his interest cordially in continuing discussions with our office. His War Department telephone extension is 71848.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
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JUN - 3 1943
PRINCETON, N. J.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: A New Arabic Weekly

[Al-Daleel, Detroit, May 10, 1943.]

A new Arabic weekly has just been published. The first number in the first volume appeared on May 10, 1943. Here is the mast:

Al-Daleel
A Weekly Publication
For the Arabic-Speaking People
3562 Concord Street Detroit, Michigan
Subscription Rates
In Greater Detroit - 50 ¢ per month
$5.00 per Annum
All Over the Globe
$5.00 per Annum
Published by
Al-Daleel Publishing Company
Editor-in-Chief
S. Rayess
Associate Editor and Treasurer
N. Nasrallah
Managing Editor
Geo. Coury

[Policy of this new publication is pro-Allies. Editor represents the Greek-Orthodox elements. Paper also is very anti-Zionist. First number carries an article by The Rev. Hananiya Kassab entitled "Zionists are the Worst Enemies of the Jews." Purpose of the paper is to make a living for its editor for a while.]

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES RECEIVED JUN - 3 1943 PRINCETON, N. J.

Princeton, N. J.
June 1, 1943.

To: DeWitt C. Poole

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From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: League of American-Arab Committee for Democracy

[I enclose a copy of a letter which the above organization, just organized, has forwarded to every United States Senator. The letter is self explanatory.

Behind the organization is Najeeb Samra of Flint, Michigan. He is an extremely honest man of liberal tendencies and a special dislike of Zionism. The League is the successor of the self-disbanded National Arab League of New York. The reason for this revival is the increased Zionist propaganda and the corresponding increase in Arab apprehensions. The organization is definitely free of alien connexions; at the same time it is of course anti-Zionist.

It is contemplated to form branches, local branches, for this organization. If control of these bodies remains in the hands of the original organizers, as in all likelihood it would, they would remain loyal American instruments which seek to present the Arab side of the Palestine problem in the American way.]

Najeeb H. Samra
Secretary

Saladin Ayoubee
Recording Secretary
and Treasurer

League of
American-Arab Committees for Democracy

Office of the Secretary
1907 Detroit Street
Flint, Michigan

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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES
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AB-113

May 29, 1943

While you and your colleagues are diligently engaged in the business of obliterating Axis tyranny, it is almost inconceivable that any section of the American citizenry should attempt to divert your attention from the all-important business at hand. Yet this is exactly what Political Zionism, an organization representing but a fraction of American Jewry, is ever endeavoring to do.

You will probably be interested to learn that American Arab groups, commonly known as Syrians in this country, have made several attempts to persuade Zionists to suspend their damaging activities, for the duration at least, but without any apparent success. I am therefore, enclosing herwith, copy of a letter which was forwarded to Dr. Chaim Weizman, World Zionist leader, on April 21, 1941, by Faris S. Malouf and Shukrey E. Khoury, President and Secretary of the Arab National League of Boston, respectively. The letter is self-explanatory.

We Americans of Arab extraction sincerely deplore the tragic plight of Jewry in Axis dominated Europe, and we fervently hope that the wrath of justice will soon descend upon the heads of perpetrators of atrocities against any and all peoples, but we can never countenance such miscarriage of justice as the rape of Palestine by a group of people claiming their ancestors once occupied that country some two thousand years ago. And believing that you would gladly welcome any light thrown on the other side of this question, so that you may form a just perspective, I therefore respectfully submit the following general observations:

1. The Atlantic Charter enunciated by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain on August 14, 1941, guaranteeing "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live", is the only hope for future world peace.

2. Democracy must prevail everywhere; Political Zionism must concede to the people of Palestine the free exercise of democratic self-determination.

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3. Any form of Imperialism, be it Zionist or Arab, is detrimental to the interests of the United States and to the future peace of the world.

4. It is a decidedly contrary to the best interests of the United States to deliberately antagonize some sixty million Arabs and two hundred fifty million Moslems by permitting Political Zionism to consummate its audacious ambition in Palestine.

5. Prudence and common sense dictate that we maintain "the reservoir of good will" we now enjoy in Arab and Moslem lands - a reservoir of good friends and potential customers indeed.

6. Both the Sir Henry McMahon (then British High Commissioner in Egypt) correspondence with the late Hussein, Sherif of Mecca, which began as early as July 14, 1915 promising the Arabs their independence in return for aid to the Allies, and the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917 promising a Jewish homeland in Palestine, are indeed irrelevant to the question involved; only the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination can possibly survive the present holocaust.

7. The present day inhabitants of Palestine are descendants of peoples who occupied that country long before the Hebrew invasion under Joshua, and who thoroughly intermixed with the sons and daughters of these Crusaders who settled in the Holy Land during the middle ages.

8. The Arabs have lived continuously and in peace with their Jewish neighbors for more than thirteen hundred years as against four hundred years, from Saul to Josiah, of independent rule by the Jews in only a limited area of Palestine.

9. The Arabs of Palestine have contributed far more than their share toward the rehabilitation of Jewish refugees from Europe, since they have already accepted more than a half million of them in a country about the size of Vermont.

10. The spiritual rather than the temporal status of Beth Israel as emphasized by the Council for Judaism through Rabbi Elmer Berger, executive director, and ninety-one outstanding Rabbis, is an ideal expression of patriotism by true American Jewry. They declare:

"Reform Judaism, as we conceive it, is the contemporary manifestation of the eternal prophetic spirit of Israel, through which alone Judaism and the Jew live to witness to the Universal God."

In conclusion, I wish to express my supreme confidence in your desire to exemplify the traditional American ideals of freedom and justice.

Very respectfully yours,

Najeeb H. Samra, Secretary
League of American-Arab
Committees for Democracy

COPY 59

FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES: memorandum to the Director of Strategic Services from the Foreign Nationalities Branch

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Number B-48

June 7, 1943

OSS CONFIDENTIAL FNB

THE LEAGUE OF AMERICAN-ARAB COMMITTEES FOR DEMOCRACY

A "League of American-Arab Committees for Democracy" has been organized in the United States to combat what its leaders term "political Zionism." The first public pronouncement of the new group has taken the form of a letter sent to United States Senators.

The Arab-American community has for some time past been showing increased concern over intensified agitation by Zionists and advocates of an independent Jewish Army. A number of Arab-American newspapers have urged that the dissolved Arab National League be resuscitated to speak for Arab national interests. The Arab National League, it will be recalled, voluntarily disbanded in May 1941 in order, as its leaders put it, to avoid embarrassing Great Britain's prosecution of the war, and the hope was expressed that Zionists might follow the example and suspend propaganda for the duration. Professing themselves disappointed in this hope, nationalist-minded Arab-Americans have now resolved to revive their efforts to safeguard what they believe to be vital Arab national interests.

Prime mover in the newly formed League of American-Arab Committees for Democracy is said to be its secretary, Najeeb H. Samra, who maintains an office at 1907 Detroit Street, Flint, Michigan. He is described by a moderate Arab nationalist as an "honest man of liberal views," vigorously opposed to Zionism. Another informant calls him an intelligent, self-educated man of socialistic views, an ardent and outspoken Arab nationalist.

The League's aim is to publicize the Arab side of the Palestine problem. It proposes to establish local branches throughout the United States.

In the meantime the organization has set forth its position in the following letter addressed to each member of the United States Senate:

League of
American-Arab Committees for Democracy

Office of the Secretary
1907 Detroit Street
Flint, Michigan

May 29, 1943

While you and your colleagues are diligently engaged in the business of obliterating Axis tyranny, it is almost inconceivable that any section of the American citizenry should attempt to divert your attention from the all-important business at hand. Yet this is exactly what Political Zionism, an organization representing but a fraction of American Jewry, is ever endeavoring to do.

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2. Democracy must prevail everywhere; Political Zionism must concede to the people of Palestine the free exercise of democratic self-determination.

3. Any form of Imperialism, be it Zionist or not, is detrimental to the interests of the United States and to the future peace of the world.

4. It is decidedly contrary to the best interests of the United States to deliberately antagonize some sixty million Arabs and two hundred fifty million Moslems by permitting Political Zionism

to consummate its audacious ambition in Palestine.

5. Prudence and common sense dictate that we maintain "the reservoir of good will" we now enjoy in Arab and Moslem lands--a reservoir of good friends and potential customers indeed.

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In conclusion, I wish to express my supreme confidence in your desire to exemplify the traditional American ideals of freedom and justice.

Very respectfully yours,

Najeeb H. Samra, Secretary
League of American-Arab
Committees for Democracy

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ARABIC LANGUAGE PRESS

The Arabic Press in the United States was, during the past year, very co-operative and decidedly on the side of the United Nations' cause. This is due mainly to the entrance of the United States into the conflict, to the victories won by the Allies in North Africa, Russia and the Pacific, and to American and British propaganda in the States and abroad, which decidedly affected the Arab world as a whole. Better conditions in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq after the British took over the control of these territories had also a very favorable reaction on the Arabs in this country.

The Arabic papers are read by whole families and sometimes by groups of neighbours and friends. Therefore the readers are usually from three to five times the number of subscriptions.

Following is a brief review of each newspaper:

AL AKHLAK
59 Washington St.,
New York, N.Y.

Bi-Weekly

Publisher and Editor: Jacob Raphael
Circulation: 500

This paper caters to the Maronites. It has only a few adherents, is pro-American and pro-British, is pro-French to a certain extent and pro-Separatist.

AL BAYAN
107 Atlantic Avenue,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Tri-Weekly

Publisher and Editor: Ameen David Fayad
Circulation: 1,000

This paper is the organ of Mohammedans and Druzes in the United States, Canada and Mexico. It is rather pro-American and pro-Allies. The editorials are written by Nasood Samaha who resides in Washington, D.C. This paper is 100% pro-American and does not show any anti-British tendencies.

AL ETTEHAD
132 East Larned St.,
Detroit, Michigan.

Weekly

Publisher and Editor: Joseph Yoakim
Circulation: 700

This paper is pro-American, pro-British. Its owner, Joseph Yoakim is a Maronite.

AL HAYAT
216 Cottage Grove,
Detroit, Michigan.

Monthly

Publisher and Editor: Sheik Hussein Karoub
Circulation: 500

AL HODA
55 Washington St.,
New York, N.Y.

Daily

Publisher and Editor: Mr. Salloun Mokarzel
Circulation: 3,200

This is the oldest and largest Arabic paper in the Americas; it has gained in influence and prestige because it is the only paper that carries news from abroad and because other papers in Mexico, Cuba and South America copy this news and other items from it. The paper is pro-American and pro-Allies, but decidedly pro-French.* Al Hoda is the organ of the Maronites and the champion of the Separatists in this country.

*(Fighting French)

AL ISLAH.....

AL ISLAH
216 West 18th St.,
New York, N.Y.

Bi-Weekly

Publisher and Editor: Fozi Braidy
Circulation: 1,000

This paper came back into circulation a few months ago, after it had stopped for a few years, which it had already done on several previous occasions. It has been, so far, pro-American, and pro-Allies. Lately, however, it has been advocating reorganization of the Arab National League.

NASSER
AN NISR
181 Atlantic Avenue,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Daily

Publisher and Editor: Najeeb Badran
Circulation: formerly 1,000

This paper, which was known to be "more British than the British themselves" and which has most of its subscribers in Canada, stopped circulation since the death of its publisher and editor, Majeeb Badran, on January 4th, 1943.

AS SABAAH (The Morning Tribune) Weekly
533 Orleans St.,
Detroit, Michigan

Publisher and Editor: Joseph Kahwaji
Circulation: 800

This paper is pro-American, pro-British, pro-French, and pro-Separatist. The owner, Joseph Kahwaji is a Maronite.

AS SAHEER
109 Atlantic Avenue,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Daily

Publisher and Editor: Elia D. Madey
Circulation: 2,500

This paper is pro-American, pro-Nationalist. It has been, during the past year, very friendly to the British.

AS-SAYEH.
303 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

Bi-Weekly

Publisher and Editor: Abdul Masseh Haddad
Managing Editor: Nadra Haddad
Circulation: 1,000

This paper is pro-American, Nationalist Arab, anti-French. The paper does not now show any anti-British tendencies and has published many favorable articles during the past year in comments on the news but not in editorials.

FEDERATION HERALD
Room 315
60 State St.,
Boston, Mass.

Monthly

Editor: George Barakat
Circulation: 500

This paper is the Organ of the Syrian Lebanese Federation of Societies in the Eastern States. It is mostly concerned with Syrians and Lebanese in the U.S.A. and seldom discusses politics abroad. It is printed in English.

MERAAT-UL-GHARB
50 Washington St.,
New York, N.Y.

Tri-Weekly

Publisher: Mrs. Angelina Diab
Editor: Fred Ghuan
Circulation: 2,000

Mrs. Angelina Diab, is the wife of the founder of the paper, the late Majeeb Diab. The paper caters for the Syrian and Lebanese Greek Orthodox. It is nationalistic

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in principle, pro-American, pro-Allies and sometimes anti-French (but less so at present), and more friendly to the British than before.

31

SYRIAN ARK, THE
605 North La Salle St.,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Monthly

Publisher and Editor: A.F.Zainey
Circulation: 500

PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

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August 28, 1943

3.1

Al-Ettehad -- Union (or Unity)

Arabic newspaper published at Detroit.
Editor: Youakim Wakin. He is probably a Christian since Wakin is not a Moslem name.
The paper is a small local one-man job; usually it carries only local news. It is not highly regarded (it is unknown to some educated Arab-Americans in Washington.) It is much inferior to New York Arabic papers.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: Mr. DeWitt C. Poole DATE: 23 October 1943

FROM: M. I. Wheeler

SUBJECT: League of Arab Americans for Defense of Democracy

C reports the formation in Detroit a few days ago of an organization called The League of Arab Americans for the Defense of Democracy. The newspaper As Sayeh is its organ, he says.

The aim, so far as he has been able to discover, is to point out the dangers of Zionist propaganda in this country. No names are yet available, but he will endeavor to get some.

I am sending a copy of this to Mr. Saslaw. Perhaps he will be able to find out more about the organization.

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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

MEMORANDUM BY THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

Number 157 30 October 1943

THE VISIT OF THE SAUDI ARABIAN PRINCES AND THE ARAB-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The arrival in Washington as guests of the United States Government of two royal Princes of Saudi Arabia has given Americans of Arab origin cause for gratification and pride. In the absence of public announcements concerning the political significance of the visit, private reports of conversations said to have been had by the Princes with American officials have tended to relieve in some degree apprehensions in the Arab-American community regarding settlement of the Palestine question.

THE visit of the Saudi Arabian Princes to the United States has given the politically-minded members of the Arab-American community a welcomed opportunity to present their views in a new frame; they have taken advantage of it in vigorous fashion, although holding by and large to a temperate line. Various speculations have been put forward with reference to the purpose of the royal visit. All have agreed that it is not a mere social call, but has something to do with affairs of state, and the consensus is that the Zionist problem, rather than the matter of oil concessions, has formed the principal subject of discussion.

The Princes, Emir Faisal and Emir Khalid, sons of King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, arrived in Washington 30 September as official guests of the United States Government. Emir Faisal, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Saudi Arabia, has previously represented his country at several international conferences in London and elsewhere; in the present instance, coming in place of

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his father, to whom the invitation was originally extended, he has made his first acquaintance with the Western Hemisphere. Since neither Faisal nor his brother Khalid speaks English, they have been accompanied by the Saudi Arabian Minister in London, Sheikh Hafiz Wahba, a good linguist, as well as by an official interpreter.

The announcement of the impending visit elicited in late September expressions of the considerable satisfaction and pride evoked by this event in the Arab-American community; and all the Arabic-language newspapers without exception, including those representing Lebanese-separatist views, hailed the Princes' actual arrival with cordial words of welcome. Couched in terms of respect, these addresses of greeting usually included solemn warnings to Emir Faisal to beware of falling into "Zionist traps."

According to old custom and tradition, the Arab soul when deeply stirred finds the best and most effective expression of its emotions in poetry. So on this occasion Arab-American sentiments have blossomed into verse, and as one observer remarks, almost every other Arab in the United States has composed an ode in praise of the Princes. The latter might listen politely to a speech in prose, it is explained, but an ode is a more serious matter that sinks in deeply. A good example of such a poetic effusion is a composition published in *al-Bayan* 7 October and written by one of the paper's editors, M. H. Samaha. It consists of twenty-four verses, half of which are devoted to words of welcome and half to a warning against possible Zionist machinations in connection with Palestine. This double message has invariably appeared in all poems as well as prose communications publicly addressed to the Princes -- an index of the widespread apprehension aroused among Arab-Americans by Zionist activity.

The Arab-American community has long been worried about the situation in general in the Middle East, and particularly alarmed about the attitude Great Britain and the United States might take toward the post-war solution of the Arab-Zionist problem. Intensified Zionist propaganda in the United States -- full page advertisements in metropolitan newspapers and pro-Zionist speeches delivered by Senators and Congressmen -- has led to counterattacks in the Arabic-language press. On the whole, however, Arab-Americans seem to have adopted a defensive rather than an aggressive course of action; they appear to have made some efforts to maintain a fairly moderate tone, inspired perhaps partly by fears of various kinds, and partly by a real desire to avoid embarrassing the United States and the British Governments.

Contributing not a little to the general feeling of alarm was an observation recorded in *al-Bayan* (2 October), *as-Sameer* (8 October), and frequently mentioned in private conversations, that the American press as a whole has not been featuring as it should the visit of the two Saudi Arabian Princes. To many sensitive Arab-Americans this treatment seems a deliberate snub, which they interpret as a result of Zionist pressure. It has been noted furthermore that upon their arrival in New York the Princes were met not by Mayor LaGuardia but by Commissioner of Police Lewis J. Valentine; and Arab-Americans, quick to take offense, suggest that the Mayor had his eyes on the Jewish vote when he delegated to a subordinate the duty of receiving the royal visitors. Allegations of this sort are accepted as facts by Arab-American opinion, and the resultant irritation has not been wholly soothed by a rumor that the Department of State has exacted a promise from Zionist leaders to avoid attacking the Princes during their stay here provided the Department would in turn exercise its influence to give the visit a minimum of publicity.

The restriction of publicity and the rather mysterious atmosphere surrounding the royal visit has naturally led to much speculation regarding the subjects discussed by Emir Faisal and the American authorities. Concessions to American companies for the exploitation of Arabian petroleum resources have surely been touched upon, it is generally asserted; the Arabic-language press has expressed enthusiastic approval and warm hope for the ratification of such an agreement. But that far more important political questions have been considered Arab-American observers feel certain, and the inference has followed inevitably that the problem of the Arab-Zionism complex has received chief attention. Editors of Arabic-language newspapers have written of fears that Prince Faisal might in some way be maneuvered into accepting in behalf of his father some compromise solution granting substantial recognition to Zionist claims at the expense of Arab national interests.

Most of these fears have been dispelled, however, by a press conference granted by Prince Faisal to Arab-American interviewers in New York 9 October. Although confined to generalities and disclosing little or nothing previously unknown, the interview was accorded prominent space in all the metropolitan Arabic-language newspapers. The following summary is taken from *al-Bayan* (12 October).

Interrogated specifically regarding the purpose of his visit, the Prince answered: "The American Government invited my father; but because my father is unable to leave his country he asked me to take his place." When a reporter inquired if the purpose of his visit was economic or political or both, he said: "My visit is for the purpose of promoting the mutual welfare of both the United States and Arabia." Asked bluntly if he had discussed the Palestine problem with the American authorities, he stated: "At present the Allies have more pressing problems than Palestine. They have

promised, however, to consider the problem in due time, with justice. We ask of them nothing more than justice." Pressed to explain what stand the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia took in relation to plans for Arab federation and what views it held concerning leadership of such a federation, Faisal declared: "The Arab Federation is not yet a reality requiring the Saudi Arabian Kingdom to take a definite policy toward it. The Kingdom does, however, work towards Arab welfare. As to leadership, let me say that the man of honor who desires the general good has no time to waste on personal matters and ambitions. He serves in the best way possible at the time."

The foregoing were the main questions put to the Prince, who apparently handled himself discreetly and cautiously under the public inquisition. Later, off the record, he is said to have assured interviewers that his father would not accede to present-day Zionist demands.

1.3 A delegation of Orthodox Arab-Americans led by Archbishop Anthony Bashir called on the Prince to pay its respects. Among the questions discussed, Zionism took an important place, and Faisal is reported to have said: "The Arabs feel nothing toward the Jew but friendship...but Zionism is a deadly poison which should be fought."

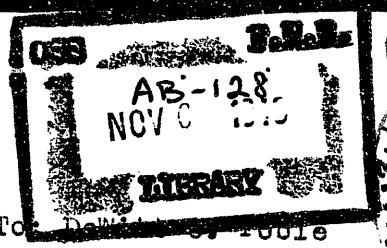
All such off-the-record remarks, which have been given widespread oral circulation among Arab-Americans, have had a reassuring effect in the community. The newspapers reflect a renewed feeling of hope and belief in the ultimate justice of Great Britain and the United States. But distrust of Zionism subsists as a potent factor, always ready to flare up on the slightest provocation.

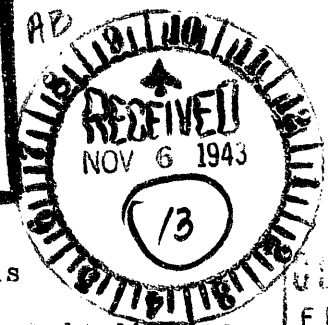
An Arab-American who tries to keep his finger on the political pulse of his compatriots is apprehensive that an occasion for

a rather violent display of anti-Zionist sentiment may be offered shortly. The Arabic-speaking community of New York is preparing to hold a banquet on Friday, 5 November, at the Waldorf-Astoria in honor of the two Arabian Princes on their return from a tour of the West. Several poets, it is reported, hope to attend in order to harangue the royal visitors with political odes, mainly on the question of Palestine. The committee charged with arranging the banquet includes at least one strong supporter of the now dissolved Arab National League, and it is thought by some that if nationalist and anti-Zionist emotion should get out of hand the results might be harmful to the Arab cause.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

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To: [illegible]

Princeton, N.J.
November 4, 1943

From: Nabih Amin Faris

FNS

Subject: Major Chefik Haddad's Address at the University Club of New York City

On Saturday, October 30, 1943, Major Chefik Haddad, Military Attache, Royal Iraqi Legation, addressed the members of the University Club of New York City. He spoke on the general subject of "Arab Aspirations". The audience numbered about three hundred. In general it was very sympathetic.

In his address, Major Haddad surveyed the recent history of the Arab national movement in the different Arab lands. He contrasted the situation of the Arab lands under the Ottomans, especially prior to the advent of the Young Turks in 1908, with that which followed the World War in 1919. He dwelled upon the fact that under the Ottomans the Arabs were partners in the government. Many of their leaders occupied important posts in the central government at Constantinople. Only when the Young Turks embarked upon a policy of oppression did the Arabs turn towards Europe for emancipation. He then addressed himself to the period preceding the World War, the negotiations with foreign powers, the promises of those powers to the Arabs, the bad faith of the Allies as later shown in the secret treaties, the Arab revolt, the peace settlements, the disappointment of the Arabs, and ensuing struggle. This struggle culminated in the partial attainment of objectives by the Arabs. Two main objectives remain unfulfilled: The final departure of the French from Syria and the Lebanon and the final defeat of Zionism.

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Major Haddad's Address (cont.)

Major Haddad then called upon American public opinion to work towards restraining the French in Syria and the Lebanon, and restraining the Zionists in Palestine. America, he said, has produced the talent and insight to wage this war to a successful end. It is not too much to expect that America would also produce the talent and insight to win the peace.

[Noteworthy in its absence from the address was the failure of Haddad to mention Britain. He condemned French policy and Zionism. He asked that both be restrained. But Britain was always referred to as a friendly ally. As to the United States, it is the last best hope of earth. Haddad was very "smooth" and subtle. He was the essence of moderation, but left no doubt in the mind of his sympathetic audience that France and the Zionists will have to leave before any peace could prevail in the Near East. Judging from conversations I had with my neighbours at the speaker's table, the audience was anti-Zionist and anti-French in its feelings. Perhaps to avoid any unpleasantness, no questions were allowed at the end.

One word about Haddad himself. He is the son of the late Gabriel Pasha Haddad, a close aid of Faisal of Iraq and a friend of Lawrence. The Haddads are Christians from the Lebanon. This is the more important in view of their stand on Arab aspirations. They do not sympathize with Lebanese separatism.

Haddad's Address (cont.)

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It would seem that Haddad is here on a special mission: to unfold Arab aspirations before the American public. There is no question however about his pro-British and certainly pro-American inclinations. He is the product of Victoria College, Alexandria, and Cambridge.

A larger implication of Haddad's address lies in the fact that Arab opinion in general is becoming more and more favourably disposed towards Britain, because it has check-mated French influence in the Near East, has restrained to a certain degree Zionist demands in Palestine, and has to all pratical purposes favoured a closer Arab unity. Arab opinion too would want to be pro-American were it not for what Haddad calls the absence of any attempt on the part of America to restrain Zionism in Palestine.

Haddad represents one of the United Nations. His activities are restrained by that consideration. But there is no doubt about it that he is here to acquaint Americans with what Arabs believe to have been their contribution to the war effort and to place before American opinion what they feel to be their just claims and aspirations. It would be interesting to follow his activities.]

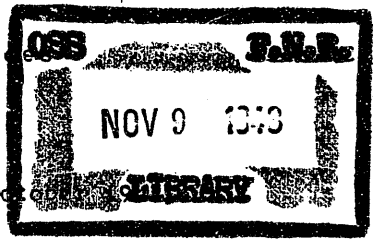
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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

8 November 1943
FN Number S-64



MEMORANDUM for the Director of Strategic Servi
Secretary of State

SUBJECT: Speech by the Iraqi Military Attache, 30 O
on "Arab Aspirations."

1.2

Major Chefik Haddad, Military Attache of the Royal Iraqi Legation, addressed some 300 members of the University Club of New York and their guests, 30 October 1943, on the general subject of "Arab Aspirations." Major Haddad is the son of the late Gabriel Pasha Haddad, aide to Feisal of Iraq and a friend of T. E. Lawrence. He was educated at Victoria College, Alexandria, and at Cambri ge, and speaks English perfectly. The Haddads are Christians from the Lebanon, a circumstance which makes the Major's stand on Arab aspirations notable, since most Lebanese Christians incline toward an independent Lebanese state rather than Arab federation or national unity.

Reviewing the recent history of the Arab national movement, Major Haddad declared that two main objectives were still to be attained: final departure of the French from Syria and the Lebanon and final defeat of Zionism. He called upon American public opinion to work toward restraining the French in Syria and the Lebanon and the Zionists in Palestine. America, he said, had produced the talent and insight to wage this war to a successful end. It was not too much to expect that America would also produce the talent and insight to win the peace.

Although he was blunt in condemning Zionism and French policy in the Near East, Major Haddad made little specific mention of Great Britain beyond referring to her as a friendly

ally. An Arab-American auditor saw as a larger implication of Major Haddad's address a confirmation of the view that Arab opinion in general is becoming more and more favorably disposed toward Great Britain because the latter has checkmated French influence in the Near East, has to a certain degree restrained Zionist demands in Palestine, and appears to favor closer Arab unity.

Major Haddad called to the attention of his audience the fact that the Arab lands lie in a strategic position controlling the outlet of oil from the Middle East, a circumstance that has presented attractive opportunities to non-Arabs. Surveying the progress of the Arab national movement throughout the Arab world, the Major contrasted the status of Arab lands under the Ottomans with their situation after 1919. He said that under the Ottomans, before the advent of the Young Turks in 1908, the Arabs were partners in the government, many of their leaders occupying important posts in the central administration at Constantinople. Only when the Young Turks embarked upon a policy of suppression did the Arabs turn toward Europe in the hope of emancipation.

Major Haddad then reviewed the period immediately before, during, and after the World War. He discussed the negotiations with foreign Powers, the promises of those Powers to the Arabs, the bad faith of the Allies (as he put it), the Arab revolt, the peace settlements, the disappointment of the Arabs, and the ensuing struggle. In frank terms he said that the Arabs had been divided by the Allies, who parceled out their lands as mandates and treated the Arabs more harshly than they treated their actual enemies.

It is believed that Major Haddad's special mission in the United States is to explain Arab aspirations to the

American public. One of those who heard his address described him as very smooth and subtle, the essence of moderation. Very forthright in his criticism of the Allies and their treatment of Arab problems after the First World War, he was diplomatic in his remarks about the Allies today.

Initialed - D.C.P.

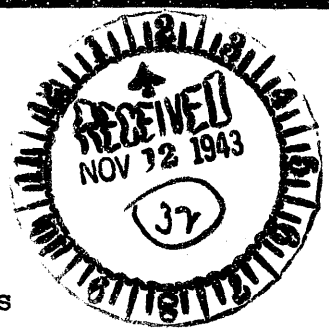
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cc: Brig. Gen. John Magruder
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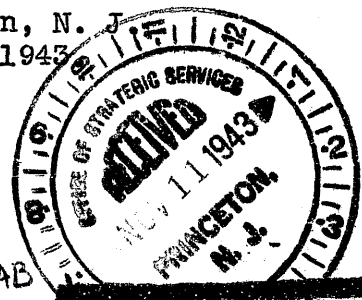
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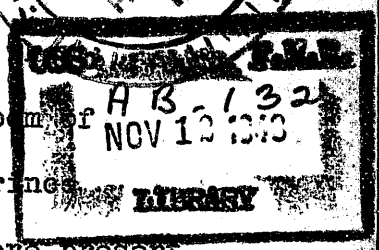
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Princeton, N. J.
Nov. 9, 1943





To: DeWitt C. Poole

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: Banquet in Honour of the Prince Faisal

On Friday, November 5, 1943, at 7:30 p.m., Arab American community gathered in the Star Light Room of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, to honour the Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia. Over five hundred persons were present, from all walks of Arab American life. The party was mixed.

Elaborate preparations for the party were made by a committee composed of Milhim Hawi (Lebanese Christian) as president, Ibrahim Qar'an (Palestinian Christian), Hamdan Ghannam (Palestinian Moslem) as treasurer, and Dr. George Khairallah (Lebanese Christian converted to Islam and Arab nationalism) as secretary. Dr. Khairallah was also toastmaster at the banquet and the speech making meeting that followed the dinner.

The following spoke:

Ali Muhyi-al-Din - a speech.
Salloum Mokarzel (editor of al-Hoda) - a speech.
Farid Ghosn (editor of Meraat-ul-Gharb - a poem.
Fawzi Braidi (editor of al-Islah)- a speech.
Ya'qub Rafail (editor of al-Akhlak) a speech.
Salim abu-Hamzah (for the editor of al-Bayan)- a speech.
Farhan Hamadah - a poem.
Shahir Dahir - a speech.
E. J. Audi - a speech
Judge George Namah - a speech in English.
George Faris - a speech in English.
Nadrah Haddad (editor of al-Sayeh) - a poem.
Elia abu-Madey (editor of as-Sameer) a poem.

Finally the Prince himself addressed the gathering.

The party was marked by the absence of any political speeches. The only person who put in a political word obliquely

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Banquet in Honour of the Prince Faisal (cont.)

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was the editor of al-Akhlak. He is a Maronite Christian from the Lebanon, and seized the opportunity to emphasize the separate status of the Lebanon "as a good neighbour" of Saudi Arabia and the other Arab countries. His motives were not indeed separatism, but the desire to wrest the leadership of Lebanese separatist here from the editor of al-Hoda, who had spoken before him and scrupulously avoided any political insinuations. In fact all the speakers were asked to avoid politics. I happened to have been the person whose opinion was asked by the committee, and have impressed it upon them that it would be wiser to limit the banquet to a social affair. There were many who desired to air their opinions on the Palestine question, but I counselled them against it. The main purpose of the banquet was to honour the Princes, not to mentor them.

The main results of the Princes' visit is perhaps the awakening of Arab pride among all factions in the Arabic-speaking community. Even the Lebanese separatist have become, as it were, latter day Arabs.

The speech of the Prince himself is very interesting. I shall supply you with an exact translation of it in a couple of days. In the meantime I wish to make the following observations. His two main points were that the Arabs lacked nothing but material wealth, and that Arabs in America should per-

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Banquet in Hnour of the Prince Faisal (cont.)

sist in the process of assimilation with the people of their adopted land, America. This he said would set an example which might give the answer to some of the major problems of the Near East. The matter of material wealth so needed by the Arabs may have been stressed by the Prince as an apology for Ibn-Saud's leasing of Arab oil to outsiders. Hitherto Saudi Arabia had shunned foreign entanglements. The Prince might have felt a need for an explanation. The matter of assimilation could only apply to Jewish Arab relationships. Did the Prince wish to suggest that mutual assimilation there would finally solve the Zionist problem? Or did he wish to make assimilation an instrument in uniting the Arabs? The latte. superfluous. There is no need for assimilation there. It could only apply to Jewish and Arab relations. If so, it would introduce a new principle hitherto unstressed in the difficult Palestine problem. But how far are the Jews willing to assimilate? The Prince did not elaborate.]

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OFFICE OF FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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November 20, 1943.

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Dr. Carl Blegen
Chief, Nationality Groups Division
Office of Strategic Services
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Blegen:

In accordance with your request to Mr. John L. Stewart, Chief of our Division, and to myself, I am enclosing herewith my translation of the speeches delivered in Arabic at the various receptions given for Their Highnesses Princes Feisal and Khalid.

Sincerely yours,

Afif A. Tannous
Associate Social Science Analyst

Enclosure

FOR VICTORY
BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

Translation of speeches delivered in Arabic at various receptions held in Washington and New York by Arabic speaking communities for Their Highnesses Princes Feisal and Khalid of Su'oudi Arabia during last week of October and first week of November, 1943.

1. Resume of poem by Mr. F. Abu Misleh at the home of Mr. Amin David, Washington, D.C.:

Several lines of welcome and happiness at occasion. Few lines describing the character of Amir Feisal. Description of the just, solid and progressive rule the Su'oudi family has established in Arabia. Appeal to King Ibn Su'oud to continue as guide and center of hope for the newly awakened Arab countries.

2. Talk given by Amir Feisal at formal reception at Mayflower Hotel in Washington:

"It gives me great happiness to stand before you tonight and express to you the deep feelings that have been stirred within me by your generosity and hospitality, and I have no doubt that every true and loyal Arab would be accorded the same reception by you.

I must admit that before I came to the United States I never thought that I should find here my Arab brothers and people in such a condition of success and progress in this country, which is great in every respect and whose way of life is based upon justice and freedom.

I wish to assure you that your original Arab nation will always be happy to keep in touch with you. She will always be proud of you, for you represent the fine Arab traits of honor and loyalty. Therefore, if she feels sorry to see you separated from her, she feels happy to know that you are doing her honor by being loyal to the United States, your country of adoption. Keep up this loyalty of yours to this great country which has generously adopted you. You will be the messengers of good will between the United States and the Arab countries until the day comes when all of them shall be united and duly represented in the capital of this great nation."

3. Resume of poem delivered by Mr. Mas'Oud Samaha at formal reception at Mayflower Hotel, Washington:

Several lines of welcome and expression of feeling of happiness, and of hope for the Arab World occasioned by the visit of the two Amirs.

An appeal to Amir Feisal to continue his efforts toward Arab unity.

Several lines depicting the historical development of the Arabs - their rise, cultural contributions, and their fall, also their present awakening.

Several lines describing the beauty of the Arabic language and its function in building up the Arab culture.

4. Word of greeting to the two Amirs given on behalf of one of the Muslim Arab deputations at the New York formal reception:

"We wish to express our cordial greetings to the messengers of the Arab World to the United States. It is our hope that the mission on which they came to this country will meet with full success. We also hope to see a strengthening of the friendly relations between the people of the United States and the Arab people. It is our dearest wish that these two peoples should work together towards the realization of their common good and their common interests."

5. Resume of talk given by Mr. J. Sado at reception held at the home of Mr. Hower, Washington:

" Permit me to dwell on three points that your visit in this country has suggested: I am sure the Arabic speaking elements of the United States will support me in what I am going to say:

First: Your visit will undoubtedly have considerable influence upon the American public opinion regarding not only the Arab cause but also the position of the Arabic speaking community in the United States. We have always offered our love and loyalty to our country of adoption, but we still retain attachment to our original country and wish to see it prosperous and successful. And I don't see anything wrong in expressing such a feeling, which is only normal and natural. The United

States, which consists of many nationality groups, even encourages such an attachment, in keeping with its genuine democratic spirit.

Second: Another important result of your visit will be the strengthening of friendly and cultural relationship between this country of ours and the Arab World. I wish to assure you that all Arabic speaking communities in this country look with satisfaction and hopefulness to the new move on the part of the Arab countries toward cooperation and unity. It is our hope that this will be hastened through the approaching victory of the United States and her allies, according to the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

Third: Permit me to suggest to you the necessity of establishing in the United States an Arab Bureau, to enlighten the public opinion regarding the Arab situation and to serve as a center of cultural cooperation."

6. Talk given by Amir Feisal at formal reception given by Arabic speaking community at Waldorf Asteria Hotel in New York:

"It is beyond my words to express to you the overwhelming feeling of happiness I now have and my deep gratitude for the way you have received me. It is beyond the scope of this occasion to discuss the history of Arab development. One fundamental fact I need to emphasize: years may roll on, events take place, and circumstances change, yet the Arabs are still there. May they live long! I am proud of the Arabs!

The glorious past of the Arabs is too well known to be forgotten or to be neglected for long. It is going to revive.

The Arabs have always been known for many fine qualities of character, upon which I cannot dwell now. If there is anything in which the Arabs of today are lacking it is the matter of material and not spiritual strength. But as long as the Arab spirit remains strong, it will ultimately gain the necessary material strength. And if you ask me what message I have for you, it is this: In the first place, we want you to cooperate and be united as a community, for unity is the basis of all strength, progress and glory. In the second place, we want you to amalgamate with your adopted nation, this country, of which you are now citizens. This may be taken as a symbol of a greater amalgamation to come, a union among the various Arab countries, when stronger ties of friendship and good will, we hope, will be established between the Arab World and the American World. May the Arab nation live free and independent!

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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

MEMORANDUM TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FROM THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Number 8-118 30 November 1943

ARAB-AMERICANS AND THE CRISIS IN LEBANON

Arab-Americans, most of whom are Lebanese in origin, have suddenly found themselves confronted with a new political issue of first-rate importance to their homeland. The rush of events in Lebanon impelled them at first to lay aside most of their former differences; their initial reaction showed almost complete unity in placing the blame upon the French. Now they appear to be reverting to their earlier divergence of views on the question of Arab federation (favored by the Syrian Orthodox, the Moslems, and the Druses) versus Lebanese separatism (the traditional program of the Maronites).

THE political crisis in Lebanon, involving Lebanese aspirations and French, British, and American policy in the Near East, has deeply stirred the Arab-American community. Developments are being watched eagerly. It is clear that Arab-Americans will regard any solution now adopted a presage of the kind of peace and long-term settlements to be expected. Two main currents of opinion have been noted, both familiar in the past; one speaks for a Lebanon (perhaps under French influence) to be independent of other Arab states; the other wants Lebanon freed to participate in an Arab union. At the moment it appears that the balance has swung far to the side of Arab nationalism and unity.

Arab-Americans estimate their number in the United States at 160,000 to 200,000 and even more, although the Census 1940 reported only 107,420 whose principal language in the home in childhood was

Arabic. In examining their political views it is necessary to keep in mind that some 75 per cent of this Arab stock came from Lebanon, 15 per cent from Syria, only a small minority from Palestine and Transjordan, and hardly more than a few individuals from Iraq, Egypt, North Africa, and Arabia. Furthermore it must be noted that approximately 90 per cent of Arab-Americans are Christians. The remaining 10 per cent includes Moslems and adherents of the mystical Druse sect. Among the Christians themselves there are several divisions; the majority (perhaps 55 per cent) are Maronites who through their own Patriarch acknowledge the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Pope in Rome; a substantial minority (perhaps 40 per cent) are Greek Orthodox who recognize the leadership of the Patriarch at Antioch; and sects of minor importance account for the remainder.

In the past the Maronite element among Lebanese-Americans has predominantly favored separatism, advocating the establishment of a separate, independent, Lebanese state. This aspiration has been based chiefly on the desire of these Lebanese Christians to safeguard their religious liberty, which they feared might be endangered if Lebanon should ever be incorporated into an overwhelmingly Moslem Arab union. As their support and hope against the threat of Moslem domination, the Maronite separatists have consistently clung to France and the French mandate. A large majority of Lebanese is thus traditionally Francophile, and the feeling has been widely represented in the Arab-American community.

Syrians of the Greek Orthodox faith have been much less fearful of religious persecution at the hands of the Moslems. Opposed on doctrinal grounds to the Maronites (who outnumber them) and apparently, in conse-

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quence, feeling more strongly their bonds of kinship with the Moslem Arab world, the Greek Orthodox Syrians have tended to favor the movement for Arab unity. Syrian Orthodox in the United States have accordingly, for the most part, reflected a unionist sentiment, generally moderate in tone, in their views on Arab affairs.

The Moslems have regularly taken a much stronger nationalist and unionist line, with which the Druses have usually concurred. These two elements form only a small minority in the Arab-American community in the United States but they have not failed to make their voices heard.

The first instinctive reaction to the current Lebanese crisis among all Arab-American groups, including the separatists, seems to have been a surge of Arab nationalism which evoked instant sympathy and support for the Lebanese Government unseated by French Commissioner Helleu, and unrestrained condemnation of the French. So great has been the general indignation that even the ever-present fear of Zionism has receded into the background, temporarily forgotten.

The rapidly succeeding developments during the past fortnight, including the release of the arrested members of the Government and their reinstatement in office, the arrival in Beirut of General Catroux as plenipotentiary of the French Committee of National Liberation, and the growing prospect of a solution brought about through Anglo-American intervention, thus averting serious bloodshed, have had some effect on crystallizing opinion. The initial, almost incoherent, passion has somewhat subsided and the first uncertainties have been brushed aside. According to a well-informed Arab-American in Washington the entire Arab-American community — Maronites, Greek Orthodox, Moslems, and

Druses -- is now united in blaming the French for the troubles and in demanding complete independence for Lebanon. Beyond this point paths diverge: the Maronite Patriarch in a public statement calling for independence declared that this did not mean that Lebanon would join an Arab union; and leading Maronites in the United States, such as Salloum A. Mokarzel, editor of *al-Hoda*, have adopted the same attitude. The Greek Orthodox, the Moslems, and the Druses, on the other hand, have been strengthened in their arguments for an Arab union embracing the Lebanon.

In the meantime the Arabic-language press in the United States has been filled with reports of the events unrolling in Lebanon and with fiery editorial comments. The following brief survey gives some idea of such publications appearing up to 23 November 1943, after General Catroux had arrived in Beirut and the Lebanese President had been reinstated.

Against the French: the Syrian Orthodox

The views of the Syrian Orthodox groups, who have strongly condemned the French, are represented in *as-Sameer*, *as-Sayeh*, and *Meraat-ul-Gharb*. Greek Orthodox Arabs from the Lebanon are represented by *al-Islaah*.

In a series of editorials written in increasingly violent and almost incoherent terms, *as-Sameer* (published daily in Brooklyn) denounced the French for their action in Lebanon, and called upon Great Britain and the United States to intervene, to restore order, and to re-establish constitutional government in Lebanon. Particularly enraged by the reported use of Senegalese soldiers to arrest the President, the Prime Minister and other high functionaries, and to suppress the Lebanese, it exhorted "all free Lebanese" in the United States to rise to help their compatriots in Lebanon throw out the unwelcome mandatary and win freedom. All Lebanese-

Americans were urged to send protests and appeals to the highest authorities in Washington and London in the hope of obtaining and accelerating Anglo-American intervention.

Many such telegrams have already been dispatched. On the 17th of November a long petition signed by [illegible] editors of all the Arabic-language newspapers in New York, except the always pro-French *al-Hoda*, was addressed to President Roosevelt, requesting him to intervene and bring the deplorable situation in Lebanon to a peaceful and just conclusion. Recalling that the Arabic-language press in America had always upheld the principles of democracy before the Arabic world, which looked to the United States for inspiration and guidance in shaping its own destiny, the message pointed out that the Lebanese as well as other Arabic-speaking nationalities had demonstrated their loyalty to the United Nations' cause, had given valuable help to the armed forces of democracy, and now only wished, in concert with the democratic nations, to be reassured of the independence promised them by the terms of the Atlantic Charter.

Other telegrams, protesting against the shooting down of the people of Lebanon by the French and demanding the withdrawal of the latter from the country, were sent to President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull over the signatures of Archbishop Anthony Bashir, head of the Syrian Orthodox Archdiocese of North America, and many of the leading Arab-Americans in New York.

As-Sayeh, (New York City semi-weekly) joined in the general chorus of criticism leveled at the French mandate. In an eloquent outburst it asked (15 November): How could the French who were now in great need of sympathy and help from the Allies in order to free their own country -- how could

the French try to subject others to the yoke of slavery? If they really loved freedom they should not abuse it in other countries.

Meraat-ul-Gharb (semi-weekly, New York City), is usually moderate and mild in its attitude. Now it too has become violent. The time had come for the French to pack up and depart from Lebanon, it asserted (15 November); for a quarter of a century France had controlled the country through a tyrannical mandate which brought misery and misfortune both to Lebanon and Syria. "Long live Lebanon, and down with the French Mandate!" In later issues of *Meraat-ul-Gharb* (19,22 November) *al-Hoda* was severely taken to task for asking contradictorily for Lebanese independence but under the French mandate.

The views of the Syrian Orthodox papers are echoed in *al-Islaah*, Lebanese Greek Orthodox semi-weekly of New York. Vigorously condemning French imperialism, it declared (16 November) the French Government had proved itself unworthy of the trust of the Lebanese.

The Druses

The Syrian Druse attitude also is one of denunciation of French aggression. Spokesman for this element in the United States is *al-Bayan*, strongly nationalist journal published three times a week in Brooklyn. What more did France want of Lebanon, it inquired (18 November); already France had robbed Lebanon of its gold and riches and now it was taking freedom itself. There was nothing left -- nothing save the determination of the Lebanese to rid themselves of the French, the *Bayan* writer declared, too indignant to be able to write altogether coherently. The presence of the French in the Lebanon had retarded and even set back Lebanese progress, it added later (20 November).

The Maronite View

The two leading spokesmen of Lebanese Maronite separatist views have reacted differently to the crisis in Lebanon. *Al-Akhlak*, semi-weekly of New York, has followed the lead of the majority of Arabic-language newspapers and defended the cause of Lebanon against the French. A rather timid, conservative newspaper with strong Maronite color, *al-Akhlak* has in the past consistently supported the Lebanon separatist cause and has expressed friendship toward France and its trust in the French mandate.

When the first reports of the crisis in Lebanon arrived, *al-Akhlak* (12 November) sharply criticized the action of the Lebanese Government, regarding it as untimely and likely to prove harmful to the future of the country, which was not yet able, the paper believed, to dispense with the services of the mandatory power. When more detailed news of events in Lebanon reached this country, however, and especially when the anti-French stand of the Maronite Patriarch became known, *al-Akhlak* (16 November) retracted its censure of the Lebanese Government and swung around to the view that the French ought to be condemned.

Somewhat reluctantly it concluded that the Fighting French were no longer wanted in Lebanon, and that it had no desire to see France restored under such French leadership. Later (19 November), though holding out for the rights of Lebanon as a small nation, *al-Akhlak* returned to a more tolerant attitude with respect to the French, attributing blame for the events not to de Gaulle, but to a subordinate.

The other Lebanese Maronite separatist paper — the daily *al-Hoda* of New York--has been the only Arabic-language paper in the United States to espouse the French cause. At first taking a critical attitude toward the French for their arrest of the President and Prime Minister of Lebanon, *al-Hoda's* editor, Mr. Mokarzel, who is also president of the Lebanon League

of Progress of New York, on the 13th of November in the name of the organization sent a long telegram to President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull, begging them to use their influence to help stabilize conditions in Lebanon on the basis of the Atlantic Charter and to support Lebanon in its right to decide its own destiny, free from the fear of threat or coercion from any source. Cautiously worded, the telegram brought no charges against the French, who were not even mentioned in it by name.

Editorials in *al-Hodn* at first followed a similarly cautious line. Later, a change of attitude made itself apparent, and *al-Hodn* suggested that it might be better to adopt a policy of watchful waiting, since the underlying causes of the crisis were not fully known. In the meantime, *al-Hodn* asserted, the only stand that could be taken by every true Lebanese was to demand the independence of Lebanon, to support all those striving for it, and to oppose those working against it.

In subsequent editorials (15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 November) *al-Hodn*'s attitude has taken more definite form. It now holds that the Lebanese Government under President Besharah al-Khoury and Prime Minister Riad al-Solh has not been loyal to the Lebanese constitution, whereas the French have been. *Al-Hodn* also sees a British hand in the whole affair, charging that the British are conspiring with Iraq and Egypt to engulf Lebanon in a sea of Arab unity against its will and through the aid of a radical government not interested in the welfare of Lebanon. Furthermore, *al-Hodn* insists that the Lebanese Government had no right to act independently and unilaterally. The paper inquires whether there are any guarantees that the British would depart from Lebanon or would stay in the event the French were forced to leave. It is implied that the British are trying to

to enhance their own prestige at the expense of the French.

In its issue of 23 November *al-Hoda* clarifies its position still more definitely: it asserts that the crisis was brought on by Riad al-Solh, the Prime Minister, who was bent on making an agreement with the Egyptian Premier for the participation of Lebanon in an Arab federation. *Al-Hoda* wants the restoration of the *status quo*, that is, the French mandate, until after the war. At that time, it argues, conditions will be more conducive to a peaceful and orderly settlement. This is essentially the French position, for which the Maronite Patriarch also stands. The Lebanese desire independence, *al-Hoda* concludes, but not an Arab federation.

Arab-American advocates of Arab union and federation, who have long resented the pro-French and separatist policy of *al-Hoda*, openly charge that the latter has been the mouthpiece of the Fighting French representative in New York (until recently Raoul Aglion) and takes its "line" directly from him. Indeed it is commonly believed that the French have been subsidizing *al-Hoda*. Anti-French Arab-Americans in New York are inclined to think that the rapidity of events in Lebanon caught *al-Hoda* by surprise; hence (they say) *al-Hoda's* first contradictory reactions and its failure to adopt its line until instructions were received from the New York Delegation of the French. Only in this way can the non-separatist Arab-Americans understand how *al-Hoda* could accuse the elected President of Lebanon of disloyalty to the Constitution and claim that the French in their actions have supported that Constitution. And only in such a way can they understand how *al-Hoda* could go so fa as to support the Government of Emile Edde whom M. Helleu in this crisis installed as

President of Lebanon and whom all the other Arabic-language newspapers in the United States denounce as a "quisling."

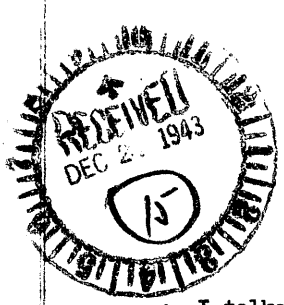
A less hostile explanation attributes *al-Hoda*'s policy to real concern for the future of Lebanon as a separate, independent state. Mokarzel, according to this view, fears that if complete independence is granted now, the Government under President Khoury and Premier Solh will allow the country to be absorbed in an Arab federation in which freedom of religious worship will ultimately be lost to the Christian Arabs of Lebanon.

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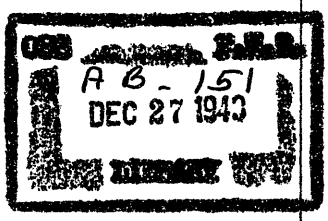
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REPORT # 488



SUBJECT: Syrians and Lebanons

PLACE: Detroit, Michigan

DATE: December 15th, 1943

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I talked to PHILIP ALEXANDER in Detroit, who was born in America of Syrian parentage, and who is quite active among the Syrians in Detroit. He claims there are 45,000 Syrians of Lebanon descent living in Detroit. He split the numbers: 35% immigrants and 65% first generation Americans. He claims that up until recently they controlled the grocery trade in Detroit. Now their occupations are diversified - quite a few are in the tool and die industry, creamery business, and other lines.

As to their religion, the Marianites have the St. Maron's Church, of which FATHER OBDOO is pastor. This church also has a Roman Catholic school attached to it. NOTE: He claims that the Syrian catholic priests up to 50 years ago were a privileged group, they were allowed to marry for the reason because Syrians marry very young and it was very difficult to find a young man of 18 years to study for the priesthood who was not married. At present their priests are not permitted to be married as are not the other Roman Catholic priests. He claims that about 50% of all Syrians in Detroit follow the Marianite religion.

The Melchites have "Our Lady of Redemption" Church of which FATHER RIASHI is pastor. Mr. Alexander claims the Melchites are closer to the Roman Catholic Church than the Marianites are because they were always under Rome, and they represent about 15% of the Syrians in Detroit.

He claims the Druza has a very small group in Detroit and to his knowledge they have no religious affiliation in Detroit.

The Eastern Orthodox and the Greek Orthodox have the St. George's Church with FATHER HOFIZ as pastor. They are under METROPOLITAN MICHAEL who is called the Metropolitan Archmandrite. He in turn belongs to the Patriarch in Antioch. Metropolitan Michael was formerly a priest in Detroit and now resides in New York City. ANTHONY BASHARA, a prominent attorney in Detroit, is active in this group.

The Moslems at one time had a Mosque in Highland Park, Michigan but because their religious rituals caused a great deal of disturbance in the neighborhood, the neighbors took an injunction against them and they are now

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quite inactive. As to the territories where the Arabs in Detroit came from, Mr. Alexander divided them as follows: 25,000 from Lebanon; 15,000 from Syria; 400 to 500 from Palestine; 1,000 from Transjordan; 400 to 500 from Arabia; and 100 from Egypt. He claims that the Syrians and Lebanons get along very nicely together in Detroit and that there is not much trouble between them.

Mr. Alexander is also president of the Mid-West Federation of American Syrian and Lebanon Clubs, the executive offices of which are in Indianapolis. He claims five groups belong to the Mid-West Federation: (1) Young Men's Original Syrian Club, Inc. All members of this club with exception of two are in the Armed Forces. (2) Club Noble - all members of this club are in the Armed Forces. (3) Pan-Syrian Girls Club. (4) Damascene Brotherhood - consists mostly of people from Damascus and they have their own hall on the east side in Detroit, known as the Damascus Brotherhood Hall. (5) Young Men's Progressive Club. According to Alexander the Mid-West Federation comprises fourteen states. There is also an Eastern Federation of American Syrian and Lebanon Clubs, a Southern Federation, and Far Western Federation, and steps are being taken to consolidate all those Federations into one national organization.

NEWSPAPERS:

One paper is known as "Ad Daleel" (The Guide) of which SHUKI RAYESS is editor, 4478 Cass Avenue, Detroit, and another is "Ad Saveh" whose editor is JOSEPH KAHWAJU.

If you recall, it is rumored that the League of Arabs in America for Defense of Democracy recently organized is using this "Ad Saveh" newspaper as its official organ. I did not have an opportunity to investigate this organization as yet.

POLITICAL VIEWS:

Alexander claims the Arabs in Detroit did not take a positive stand in the French- Lebanon trouble. He claims the Orthodox group is anti-French; that the Marianites are pro-French. However that many Marianites would rather see a free and independent Lebanon, not controlled by France or anybody else. He told me there are now 50,000 Jews in Lebanon who are refugees and the Marianites fear the combination of Jews, Orthodox and Moslems who might

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get control of the country. The Marianites have always controlled Lebanon. Alexander claims there are only a million and a half Arabs in Lebanon. He told me there are quite a few people in Detroit who do not want to be known as Syrians, but only as Lebanons.

As to Syria, Alexander claims 90% of the Syrians abroad are Moslems and that most of the Syrians living in Detroit are Christians and they feel anything they might do will not alter the situation in Syria and not influence to any great extent the politics in Syria and they will always remain a minority, therefore they are not greatly disturbed about what is going on in Syria.

Alexander claims those Syrians do not spend much money to influence public opinion in America, however they do have political discussions about the future of Syria. He also claims the Syrians in Detroit, particularly the younger generation, are well Americanized. It is his claim there are about three and a quarter million Arabs in America, and their largest colony is in New York, Dayton, Wilkes-Barre, Scranton, Boston and surrounding towns like Wooster and Quincy. In Ohio, they are centered in Youngstown, Canton, Cincinnati, Toledo, Akron and vicinity.

Notwithstanding that Alexander claims the latest trouble in Lebanon did not have any effect on the Syrians, he personally wrote a letter to the President of the United States which reads as follows:

"Dear Mr. President:

Permitting time to elapse in order to forego a rash request and allow the mutual course of events to solve the problem of the Republic of Lebanon, caused me to hesitate in adding to your present burdens unnecessarily. The needless shedding of blood of people who gave their all to the Allied cause, prompts me to add our voice to the plea of a nation for the right and privilege of independent living.

When the attack comes from a source who so recently were similarly treated, its unjustness becomes more glaring (he was referring to France.) It is the hope of the writer that you will find it possible to urge the powers responsible for causing the turbulency to desist in the interests of humanity and a solid united front for a worthy Allied cause."

* * * * * * *

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

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JAN 1
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To: Mr. Carl W. Blegen CWB

From: Richard V. Lindabury RVL

Date: Dec. 30, 1943

Subject: Interview with Dr. Moshe Perlmann, December 29, 1943

Dr. Perlmann's name came to me through Columbia channels as that of a possible Arabic reader. I was told that he had been employed by Zionist organizations to furnish them with summaries of the Arabic press, and that he might therefore find it convenient to pass copies of these summaries on to us. In his conversation with me he did not speak of any connection with Zionists, but he appeared to be willing to let us have reports on the papers.

From his conversation I should judge that he is a well informed and rather astute observer of Arab politics. If he is as good as his word in furnishing weekly readings, you should have valuable material before long.

Dr. Perlmann regards Al-Hoda as far the best Arabic paper, with Al-Bayan in second place. The alleged dereliction of Al-Akhlak from the French camp (of which Faris made a dramatic story, you will remember) has not impressed Perlmann. He attaches no importance whatever to Al-Akhlak, which he dismissed as a mere "church paper."

There is no real issue, Dr. Perlmann thinks, between pro-French and anti-French Lebanese in America. The distinction seems to him meaningless. Until very recent days he believes that most Lebanese wanted to see the independence of their homeland established

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but were content to wait until after the war to press the matter, confident that their hopes would be realized. He believes that the real issue is the pan-Arab movement, and he intimated that the anti-French agitation of recent date had been encouraged if not prompted by forces interested in an Arab federation.

In developing the above thesis, Dr. Perlmann pointed to the results of the recent Lebanese elections. It was recognized, he said, that many voters had changed their political opinion at the eleventh hour, and it is generally believed in Arab circles that the change was in harmony with supposed Allied preferences. By "Allied," Dr. Perlmann interjected, he meant "British." When I observed that this was a line that one might expect Al-Hoda to take, he replied that it was not restricted to Al-Hoda. He did not expatiate on his own implication that the pan-Arab movement had British support.

The normal attitude of the Lebanese to Arab federation schemes is hostile, Dr. Perlmann asserted. The Christians, whom he estimated at about 55% of the population, fear Moslem domination. Although divided among themselves, they may be expected to unite in a crisis, as recently they united against a "Mohammedan front" composed of Moslems and Druses. The declaration of Prince Faisal posing the Mohammedan religion as the foundation of the Arab State will confirm their fears and strengthen separatist tendencies. Even the Moslems of Lebanon, Dr. Perlmann observed, are little inclined to favor the pan-Arab movement, since they now enjoy a certain importance in a small state, which would be swallowed up in a large federation.

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(Note: Dr. Perlmann's attitude brings the interesting thought to mind that though the Lebanese minorities may have reason to fear a pan-Arab federation, the Zionists may have reason to fear it more. R.V.L.)

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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

MEMORANDUM BY THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

NUMBER 167 10 JANUARY 1944

THE ARABIC-LANGUAGE PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES

The Arabic-language newspapers in the United States, it is estimated, are read by one-fourth to one-half of the Arab-American community. Some of them also reach readers in Latin America. Their political sentiments are guided by regional and religious differences obtaining in the Arab homelands. For purposes of this survey, therefore, Arabic-language publications in the United States are divided into four main categories: Lebanese-Maronite (al-Hoda, al-Akhlak), *Lebanese-Orthodox* (al-Islaah), *Syrian-Orthodox* (Meraat-ul-Gharb, as-Sameer, as-Sayeh), *and Syrian-Druse-Moslem* (al-Bayan).

SOME students of present-day Arab culture assert that the Arabic-language press in the United States has had a noticeable impact on the Arab homelands, having played an especially important assisting role in the creation of modern Arabic literature as it emerged from its classical traditions into a contemporary form. However that may be, no one can gainsay the influence of the Arabic-language press upon the life and development of the Arab-American community in this country. Several of the newspapers currently appearing can point to long records, almost coeval with that of the migration itself; on the other hand, there have been many journals which survived only a short time. Few have large circulations; but most are read far more widely than their subscription lists might seem to indicate. At present nine Arabic-language newspapers deserving of mention are being published in this country, seven in New York and two in Detroit; and there are also two English-language periodicals for Arab-Americans printed in Indianapolis and Boston respectively.

The Community

According to the Census of 1940 there were in the United States 107,420 persons who reported Arabic as the principal language spoken in the home in earliest childhood, including 50,740 born in Arab lands. Arab-Americans consider these figures far too low, and believe that their community numbers at a minimum 160,000, and is more probably in excess of 200,000; and they have evidence in support of their views. They often call themselves and are generally known as Syrian-Americans, the vast majority (from 80 to 90 per cent) having come originally from the province known as Syria, under Turkish sovereignty up to the end of the First World War. With reference to the new states more recently established in that region under the French Mandate, Syrian-Americans tracing their origin to the territory now included in the Republic of Lebanon are estimated to outnumber those whose connections are with the Republic of Syria in the proportion of 7 to 1. Other Arab-Americans have kin in, or came from Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, Egypt, and North Africa, in that order. Very few came from Arabia itself.

In the United States the community is scattered across the country from coast to coast, but almost exclusively in urban settlements. Arab-Americans are congregated in greatest numbers in the states of New York, Michigan, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and California in that order, and more particularly in large cities like New York, Detroit, Boston, and Chicago. They have prospered as proprietors of fruit and grocery stores, restaurants, as merchants of dry goods, notions, and rugs, and as manufacturers and dealers in linens, lace, and lingerie. Recently an increasing number have also been entering the professions.

The newspapers published in New York find their reading public throughout the country. The total circulation claimed is 13,000; but if one calculates that on the average four readers see each copy — an estimate believed by some sources to be very conservative — it would mean that nearly one-half of those recorded by the Census as knowing the Arabic language and perhaps more than one-fourth of the entire Arab-American community are ultimately reached.

The community is by no means a compact and united group; on the contrary it is cut up by divisions, some of a relatively minor nature based on

regional distinctions of origin, some of much more serious character springing from religious differences. Since the latter directly influence the community's views on political questions, an understanding of these religious differences must precede any attempt to classify the newspapers on the basis of politics.

It is estimated that nine-tenths of the Arab-Americans in the United States are Christians, the great majority being Maronites who, under their own rite and Patriarch, recognize the supreme authority of the Pope in Rome. A substantial minority, constituting perhaps 40 per cent of the Christian element adheres to the Eastern Orthodox faith, comprising the Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese of New York and all North America which, under Archbishop Anthony Bashir whose see is in Brooklyn, acknowledges the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch. The Melchites, members of a Syrian sect which long ago seceded from the Orthodox Church and affiliated itself under its own rite and special terms with Rome, are also represented in the Arab-American community, but in insignificant numbers.

Among the non-Christians composing one-tenth of the community, Moslems, who themselves fall into two different sects, are perhaps three times as numerous as the Druses, who have a peculiar cult of their own. Both these religious groups, Moslems and Druses, are concentrated mainly in Detroit.

The Arabic-language press which serves this community fairly well represents the various divisions and their characteristic political sentiments. According to religious, regional, and political criteria, these newspapers must be considered in four categories: Lebanese-Maronite, Lebanese-Orthodox, Syrian-Orthodox, and Syrian-Druse-Moslem.

Lebanese-Maronite: al-Hoda, al-Akhlak

Two newspapers belong to this group, namely *al-Hoda* and *al-Akhlak*, which do not see eye to eye on all questions, but agree fundamentally in a desire to see Lebanon ultimately a free and independent republic safeguarded from absorption in an Arab union.

Al-Hoda (Guidance), now in its forty-sixth year, is the oldest existing Arabic-language newspaper in the United States. With a subscription list of some 5,000, it surpasses by a wide margin in this respect all its competitors. Published at 55 Washington Street, New York, daily except Sundays and holidays, it is of standard American newspaper size, usually containing six pages,

with numerous illustrations and a comic strip. Subscription price is twelve dollars per year. Its publisher and editor, Salloum Mokarzel, who is president of the Lebanon League of Progress, is one of the best known members of the Arab-American community, and a participant in many controversies.

Al-Hoda offers the widest coverage of news available to readers of Arabic in the United States. As a political journal it has regularly employed a somewhat personal and abusive language in dealing with its opponents, but it has also carried numerous articles of considerable literary merit, the influence of which has been widely felt in the Lebanese homeland.

Consistent in its political views, *al-Hoda* has been the ardent champion in the United States of the Lebanese separatist movement; its aim has been eventual creation of a sovereign state of Lebanon, free to govern itself and to settle its own affairs, subject neither to European Powers nor to an Arab union or federation. For the ultimate achievement of this aim *al-Hoda* has consistently supported the French Mandate and has maintained a Francophile stand, regarding French aid as indispensable to preserve predominantly Christian Lebanon from being swallowed in a union of Moslem Arab states. The strongly pro-French attitude of the paper has greatly offended Arab-American advocates of the Arab nationalist cause who have showered *al-Hoda* with abuse and have of late repeatedly charged its editor with being in the pay of the Fighting French.

Al-Hoda has had a wide distribution in Latin American countries where groups of Arab origin are strong.

Al-Akhlak (Character), published in New York at 59 Washington Street on Tuesdays and Fridays, was founded in 1916 as a magazine but was later changed into a newspaper. J. G. Raphael is the present publisher and editor. The paper is similar to *al-Hoda* in size and usually consists of four pages. Its subscription rate is six dollars a year, and its circulation is said to be only about 500 copies.

A liberal newspaper, *al-Akhlak* advocates essentially the same views regarding Lebanese independence as *al-Hoda;* it differs with the latter journal only on some matters of detail. *Al-Akhlak* was apparently established to represent a dissident faction among Lebanese-American Maronites who were dissatisfied with the leadership of the late Naoum Mokarzel, founder of *al-Hoda.*

In recent months *al-Akhlak* has been far more critical of the French Mandate than has *al-Hoda,* though somewhat inclined to blame subordinates rather than General de Gaulle and other high French officials for the unpleasant events in Lebanon.

Lebanese-Orthodox: al-Islaah

Orthodox Christians of Lebanese descent in the United States have a single newspaper as their spokesman, *al-Islaah* (Reform) of New York, which is now in its fifth year. Published and edited by Fozi Braidy, with offices at 216 West 18th Street, it appears on Tuesdays and Fridays. It usually consists of four standard-size pages; subscription rates are six dollars a year and the paper claims a circulation of about 1,000. No less than *al-Hoda* and *al-Akhlak,* the Orthodox *al-Islaah* has voiced a desire for Lebanese independence. But it has been more severe in its criticism of the French and, unlike the two Maronite papers, has been inclined not to fear that the freedom of worship of the Lebanese Christians would be endangered through Lebanon's adherence to a predominantly Moslem federation of Arab states.

Syrian-Orthodox: Meraat-ul-Gharb, as-Sameer, as-Sayeh

The three important newspapers of this group are published in the New York area: the *Meraat-ul-Gharb, as-Sameer,* and *as-Sayeh.* In Detroit two minor journals, *al-Ettehad* and *as-Sayeh,* also express a Syrian-Orthodox view.

Meraat-ul-Gharb, (Mirror of the West), founded in 1899 by the late Najeeb Diab, is the second oldest Arabic-language journal currently being published in the United States. Formerly a daily, it now appears three times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Angelina N. Diab is owner and publisher, and the present editor is Fred G. Ghusn, with offices at 80 Washington Street, New York. *Meraat-ul-Gharb* is issued in standard size, usually in eight pages with some illustrations. Subscription rates are ten dollars a year and the circulation is estimated at 2,000 copies.

Meraat-ul-Gharb was established as an organ for moderate opposition to the strictly Lebanese policy of the Maronite *al-Hoda.* Its own views, originally Pan-Syrian, have recently tended to swing toward Pan-Arabism. It has been at all times nationalistic, which in the minds of its readers has meant that it opposes the Lebanese separatist movement and stands for a wider Arab union.

It has won the reputation of being the most liberal newspaper in the United States for Syrians and Lebanese, and it is commonly regarded as the leading Arabic-language publication of this country in literary standards. The editor is considered a fine stylist, the best in his field today.

In its final judgment concerning the recent events in Lebanon, through which the Lebanese sought to throw off the French Mandate,* *Meraat-ul-Gharb* has come out squarely in commendation of the Maronite Patriarch, quoting in full the text of his ringing call for complete independence of Lebanon, unfettered by the French Mandate and not bound in an Arab federation. In view of the *Meraat's* past record, however, it may be doubted that it approved without reservation the Patriarch's plea for a Lebanon outside the Arab federation; the editor did not venture to omit that part of the hierarch's declaration, but he refrained from commenting on it.

As-Sameer (Entertainer) is a daily published at 109 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn. Established originally as a magazine, it was remodeled as a newspaper which is believed to have a current circulation of some 2,500 copies. Its format is similar to that of the papers described above; it generally has four pages with occasional illustrations. The subscription rate is ten dollars a year.

Elia D. Madey, who is the publisher and editor of *as-Sameer* and who is regarded as the foremost Syrian poet in America today, is the son-in-law of the founder of *Meraat-ul-Gharb*. Failing to acquire control of that paper, Madey transformed his magazine into a newspaper, the policy of which (it is reported) was to oppose both *Meraat-ul-Gharb* and *al-Hoda*. Madey has been characterized as more of a poet than a journalist. His former chief assistant, Fred Ghusn, has recently become editor of *Meraat-ul-Gharb*.

Toward *al-Hoda*, *as-Sameer* has been especially bitter. *As-Sameer* was once the unofficial spokesman of the now quiescent semi-fascist Syrian organization called the Syrian Nationalist Party, and it has consistently maintained a strongly nationalist stand. The recent crisis in Lebanon roused the editor to sarcastic and acrid invective against France with a particularly furious show of resentment because Senegalese troops were used in suppressing the Lebanese people. *As-Sameer* is known for its vigorous race prejudice which has

* See FN Number B-118 of 30 November 1943.

received expression in some of Madey's poems. Before the recent controversy flared up in Lebanon, *as-Sameer* ardently advocated that the United States take over the Mandate in Syria and Lebanon.

3-1 *As-Sayeh* (Traveler), now in its thirty-first year, is a semi-weekly paper published every Monday and Thursday at 303 Fifth Avenue, New York. A tabloid with 12 pages, some cartoons and pictures, it charges its subscribers six dollars a year and claims a circulation of about 1,000. A. A. Haddad is the founder and publisher and the present editor-in-chief is N. A. Haddad. *As-Sayeh* has consistently sponsored the movement for Arab unity, insisting on the inclusion of Lebanon in any Arab federation that might be formed. The recent troubles in Lebanon gave it a fresh occasion to present its arguments on this question. The paper has obtained in some circles a high reputation for literary merit, and it was at one time the official organ of the Pen League, founded by the late G. K. Gibran.

Also representing the Syrian Orthodox view and advocating Arab nationalism are two newspapers published in Detroit, which enjoy little more than local circulation and influence. In the East neither one is regarded as of high literary or journalistic standing.

Al-Ettehad (Union) is edited by Joseph E. Youakim, 132 E. Larned Street, Detroit, and issued weekly on Thursdays. It is a small tabloid of four pages and has a subscription rate of five dollars a year. It claims to have been established 10 June 1911, but since the current issues are labeled as belonging to Volume 15, publication evidently has not been continuous. Its circulation is in the neighborhood of 700 copies.

As-Sabah (translated on the masthead as Morning Tribune) is a "Lebanese-Syrian weekly," published and edited by Joseph S. Kahwajy, at 533 Orleans Street, Detroit. Its format is that of an outsize tabloid of eight pages; the subscription rate is five dollars a year and the circulation is said to be less than 1,000 copies.

Syrian-Druse-Moslem: al-Bayan

Arab-Americans of the Druse sect are represented by a single paper, *al-Bayan,* which serves also as the voice of the Syrian-American Moslems in this country. *Al-Bayan* (Expositor), published on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays at 107 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, is a news-

paper of standard format, consisting usually of four pages. The subscription rate is eight dollars a year and the circulation is estimated at 1,000 copies. The proprietor and managing editor is Ameen David of Washington, D.C., whose brother, Said David, is business manager. *Al-Bayan* was founded in 1910 by the late Suleiman Baddour, a Druse leader in this country; it became the organ of the Moslems as well as the Druses. Certain Moslems tried to oust Baddour, and, failing that, to publish a competing paper of their own; but the venture was not a success.

Al-Bayan is the most ardent Pan-Arab publication in the United States, and in the past it has tended to be Pan-Islamic. Before the war it was believed to be under the influence of a Moslem leader, Emin Shakib Arslan, said to be a fascist-minded Axis sympathizer. Because of its extremist views *al-Bayan* opposed the Arab National League or damned it with faint praise, although it should logically have been the organ of the League, which worked ardently for Arab unity until it disbanded in May 1941. Strongly anti-British in the early phases of the war, the paper has swung around considerably in the other direction; and following the settlement of the recent disorders in Lebanon *al-Bayan* now finds substantial community of interests between Arabs and the British. Like *Meraat-ul-Gharb, al-Bayan* published the full text of the Maronite Patriarch's appeal for unrestricted Lebanese independence, not omitting the final stipulation against Lebanon's inclusion in an Arab federation.

Essential Unity of the Press

The Arabic-language press of the United States frequently indulges in noisy controversy. Hostilities between papers of opposing views, however, have been inspired largely by the clashing rivalries and personalities of the publishers and editors and by a desire to increase circulation through sensational journalism. The only really fundamental divergence of views has centered about the question of Arab union or federation. Most Maronite Christians and some Orthodox have resolutely opposed any and all plans providing for the inclusion of Lebanon in such a union through fear that the Christian element, becoming a small minority in a large federated Moslem complex, might be engulfed and lose its religious freedom. From this issue springs the passionate strife which has filled the columns of *al-Hoda,* championing the cause of Lebanese independence, on the one hand, and of *as-Sameer* and the other supporters of Arab

federation on the other, with abusive, not to say scurrilous, attacks and counter-attacks.

On almost all other questions the Arabic-language press has exhibited essential agreement of thought. All papers without exception have taken a stand for the ultimate liberation of the Arab states, their emancipation from mandates and from domination by foreign powers, their right to self-determination and their own sovereignty. All have fought with greater or less intensity the Zionist project for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. All have desired closer relations between the United States and the Arab world and have sought to stimulate greater interest and understanding on the part of Americans in helping to solve some of the problems of the Middle East.

Connections with Latin America

The Arabic newspapers of New York have a good many readers in Latin America; but the movement is not all in one direction. Arabic publications from South and Central America also reach New York, and are frequently quoted or summarized in the corresponding North American press.

At least one daily and four weeklies are published by the Arabic-speaking groups in Argentina, all at Buenos Aires; a weekly has been issued for a dozen years in Santiago, Chile; two weeklies have been appearing in Mexico City, one founded in 1936 and the other but a short time ago; and a new weekly has recently been founded in Havana, Cuba. The latter, *Sautuchark,* (Voice of the East) as well as *al-Islaah* (Reform) of Santiago, Chile, are fanatical supporters of the exiled Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husayni. Voicing the most extreme Arab nationalist aspirations, they have savagely assailed the separatist stand of Mokarzel and the New York *al-Hoda.* Both these nationalist papers have exhibited an openly pro-Axis bias. Another strong but less openly pro-Nazi paper is *al-Istiklal* (Independence) of Buenos Aires.

All the Arabic-language publications of Buenos Aires signed a telegram recently sent to Nahas Pasha, Prime Minister of Egypt, thanking the Egyptian Government for its stand in favor of Lebanese independence from the French Mandate.

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REPORT # 504

RECEIVED FEB 12 1944 (1)

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SUBJECT: Syrians

PLACE: Cleveland, Ohio

DATE: January 31st, 1944

I spoke to the first Syrian settler of Cleveland, who said she came here about 1890. According to her there are about four or five thousand Syrians and Lebanons in Cleveland, engaged mainly in commerce. The Melchites have a church here and so do the Orthodox.

According to my informant, the majority of immigrants came to America because of economic necessity. That the first settler in Ohio came to Toledo about 60 years ago. My informant herself is a graduate of the American College in Beirut. She stated most of the settler in Ohio in the beginning peddled religious articles and costume jewelry. She claims the largest colony of Syrians is in New York, then Detroit, Cleveland, and Toledo. In Cleveland they are engaged in grocery, linens, and the liquor business.

As to their political outlook, the Marianites, Orthodox, and Melchites are united in Cleveland. This is not true in other cities. The majority of the Lebanons and Marianites are Catholics and are under the jurisdiction of the Bishop in this diocese and belong to the Vatican.

She further stated there are about 250 families who belong to the Melchites and about 150 to the Orthodox group; that the Druz and the Protestants have a very small group in Cleveland. That the Melchites politically were with the French because the Patriarch AREDA from Bikarcy was for the French. Being the Syrians religiously follow their Patriarch, all of them voted for the French. However lately the Patriarch changed his mind and therefore they also are for an independent Syria.

My informant claims there are very few people from Palestine and therefore that question is not discussed among them in Cleveland. That the two most read newspapers in Cleveland are the "AS-SAYETH" published by the Orthodox (in New York), and the "Al*Islaah" published by Fozi Braidy in New York. That Braidy is a recent immigrant to America and that his father was a judge in Lebanon. That his family over there is one of the outstanding Lebanon families and that he might be influenced in his writings by what his family is saying and doing over there. He is from Zahlieh in Lebanon.

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In discussing the division between Lebanon and Syria, my informant stated Lebanon is a state of Syria, and the Marianite paper started the question of a division between Syria and Lebanon; that the newspaper "Al-Hodath" replied, and the trouble started. That "~~Al-Hodath~~" wanted to ignore Syria and call the whole state "Lebanon" but ever since France fell, they have changed their minds and are now for an independent Syria.

3.1
Al-Hoda

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Report No. 159

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To the Office of Strategic Services
Foreign Nationalities Branch
Washington, D. C.

From Albert [illegible]

March 1, 1944

OSS Mail Room AB-185 MAR 3 1944 LIBRARY

THE SYRIANS OF OKLAHOMA AND TEXAS

While in Wellington, Texas, I met and talked with George Shadid, Syrian drygoods merchant of that Panhandle town. He told me that he was born in Oklahoma where his father was a leader of "some 10,000 Syrians of that state." When I expressed my surprise and doubt that there could be so many Syrians in Oklahoma, Shadid replied: "Oh yes, I don't exaggerate. Every small town in Oklahoma has one or more Syrian merchants. Larger cities have larger colonies."

He related that it all started with just a few Syrians coming there in the early 1890s. They made a wonderful living peddling goods from farm to farm, and they wrote back home about it, so other relatives and friends sailed to America, too. Later they spread to Texas and other Southwestern states, but most of them are concentrated in Oklahoma. (The Persian peddler in the musical comedy Oklahoma! was apparently changed by the author from a Syrian into a Persian in order not to offend the Syrians of that state.) Having done well as peddlers, but tiring of their itinerant life, they settled in towns in due course of time, establishing or buying stores. This incidentally was an earlier transition made by Jews who, a decade or two before the Syrians, had come into Texas as farm-to-farm peddlers but soon settled in towns as permanent merchants.

For Arab Federation. Shadid told me that most Syrians in the Southwest are Orthodox Christians, although a very few are Moslems. Of much interest was his statement that all of these "10,000 Syrians" consider themselves Arabs and are for an Arab federation in the Near East and North Africa. I asked: "Even those who are Christians?"

He replied: "I told you that a majority of us are Christians."

I persisted: "But in the Near East and North Africa the great majority of Arabs are Moslems. Do you realize that such a federation would be an exclusive

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Moslem affair. Where would your Christian Arabs come in?"

He was calm: "We aren't afraid. We are for an Arab federation but with proper safeguards for minorities, either Christian or Jewish. And we will get such guarantees for minorities."

I asked Shadid what organizations are there among the Syrians of Oklahoma. "Any political formations?"

"Hardly," was his response, "they are mostly cultural. But naturally, even cultural organizations have political leanings this way or that."

Admire Russia. Shadid also told me that the Syrians of the Southwest admire Russia as an Orthodox Christian nation which has in the past defended fellow Christians from the Turks and other Moslems.

"But Russians are Communists now, and not at all Christians," I remarked, to which he rejoined:

"Ah, but they are changing, don't you think? We think so. They have reopened churches and are giving freedom to priests once more."

"Are you an Orthodox Christian?" I asked.

"No, I am an Episcopalian now," he said, then added: "In smaller towns, where there are only a few Syrians, we tend to go to one or another of the Protestant churches. This is especially true of those of us who, like myself, were born in this country. But that doesn't make any difference in our feeling for Russia. The Russians are protectors of Syrians as their fellow Orthodox Christians."

Leader in Oklahoma City. I inquired as to the present leadership of the Southwest Syrians. Shadid mentioned the Rev. George Massad of Oklahoma City as undoubtedly the foremost leader of his group. Shadid urged me to get in touch with the pastor if ever I find myself in that city. "He knows all about our people in this country."

I pass this information on to you in hopes that it may be of use in your study of American Syrians.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

DOCUMENT(S) WITH THIS NUMBER(S) COULD NOT BE LOCATED.

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Douaihy, Rt. Rev. Stephen el

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTER-OFFICE MEMO

HHB-33

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1944
78

TO: Mr Malcolm W Davis

FROM: Henry H Balos HHB

DATE: Boston, Mass. 13 March 1944

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FNB

SUBJECT: Lebanese leader in Boston.

1.3

Rt. Rev. Chor-Bishop Stephen el-Douaihy
457 Shawmut Avenue, Boston.

He is officially the representative in the U S of the Maronite Patriarch, a monsignior of the Church, and pastor of Our Lady of the Cedars R C Church in Boston. In 1919 he was secretary to the Patriarch, who headed the Lebanese Delegation to the Peace Conference, and played an important part in the winning of Lebanese independence.

Msgr Douaihy has been in America since 1920, and is now a citizen. He is about 60, a charming and gently impressive person of classic French culture, keenly aware of Near East developments. Apparently he takes no active part in politics, but he seems to be familiar with the movements and cross-currents of his native area.

It is his considered opinion that Lebanon will not permit itself to be joined to Syria, despite strong pressure by the Syrian nationalists. Lebanon is neither Arab nor Moslem, and can have no part in any type of Pan-Arabism. Since the XIIIth century Lebanon has felt kinship with France. He himself is descended from a French crusader, as his name attests. To abandon France for a British orientation is unthinkable.

Why British, I inquired? The various plans for regional and general federation in the Near East and Middle East are British-inspired for British advantage. While federation can be a good thing, to be good it must be soundly based. But internal conditions in the various countries are so widely divergent that a functional federation is not

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possible. Thus only Lebanon is in any real sense democratic. All the other countries are ruled by small cliques or by absolute monarchs. Only Lebanon has general literacy. The other countries are illiterate to a shocking degree. And only Lebanon is dominantly Christian, with all that that implies. Federation is not yet in view.

I pointed out that on the economic level, as well as the political, a strong case could be adduced for joint action among Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Trans-Jordan, and Egypt, not to mention other countries of the region. But he did not think so. Practical difficulties, he insisted, would quickly prove insuperable.

I raised the military question-- how can small nations, by themselves, maintain their integrity in a rapacious world? He put his faith in France, in the French fleet, and in world opinion.

The Syrian nationalists, he said, are dangerously violent people. They are largely Mohammedan, though there is nothing Pan-Islamic about their movement. It is a kind of megalomanic game played by vigorous and unprincipled men. Lebanon has no desire to play this game.

The Palestine question, Msgr Douaihy felt, is of slight concern to the Lebanese. Personally he sees no harm in letting the Jews take over. I remarked that the Arabs too had a strong case, in some respects stronger than that of the Zionists, and that there were indications that they might take things into their own hands and react violently. To the contrary, he thought the Palestinian Arabs were perfectly willing to welcome all the Jews who cared to come. It was the nationalist demagogues who were expertly inventing and developing artificial opposition. And unfortunately the nationalists were to be reckoned with.

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Similarly the Arabian pipeline was of no great interest. Lebanon already had her oil port at Tripoli, and it was hardly likely to be affected.

His attitude toward the French National Committee was altogether favorable. General Catroux was a statesman who deeply understood the complex problems of Lebanon and the Near East. General De Gaulle was surrounded by good men, and could be trusted.

Toward the Soviets his attitude was an expressive shrug of the shoulders. There are no Communists in Lebanon, he said, and the country was not likely to have much contact with the USSR.

Msgr Douaihy is on fairly close terms with Cardinal O'Connell. Several years ago Lebanon bestowed on His Eminence the Award of Merit.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

DOCUMENT(S) WITH THIS NUMBER(S) COULD NOT BE LOCATED.

AB-193

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

MAR 20 1944

HHB-34

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Boston, Mass

Date: 16 March 1944

To: Mr Malcolm W Davis

From: Henry H Balos

Subject: Syrian leadership and politics in Boston

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Attachment: Photostat of "The Syrian National Party-- Its Principles and Its Aim" (political credo and Party Oath)

OSS ARCHIVES

In the course of a large number of conversations with Syrians of all classes, the following four names were mentioned most frequently as politically important: 1) Dr Fakhri Maluf; 2) Mr Faris S Malouf; 3) Mr Michel Abourjaily; and 4) Rev Shibly D Malouf. I have talked several times with all of them.

I. MR FARIS S. MALOUF, 73 Tremont St, Boston. Today at last he unbuttoned. He is a successful lawyer, and for many years he has been the best-known Syrian figure in New England, active and influential in local and state politics. On 16 February he made an impressive appearance before the House Foreign Affairs Committee to oppose the lifting of restrictions on Jewish immigration to Palestine.

OSS ARCHIVES

He told me today after several previous evasions that Dr Fakhri Maluf is the sole U S representative of the Syrian Nationalist Party, or more specifically, of its leader, now an exile in Argentina; that he (Mr Malouf) has been solicited for membership in the Party, and that he has refused it as incompatible with U S citizenship; that Dr Maluf is a registered foreign agent under F A R A; that to his knowledge no prominent Syrians have accepted membership and probably very few others; that Dr Maluf was fairly diligent but not really aggressive in soliciting Party membership, to his knowledge; and that, as his friend, he was in

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a position to say with considerable assurance that Dr Maluf had had no recent contact with the central figure in Argentina.

His own objection to membership was that, legalisms aside, it would mean putting himself under the binding orders or an absolutist organization, in pure Nazi style. Even granted that the aims of the organization were good, the unlimited power of the leader, the unthinking obedience demanded, and the possibly doubtful methods which might be required, all made membership for him impossible. He had reached his decision only after the most careful thought, aware that his joining would mean several hundred other members too.

At this point I asked for details of the Party's program and organization. Mr Malouf took from his pocket a dog-eared yellow folder, and after some hesitation handed it to me. I persuaded him to let me take it back to the office to copy. He insisted on getting it back by the following morning. "I really shouldn't let it out of my possession," he said, but he would not explain himself. The attached photostats are twice the size of the original.

In Mr Malouf's opinion the young man has large potentialities. At the moment he suffers under some personal handicaps which he may outgrow. He is too deeply religious, and too immersed in academic philosophy, to be a really good leader. His understanding is wholly theoretical. He has no contact with grass roots opinion. He has in fact shown no talent for dealing with more than one person at a time, and him he overwhelms with charm and brilliance. He is a prodigious worker, a scintillating mind, but he lacks the touch of earth, the feeling for practicality, which a mass leader must have. Nevertheless, said Mr Malouf, it would not surprise him if Dr Maluf emerged eventually as

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head of his nation. Everyone who has met him, said Mr Malouf, feels the same way.

II. DR FAKHRI MALUF, 24 DeWolf St, Cambridge 38, Mass. He has been in this country since about 1938 or '39. He seems to be in his late twenties, a little below average height, with a tendency toward plumpness. Daily he commutes to Worcester, where he teaches physics and mathematics at Holy Cross College. He has just received his doctorate from Harvard. A devout Roman Catholic, he gives his Tuesday evenings to free lectures on philosophy for informal groups of Catholics meeting in St Benedict's Hall, 23 Arrow St, Cambridge, maintained by St Paul's R C Church as an adult education center. One of his particular friends is Fr Leonard Feeney of Weston College, the well-known Jesuit author. As to his personality, I agree with the opinion of Mr Malouf (vide supra). In conversation he is at once animated and vague. He is allusive rather than incisive, except on basic questions. He does not refer to himself at the Nationalist leader and representative here, but says that because he has come so recently from Syria many Syrians look to him for their opinions on homeland politics.

III. MR MICHEL ABOURJAILY, 216 Harrison Av, Boston. A citizen and long-time resident, he owns a one-man printing shop in a Syrian district. On several occasions I have observed that he does little work in his shop. He says that he earns part of his living soliciting advertising for foreign-language papers and radio programs. He is a typical "political"-- intelligent, obsessed, somewhat cynical, a little erratic. I have the impression that he is a Party member.

IV. REV SHIBLY D MALOUF, Church of All Nations, 85 Shawmut

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Av, Boston. The church is a part of the case work department of the Morgan Memorial, a civilian rehabilitation charity organization. He also is intelligent and articulate, and active politically among lower-class Syrians. From the nuances of his comments on Dr Maluf it appears that he does not quite accept the infallible leadership of the young man, though he voiced no specific difference of opinion, in fact denying that any existed.

The Syrians of Boston, then, fall into two groups: the Nationalist Party, consisting of Dr Maluf and his secret membership, if any; and the generality of Syrians who shy away from such a secret society. There is no ideological gulf between them at present.

A summary of political opinion will follow shortly.

::: :::

The Syrian National Party



ITS PRINCIPLES
ıd
ITS AIM

THE REFORM PRINCIPLES

1. Separation of church from state.

2. Prohibition of clergy from interference in all political and judicial matters of national concern.

3. Removal of all barriers between the different sects.

4. The abolishment of feudalism, the organization of national economy on the basis of production, the security of the rights of labor, and the protection of the interests of the nation and of the state.

5. The creation of a strong army which will have an effective role in defending the country and determining national destiny.

THE AIM

1. The aim of the Syrian National Party is the creation of a Syrian national revival which will realize its principles and revivify the nation, and the establishment of a movement which will lead to the complete independence of the Syrian nation, to the affirmation of its sovereignty, the protection of its interests and the raising of its standard of living; and the endeavor for the formation of an Arab front.

QUESTIONS FOR THE APPLICANT

1. Do you believe in these principles fully and resolutely?

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2. Are you prepared to apply these principles on yourself first, and to spread them and defend them according to your best ability?

3. Are you willing to accept the laws and discipline of the party within yours rights and responsibilities as a citizen of the United States?

4. Are you prepared to accept any responsibility which may be imposed on you by the party?

5. Are you prepared to take the oath and to comply with membership duties?

THE OATH

I, ...,
(full name)

swear (or affirm) by my honour, my truth, and my belief, that I belong to the Syrian National Party with all sincerity and with full resolution, that I take its national principles as a belief and a conviction for myself and my family, and an emblem to my home, that I promise to preserve its secrets, never disclosing them freely, nor under any form of compulsion, neither by speaking, nor writing, nor carving, nor drawing, nor any other means, that I promise to perform all that may be required of me (in so far as it does not conflict with the laws of the United States), that I shall be always dilligent in defending the cause of the party and in supporting the power of its Leader, that I shall always be ready to give all help within my means to any fellow member when he is in need of it, and that I shall always perform all my duties with promptness and exactitude. I do so swear (or affirm).

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

1. Syria is for the Syrians and the Syrians are a complete nation.

2. The Syrian cause is a national cause which stands by itself independent of any other cause.

3. The Syrian cause is the cause of the Syrian nation and its country.

4. The Syrian nation is the unity of Syrian people which was developed through a long history dating back to the prehistoric times.

5. The Syrian country is that geographic formation in which the Syrian nation was formed. The natural geographic barriers render Syria a country distinctly separate and independent from any other country. It extends from the Taurus range in the north to the Suez canal in the south including the Sinai Peninsula and the gulf of Akaba, and from the Syrian sea in the west to the Syrian desert in the east until its junction with the Tigris.

6. The Syrian nation is one social entity.

7. The Syrian national movement seeks inspiration from the talents and genius of the Syiran nation and from its national and political history.

8. Syria's interests are above all interests.

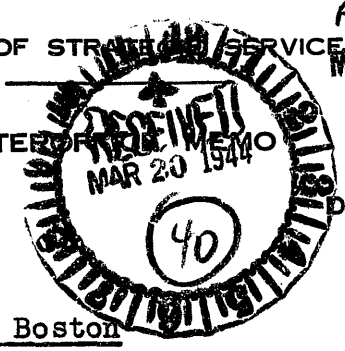
AB - 194

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

MAR 20 1944

HHB-35

INTERDEPARTMENTAL MEMO



TO: Mr Malcolm W Davis

DATE: 17 March 1944 Boston, Mass

FROM: Henry H Balos HHB

SUBJECT: Syrian opinion in Boston

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These opinions are summarized from conversations with the four local leaders mentioned in HHB-34 and with a number of other representative Syrians of varying levels.

DEFINITION OF SYRIAN TERRITORY: All agree that Syria properly includes the area from Turkey down to the Al-Arish of Egypt, and from the Mediterranean to and including the Syrian Desert. Thus Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and Palestine are integral parts of Syria. Throughout this area the stock is Semitic, the languages are close cognates, and the cultural levels are rapidly equalizing. As to the religious complexity, centuries of placid history prove that no difficulties need be anticipated. Though Syria is largely Moslem, contemporary Moslem education is at a high level, differing in no wise from Christian except of course in religious matters. The western world must learn that Today's Syrian is a far cry from the clod who lived under the Ottoman Empire. He is well able to govern himself, and he is determined to do so.

THE NATIONALIST PROGRAM: This is most fully described in the photostat attached to HHB-34, though in unsatisfactorily broad terms. No informant had been able to give me, offhand, the complete program. Dr Maluf was vague and spoke in general terms. He told me that he had no list of specific aims.

LEBANON: The Maronite half of the population at home, I was

told, is generally separatist, but a large proportion is only superficially so. The clergy and the wealthy classes are stubbornly separatist and pro-French, but by no means all. Thus the present Prime Minister, who formerly had been a consistent separatist, is now definitely preparing the way to lead Lebanon back into a united Syria. A number of other important Lebanese are for unity, particularly the younger people. Dr Maluf said that he spoke with authority in this matter because he himself is a Lebanese, as also is Mr Abourjaily. There are no separatists among the non-Maronite half of the population. Moslems, Jews, Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, and Melkite communions are all solidly for unity. When the issue comes to a head, Lebanon will certainly join with the rest of Syria.

PALESTINE: Anti-Zionist feeling, it is alleged, is not at all anti-Jewish. It is purely political. All Arabs deeply resent the unscrupulous tactics of Zionism. The specific complaint is that the Jews of Europe and America want to buy the sovereignty of Palestine and dispossess the Arab nation. Unable to do this, they exert pressure through their home governments, in which they are well represented. In addition they threaten, and indeed have already started to use, armed force. Violent Arab reaction would have broken out long ago had it not been for the British White Paper of 1939. There can be no doubt but that blood will flow if Jewish immigration is resumed.

There can be no thought of compromise on so fundamental an issue. The can not even be discussion until the Zionists cease asking the intervention of outside powers and deal directly with the Arabs.

The Zionist charge that the Arabs are pro-Axis is a lie. With

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the exception of the Grand Mufti, a very few lesser leaders, and some scattered individuals, the Arabs are overwhelmingly pro-Allied, especially since America entered the war.

It is important to remember that Moslems throughout the world are anti-Zionist. India's eighty million Moslems can not be ignored.

ARAB FEDERATION: Syrian Nationalists (2.2 Party) look forward to a loose, consultative federation, something like our original Union, encompassing Egypt, Syria (including Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and Palestine), Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. Ibn Saud may prove recalcitrant, especially if Britain should permit him to occupy southern Palestine up to Jerusalem. The Nationalists believe this is quite possible, but they prefer to believe that he would see greater advantage in letting Palestine remain with Syria, and entering the Federation with the expectation of playing a leading role. On the other hand the British, having placed Ibn Saud on his throne, may decide to remove him. They alone have the power. The oil pipeline should force a decision in the near future.

It is interesting that comment on Arab federation was not at all uniform. Dr Maluf spoke only in the broadest terms, as if he had not looked so far ahead in detail. Other informants seemed to reflect gossip rather than a political program. A recurrent idea in this category was that federation will come eventually, but is premature now. The current talk has been instigated by Britain to offset Russian influence in the Near East. Britain hopes thus to squeeze France out and prevent America from entering.

The concensus is that some kind of federation will come after

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necessary internal changes have been achieved in Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. These changes may come with unexpected suddenness.

I asked whether the coordinated protests to Congress on the White Paper issue might be taken as an indication of federated action in the making. The uniform response was that it indicated only the absolute opposition of all Arabs to a Jewish Commonwealth.

PAN-ISLAMISM: All agreed that a Jehad was possible, though pan-Islamism has been superseded politically by pan-Arabism. This has the great advantage of being free of political complications based on religion. Nevertheless pan-Islamic feeling lurks in the background. The Syrian Nationalists are unalterably opposed to any religious polarization. Their own movement cuts across religious lines, and is pledged to the separation of Church and State. A large majority of Nationalist membership is Moslem. But these Moslems drink and smoke, are monogamous, have unveiled their women, and have given them full social equality. The non-Nationalist Moslems are invariably orthodox in their religion. Considerable headway is being made in modernizing them, though progress is much faster among the younger men.

OIL: All Syrians are pleased at the prospects of the American pipeline in Saudi Arabia. Some are pleased because the money to be spent will immediately benefit the entire region; other because they scent a political situation out of which Nationalism may gain some advantage. I am unable to find a clear line among the Syrians in Boston. The leaders have apparently not yet had time to establish one. Dr Maluf was of the opinion that the chief Nationalist value of the pipeline would be

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the need for the U S to have a unified, strong, and friendly Syria to safeguard the pipeline. Eventually there would be other advantages, because the pipeline would make it worth while to drill for oil in the Syrian Desert. It would be politically impossible to send U S troops to police the American interests, especially as they would be commercial and not Governmental. Hence he looks forward with further assurance to full power for Syria, including political recognition and military alliance.

ATTITUDE TOWARD FRENCH NATIONAL COMMITTEE: The French are so cordially hated that no possible development is likely to change the attitude.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE USSR: No official stand is taken, and personal reactions are as varied as the individuals, ranging from receptiveness to simple indifference. I heard no hostile comments. All agreed that Communism was not an issue in Syria, where the Party is very small and with no following at all among the Moslems, the decisive group. The reaction to the Soviet autonomy policy is that it is a very clever move but without Syrian significance-- Syria could never fall into that orbit. Syria needs no protective Power, the Nationalists say. Between Russian and British tensions they are safe enough.

I mentioned a rumor that the French National Committee and the USSR had last summer agreed to Soviet construction of an international airport in Lebanon. All Syrian leaders I talked with denied having heard this before, but admitted that it might well be possible. (I heard this rumor from a highly political Armenian soldier, met in the

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shop of Mr Abourjaily/. He added that to counter the Soviet-French agreement, the British had quietly energized the Syrian Nationalists, thus leading directly to the Lebanese upheaval at the end of 1943.)

ATTITUDE TOWARD BRITAIN: I received the impression that anti-British feeling was quite as strong as anti-French, but that it was deemed somehow inexpedient to express it. All British moves are presumed to be imperialistic, and therefore are automatically opposed.

ATTITUDE TOWARD U S: Friendliness and hopefulness, but with fear either that we may turn imperialist ourselves or that we may lend ourselves to British imperialism.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

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AB-196
MAR 22 1944

Report No. 166

RECEIVED
MAR 22 1944
(5)

To the Office of Strategic Services
Foreign Nationalities Branch
Washington, D. C.

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From Albert Parry, Chicago

March 14, 1944

THE SYRIANS OF IOWA

The most interesting leader of Iowa's Syrians was met by me late last week in Sioux City. He is the Very Rev. Michael M. Yanney, archpriest and pastor of the St. Thomas Orthodox Church in that town. He told me the following:

There are 135 Syrian families in Sioux City, or approximately 600 persons altogether. Of these, 60 families belong to the Orthodox faith, 45 families are Roman Catholic, and the rest are Druse Moslems and Protestants. The Orthodox belong to Father Yanney's St. Thomas parish; the Catholics have no separate Syrian church of their own, but attend Sioux City's general Catholic churches; while the Moslems have no mosque or other place of worship to go to. Of the Protestant Syrians, some are Methodists and Baptists, although the Episcopal Church displays the warmest interest in them or their Orthodox brethren (because of the traditional endeavour on the part of Episcopal leaders to form closer ties with the Orthodox Church). Father Yanney remarked to me that those Syrians become Protestants who either live in smaller Iowa towns where there are no Orthodox churches or are married to native American women, who thus bring their Syrian husbands into their American Protestant congregations.

Father Yanney estimated to me that about 98 per cent of all the Syrians in Sioux City (and, for that matter, wherever they can be found in the state of Iowa) hail from Lebanon. They would rather not call themselves Arabs, although they say they know they are of Arab origin. "Would Americans call themselves British even if historically most of the oldline natives here are of British stock?" he asked.

The priest informed me that the Syrians in Sioux City are for what is commonly known as the Pan-Arab Federation, to be established in the Near East and North Africa,

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but he pointed out that it would be an error to think that they want one government for all Arab lands. He felt that the word "Federation" was a misnomer. "No," he declared, "each Arab country should be independent and have a government strictly its own, but all of them should be together in an alliance, rather than in a federation, working against a common foe whenever the need arises."

He freely hinted that the Jews are their common foe, and that Palestine should not be given to the Jews. "The White Letter should not be scrapped," he said -- meaning of course the White Paper. "The Jews ought not agitate so much against the British on this problem of Palestine during this wartime. There is too much Jewish agitation. The main job is to win the war, not to quarrel about boundaries, immigration rights, and the like. Palestine is a big problem, but not for today."

Father Yanney felt that Americans must not intervene in this Arab-Jewish-British squabble. "It's none of our American business," he repeated several times, "and President Roosevelt will not intervene in spite of all the Jewish efforts to get him to intervene in their behalf."

I asked him whether the Syrians in Iowa were for President Roosevelt in domestic politics -- would they vote for the fourth term? Since a leading Republican of Sioux City was present at this conversation, Father Yanney tried to be a bit evasive. He said: "Our people here are fifty-fifty. Some are Democrats, others Republican." At this, the Republican gentleman present voiced his displeasure that any Syrians in that Iowa town could be for Roosevelt at all. Father Yanney answered him by praising President Roosevelt's conduct of this war. He spoke somewhat cautiously, yet without yielding any ground.

Later that day I spoke to still another native, a Republican whose brother is an outstanding CIO leader and a Democratic politician in southwestern Iowa. He declared to me, after I had quoted Father Yanney to him: "Don't let that Syrian

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priest fool you. All the Syrians in this part of Iowa are Democrats. I jolly well know this from my Democratic brother, who works with them. Father Yanney says 'fifty-fifty' with a tongue to his cheek. Maybe he personally isn't much of a Democrat but he knows where his bread and butter comes from -- it comes from his Syrian parishioners who are all Democrats."

This Republican brother of the CIO-Democratic politician then told me this story:

Although some of the Syrians in that town (as elsewhere in America) are storekeepers, others of them work in the great and prosperous packing-houses of Sioux City (which city of some 80 or 90 thousand is right on the borders of three states -- Iowa, South Dakota, Nebraska -- and so draws much cattle and pigs from the fertile prairies of all three). In 1932 some enterprising young Syrians of Sioux City organized the Syrian-American League, whose leaders went cheering for Roosevelt's candidacy in that year's elections not only into Syrian homes and stores but also into the homes of humble folk of other foreign origins. In no time at all, the League had a solid block of votes among practically all groups of immigrant workers in the packing-house district. Having tasted victory in the 1932 elections, the League stayed in its political business in subsequent years as well. It stayed Democratic, of course. In the middle 1930s it joined hands with the CIO. Tommy Bushara was mentioned to me as the chief organizer and guiding genius of the Syrian-American League in Sioux City. At present (I am told) he holds a political job in Des Moines "as a reward for his work," but the League is supposedly still in existence in Sioux City and other towns. "The Syrians are terrific workers," my informant summed up. "They can put over a candidate once they set their minds to it."

I was also advised that Fort Dodge is another city where I might find such energetic Syrian-Americans. Two such gentlemen were mentioned -- a Mr. Daniel

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and a Mr. Own. I met both gentlemen when I reached Fort Dodge a day later, but both disclaimed any knowledge of the League's present-day activities in that town. Mr. Daniel said: "Our young men used to be very busy in such things, but they are all in the army now."

All three -- Father Yanney, Mr. Daniel, and Mr. Own -- expressed to me their admiration for Russia and her war effort, in part basing this warm regard on the "new deal" recently granted by Stalin to the Russian Orthodox Church. They knew, or had heard of, Metropolitan Benjamin of the pro-Sergius and pro-Stalin faction among the Russians of America. However, some of Father Yanney's information on Metropolitan Benjamin was erroneous. For instance, he gravely asserted to me that "Metropolitan Benjamin has gone to Russia to see the Patriarch and Stalin."

There is a small Russian group of packing-house workers in Sioux City, the remnant of a much bigger community, most of whose members returned to Russia soon after the revolution -- "to build Soviet packing-houses," as one oldtimer in Sioux City explained to me. The Russians of Sioux City have an Orthodox parish of their own, and through Father Yanney I made an appointment with the Russian priest, but he finally sent word that he could not keep it because of a mass he had to celebrate in some sort of an emergency.

(See my Report No. 159, "The Syrians of Oklahoma and Texas," for March 1, 1944.)

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

AB-197
MAR 22 1944

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

RECEIVED
MAR 22 1944
(7)

1.8

WITH Salloum Mokarzel

SUBJECT

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FOR F.N.B. Carl W. Blegen CWB

DATE 18 March 1944 INITIATIVE Mr. Blegen

PLACE 55 Washington St., New York

☐ BY TELEPHONE

☒ FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

Mr. Mokarzel is editor of Al-Hoda of New York, the oldest Arabic-language newspaper in the United States, established in 1897. Al-Hoda is also regarded as the best paper in its field so far as news coverage is concerned, and it has a claimed circulation of nearly 5,000 -- almost as great as that of all the rival journals combined. Mokarzel is a Maronite Christian. He came from Lebanon at an early age, is an American citizen, and speaks English admirably though with a slight accent. For many years he was associated with his late brother in the publication of Al-Hoda.

Mokarzel evidently has a very wide knowledge of Arab and Syrian history. He gave some background information on Arab-Americans, largely confirming what we have from other sources. He estimated that 85 per cent of Arab-Americans came from Lebanon and that almost all were Christians. Moslems and Druses, he thought, amounted to only some 15,000 in a total Arab-American community of 150 to 200

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thousand in the United States.

In Lebanon itself, with a population slightly in excess of 1,000,000, Christians constituted, he said, about 60 per cent.of the total. Formerly the proportion was even higher, amounting to 80 per cent before World War I, but after that war the eastern boundary of Lebanon was modified through the inclusion of additional territory in which Moslems predominated. At the present time, accordingly, the Christians make up about 60 per cent and the Moslems and Druses about 40 per cent of the population.

Among the Christians in Lebanon the Maronites have a substantial majority, roughly in the proportion of 5 to 2, as compared with the adherents of the Orthodox Faith. Approximately those same proportions are represented among the Arab-American Christians.

Lebanese Maronites maintain that they are the direct descendants of the early Christians who occupied this coastal region in a period antedating the Arab invasion. Formerly they spoke a form of Aramaic, and in some out-of-the-way villages in Lebanon to this day an Aramaic dialect is spoken. Aramaic is also used in the Church ritual, but the ordinary spoken language of the people is now Arabic. The Lebanese Maronites nevertheless feel themselves different from the other Arabic-speaking peoples and prefer to think of themselves as a separate nationality. They regard themselves as being a cut above the Arabs in education, enlightenment, and in their attainments, having reached a distinctly higher cultural level.

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Lebanese Christians remember the religious persecutions of the past in which their ancestors suffered at the hands of fanatical Moslems; and they are fearful that they may be persecuted again if they come once more under the domination of a fanatical Mohammedan majority. Consequently, they desire complete independence for Lebanon where with the existing Christian majority they can preserve their freedom; and they are vigorously opposed to the idea of joining an Arab federation or even of uniting with neighboring Syria.

The statement made by Prince Faisal in passing through Egypt on his way home from America when he declared that in accordance with the views of his father, King Ibn Saud, any Arab federation must be based directly on the Koran, was a godsend to the ardent Lebanese separatists. It gave them a convincing argument to use in winning over those Christians who might have been tempted by the idea of union. The statement had a profound effect in the United States, and support for the Arab federation in the Arab-American community was almost completely knocked out.

For a century or more, Mr. Mokarzel continued, the French have protected the Lebanese Christians. It was France which gave the decisive help in bringing about the establishment of an autonomous Lebanon under Turkish suzerainty in the 1860s. All Maronites, therefore, feel grateful to the French and they believe they can rely on French protection against Moslem aggression. That feeling explains the cautious stand of the Maronites during the recent crisis in Lebanon

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when they opposed the extreme demands of the fanatical nationalists who were largely Moslems favoring an Arab federation.

The Maronites were somewhat suspicious of Great Britain, Mr. Mokarzel continued, fearing that the British policy of encouraging Arab federation was at bottom inspired by a desire to safeguard and promote British imperial interests.

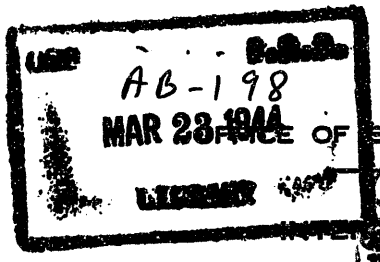
Mr. Mokarzel stated that the Lebanese are particularly friendly to the United States as a country to which they owe much in the way of education, as well as the rise in their standards of living, and in their general culture. He ventured confidentially to express the conviction that 90 per cent of the people of Lebanon would welcome with enthusiasm some form of American mandate over their country after the war, continued until they were in a position to rule themselves independently, free from foreign intervention.

With reference to Zionism, Mr. Mokarzel said the Lebanese were almost unanimous in sympathizing with the Arabs and they were strongly opposed to the project for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

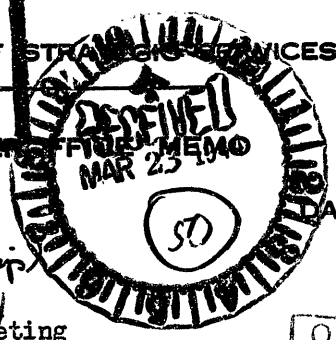
The question of oil from Arabia was of relatively little concern to the Lebanese, Mr. Mokarzel said. They already had the terminus of one pipeline at Tripoli and they needed no more; and they saw little benefit likely to accrue to themselves through the building of a second pipeline. The whole matter was one of large-scale international politics. Arab-Americans were taking a watchful attitude, following the news reports with interest, but refraining for the

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most part from comment for or against the scheme. On the whole they wanted American participation in exploiting Arabian oil, since they were sure they could count on American fairness in business dealings, and more particularly because they thought American participation might result in inducing the American people to take a more active interest in Arab problems.



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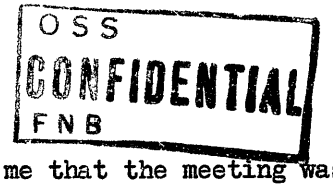


HHB-#36

TO: Mr. Malcolm W. Davis DATE: 22 March 1944

FROM: H. H. Balos HHB-Cop

SUBJECT: Syrian Nationalist Meeting
44 West Newton Street, Boston, Mass.
Sunday, 19 March 1944, 3:00 pm



Msgr. Donailey and a minor Syrian had told me that the meeting was to be held. Apparently the Nationalists had invited key people of all factions to meet at the Syrian Ladies Benevolent Association headquarters and clubroom. I had no other information and several Syrians I spoke with had not heard of the meeting.

When I arrived at 3:10 pm about 12 people were in the back parlor, two of whom knew me. Instantly one, Mr. Abourjaily, jumped up and came outside. He asked who had told me of the meeting. I said that I had heard there would be a lecture on Syria, and of course I was interested. He pressed me for my informant's name, which unfortunately I could not remember.

He assured me the meeting would be wholly in Arabic, and that it concerned only plans for the amalgamation of charitable activities. At 3:30, when the meeting was beginning, he excused himself. We agreed to meet the following day. About 25 people were in the meeting room, including Mr. Faris S. Malouf. There were a number of old-country-type women also, perhaps six. I did not see Dr. Fakhri Maluf.

Mr. Abourjaily did not keep his Monday appointment. Going to his printing shop later, I learned from a neighboring tailor that he had not been in that day.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

DOCUMENT(S) WITH THIS NUMBER(S) COULD NOT BE LOCATED.

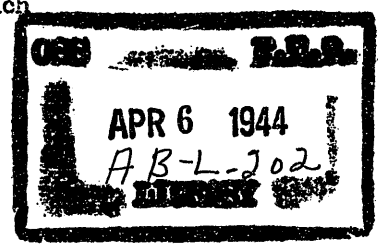
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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

Research and Analysis Branch

AB-L



R & A No. 1186

THE ARABIC-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES IN LATIN AMERICA

SUMMARY

The Arabic-speaking people in Latin America are mainly from Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. Today they and their descendants number between three hundred and four hundred-thousand, the largest concentrations being in Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico and Chile. The Arabic-speaking groups assimulate easily into the Latin American population but tend to maintain a close community structure in the larger urban centers. For the most part they are uninterested in local or world politics. The Christians and Jews tend to be pro-Allied. The Muslims are more often pro-Axis because of their opposition to Zionism and their Pan-Arabic or greater Syrian beliefs, which lead them to take an anti-French and anti-British stand. Active agitation for these two causes, however, is carried on only by a small minority.

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Office of Strategic Services
Washington, D. C.



1 January 1944

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I THE COMMUNITIES THROUGHOUT LATIN AMERICA

A. The Immigration

The Arabic-speaking communities in Latin America are largely composed of immigrants and descendants of immigrants from Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine--the old Turkish vilayet of Syria. Relatively few members stem from other Arabic countries such as Iraq and Egypt. Thus, the relatively reliable Chilean census of 1930 lists, out of 6,707 foreigners from Arabic-speaking areas, 1,345 Syrians and Lebanese, and 3,156 Palestinians as against 42 Egyptians, 2 Moroccans, and 2 Algerians. (The 1,634 Arabs and 526 Turks reported are probably almost entirely Syrians, Lebanese, and Palestinians.) The Venezuelan census of 1936, out of 2,307 foreigners and naturalized citizens from Arabic-speaking areas, reports 1,256 Syrians, 492 Lebanese, and 230 Palestinians as against 54 Egyptians, 21 Moroccans, 6 Algerians, and 2 Tunisians. (Again, the 199 Arabs and 47 Turks listed are probably largely Syrians, Lebanese, and Palestinians.)

The immigration of Arabic-speaking peoples to Latin America in comparatively large numbers began during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and, except for the interruption of World War I, continued until the outbreak of the present war The causes of emigration from Syria, Lebanon and Palestine have been essentially economic rather than religious or political The growth of population created pressure upon the limited resources of these countries

which was not relieved through any adequate development of economic opportunities. At the same time the spread of some knowledge of the Western countries by tourists to the Holy Land and foreign missions, in addition to the development of relatively inexpensive and comfortable means of transportation, made emigration a comparatively simple and attractive solution to the economic problem. The flight of Christians from Muslim persecution, especially during the period of the Ottoman Empire, has been a minor cause of emigration. Similarly, political migration has been confined to the coming of a small number of refugees fleeing after disputes with the French Mandate authorities in Syria and Lebanon in the period after World War I.

Since the First World War an increasingly important factor in slowing down immigration from the countries of Arabic speech has been the enactment of restrictions by many Latin American countries. Mexico and Colombia, for example, have enacted legislation restricting the entry of people from those countries; Bolivia has recently gone to the length of forbidding its consuls to issue visas to Semites for immigration even for travel in the country--a measure undoubtedly aimed at Syro-Lebanese[1] as well as Jews.

1 Syro-Lebanese is used throughout this report as a composite term for Syrians, Lebanese, and Palestinians

The immigration has been largely Christian and has included only small numbers of Muslims and Jews. In contrast to the United States, which has attracted relatively more members of Protestant sects and Greek Orthodox from Arabic countries, Latin America has attracted Uniates and Roman Catholics, especially Maronites (Catholics of Syrian rite organized in a special church under papal supremacy[2].) Although trustworthy figures on the number and religion of the immigrants are almost completely lacking, the present-day composition of the Syro-Lebanese communities makes it clear that Maronites comprised a majority of the immigrants coming to Latin America.

2. Maronites are Uniates rather than Roman Catholics, but because of their easy assimilation into the Roman Catholic parochial system, are usually classed as Roman Catholics in Latin American statistics. Hence, they are so treated in this study.

COUNTRY	ARABIC-SPEAKING POPULATION	DATE	SYRIANS						LEBANESE				
			Orthodox	Uniates	Christians; denomination not specified	Druzes and Muslims	Jews	Total	Orthodox	Uniates	Roman Catholics including Maronites	Druzes and Muslims	Jews
Argentina	90,000	1942 E											
Brazil	135,000	1943 E	25,000	5,000		15,000		45,000	5,000	3,000	80,000	2,000	
Chile	15,000	1943											
Colombia	1,515	1939 Cb						570					
Cuba	30,000	1943 E			420	2,490	90	3,000			20,250	1,125	1,125
Dominican Rep.	4,050	1943 E						1,000					
Honduras	897	1940 C						7					
Mexico	20,000	1943 E											
Peru	666	1940 CE						76					
El Salvador	2,000	1943 E											
Venezuela	2,307	1936 CI						1,256					
Rest of L.A.*	8,000	1943 *											
Approximate total	310,000												

Explanation of symbols after dates:

C figures are taken from census reports and cover only foreign citizens
CE figures are government estimate of resident foreigners
CI figures are taken from census reports and cover both naturalized citizens and foreigners retaining foreign citizenshi
E figures are United States embassy or consular estimates
* The rest of Latin America includes Bolivia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panamá, Paraguay, and Ur

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C PEOPLE IN LATIN AMERICA

A No. 1186)

NESE			PALESTINIANS					OTHER NATIONALITIES (RELIGIONS NOT GIVEN)						CENTERS OF CONCENTRATION
Druzes and Muslims	Jews	Total	Christians	Muslims	Jews	Total	Algerians	Arabs (largely Syro-Lebanese)	Egyptians	Iraqis	Moroccans	Tunisians	Turks (Turcos-largely Syro-Lebanese)	
														Buenos Aires, Tucumán, Rosario, Northeast
2,000		90,000												São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro
														Santiago, Chillán
		430				335		25	33	9	8		105	
1,125	1,125	22,500	473	3,420	607	4,500								Habana, Holguín
		3,000				50								Ciudad Trujillo
						835							55	
														Mérida de Yucatán, Mexico City, Laguna Region
						358		103					129	Lima
														San Salvador
		492				230	6	199	54		21	2	47	

reign citizenship

Paraguay, and Uruguay. The figures are a rough estimate on the basis of 1910 estimates, the latest available.

B. Numbers

The attached chart summarizes the available information on the number of Arabic-speaking people in Latin America, broken down wherever possible by area of origin and religion. The grand total of 310,000 is a conservative estimate and should be regarded as a minimum figure. There are probably no fewer than 300,000 Arabic-speaking people in Latin America and perhaps as many as 400,000 If all people of full and partial Arabic descent were included, these figures might well be more than doubled The main concentrations are in Argentina and Brazil, with important ... ough distinctly smaller settlements in Cuba, Mexico. and Chile Relative to the population of the country, the Dominican Republic and El Salvador have large Arabic-speaking settlements.

The figures of the chart are not completely comparable since, for some countries, they cover only immigrants retaining foreign citizenship; for Venezuela, they include all immigrants, whether foreign or naturalized citizens; and for other countries, they attempt to include all first generation people of Arabic origin and those of the second generation who are still members of the Arabic-speaking communities. At best the chart is a rough approximation or reasoned guess.

Some of the uncertainties involved in any computation of the numbers of Arabic-speaking people in Latin America and affecting

the reliability of the figures in the present tabulation, are as follows:

1. Latin American census figures are generally not entirely trustworthy.

2 The classification of Arabic-speaking peoples varies from country to country; e g , to most Latin Americans all people of Levantine origin are Turks (Turcos) and some census statistics use no other classification. In countries such as Argentina, sizable numbers of Jews from the Greek islands and the Dodecanese are included under the term.

3. Census figures tend to list only Arabic-speaking people who have retained their foreign citizenship. They seldom report those who have been naturalized, and never attempt to report the countries of origin of the parents of citizens born in the country.

4 Since Arabic-speaking immigrants have intermarried freely with native Latin Americans, there are relatively large numbers of people of partly Syro-Lebanese origin in varying stages of assimilation and thus of detachment from the Arabic-speaking communities.

5 The estimates for individual countries used in the chart, while undoubtedly more reliable than census figures, are based on very limited field observation. They do, however, attempt to include the second generation.

6 For the countries not listed individually, neither census statistics nor remotely reliable field estimates exist for a later date than 1910; hence estimates for these countries, possibly even more arbitrary than others, were based upon the estimates made in 1910.

C. Economic and Social Status

Most of the Arabic-speaking immigrants prior to World War I were penniless and engaged in petty trade more often as pedlars than as shopkeepers. They became especially important as the petty traders of frontier and sparsely populated areas such as the Amazon valley and northern Argentina As they accumulated capital, they soon branched out into many forms of petty commerce and tended to become retail traders with fixed stores in villages and cities. With further accumulation of capital, a prosperous minority has branched out into textile manufacturing and other industries, banking, building, transportation, and, to a limited extent, the raising of export crops such as coffee on large estates. Cooperation among the Syro-Lebanese through credit unions and similar institutions has given them the advantage over other competitors of comparatively ample credit facilities and has enabled them, in turn, to advance credit to further their sales. As a group, they are characterized by industry, frugality, shrewdness, and an emphasis upon education.

Today the Arabic-speaking groups subsist largely by retail trade, but a well-to-do minority is branching out increasingly into wholesale trade, publishing, banking, industry, transportation, and the professions. The groups also include some manual laborers, artisans, industrial workers, and farmers. In general immigrants since World War I have been able to avail themselves of help from their relatives and compatriots already in Latin America. Many were thus able to open fixed retail stores without passing through the preliminary stage of peddling. A considerable number has also gone to work in the factories and stores of earlier comers.

With the exception of Jews and Muslims, who tend more to stand out as distinct elements, Arabic-speaking immigrants have mixed readily with the general Latin American populations, aided by the fact that most of them as Maronites are readily acceptable to Roman Catholic communities. Although Levantine skill and sharpness in trading has generated a good deal of resentment among Latin Americans and has led to restrictions upon immigration, native resentment has seldom become bitter enough to cause active discrimination or prevent families achieving wealth from attaining a commensurate social standing in the Latin American community. In Cuba, for example, prominent citizens of Arabic-speaking origin include Dr. Juan B. Khouri, professor of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of

Habana; Dr. Natalio Chediak, a well-known lawyer; Ferid Saba and Bishara Costandi, newspapermen and owners of the Taquechel and Chediak laboratories; Habib Estefana, a writer and lecturer; Julián Salup Juelle, a businessman and co-owner of the Cuban radio station, O'Shea; and José Chaman, a member of the Cuban House of Representatives. In Argentina, Leandro Alem, the founder of the Radical Party, was of Maronite origin; and his nephew, Hipólito de Irigoyen, twice president of the country, was of partly Maronite ancestry. Gabriel Turbay, the celebrated Colombian statesman, former Minister of Foreign Relations, and now Ambassador to the United States, is of Lebanese birth.

A notable exception to the easy assimilation of Arabic-speaking communities is found in El Salvador, where the community is separated from the population and seldom intermarries. In sharp distinction to the case in other countries the second generation clings to the community and does not become assimilated. Friction between the Salvadoran population and the Syro-Lebanese has resulted in the formation of strong racial prejudices on the part of the former, and has led the Salvadoran government to pass legislation restricting the occupations in which Syro-Lebanese residents may engage.

As the industry and better organization of the Arabic-speaking groups gain them increasing economic advantage over their Latin

American neighbors, the tendency toward formation of racial prejudice, already noticeable in the passage of restrictions on immigration, may find expression in social discrimination and perhaps in discriminatory legislation against resident Turcos in other countries than El Salvador.

D. Community Organization

The Arabic-speaking groups are divided by religion into five distinct groups: Roman Catholics (mainly Maronites), Greek Orthodox, Muslims, Jews, and Druzes There is an insignificant number of Protestants. The Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox are by far the most numerous. Like the Christians, the Muslims are split into a number of sects, reflecting the religious divisions of Islam in the Middle East, but these divisions are relatively unimportant because of the pressure of the Christian medium in which the Muslims live in Latin America. The Arabic-speaking Jews are, of course, distinct from the general Latin American population but mix readily with other Sephardic (Mediterranean) Jews, of whom there are considerable numbers in Latin America.

These religious groups tend to form separate communities although there is some cooperation between groups, especially between the Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox, and the Muslims and Druzes. The non-Maronite communities, especially in the larger urban centers usually form tightly-knit units with small clubs and

local religious institutions satisfying their social needs. In rural areas, the Maronites tend to merge with the Latin American community whereas in urban areas, they establish separate community institutions which, however, do not serve to distinguish them as sharply from the rest of the population as the organizations of the other religious groups. Syro-Lebanese communities of any size are apt to have an active press. (See Appendix II.)

Syro-Lebanese communities, whatever their religious allegiance, are characterized by their emphasis upon mutual aid and charitable societies. They normally have, in comparison with the general Latin American population, an ample provision of credit unions, chambers of commerce, etc. for mutual business assistance and of charitable institutions to care for the sick, orphans, aged, and other community charges. Some of the communities maintain schools of their own. Women's aid societies, generally attached to the local Syro-Lebanese church, synagogue, or mosque, are active and powerful instruments in enforcing the general obligation felt within the community to care for its own needy and to have its members contribute generously to charity. Generous gifts to charities and other worthy causes are one of the surest methods of gaining social prestige within the community.

It is the charitable societies and financial organizations that form the institutional structure of the Syro-Lebanese com-

munity. Where there is a separate religious center, as is especially true among the Greek Orthodox, Muslims, and Jews, but less so among the Maronites, the charitable societies are linked with the distinctive religious institution and form a strong institutional framework which helps to continue the community into the second and third generation. There is almost never a formal community organization as such, but the officers and principal figures of the religious, charitable, social, and financial institutions are usually regarded as the leaders and spokesmen of the community. In general, community organization remains a local affair, cooperation between communities of different religions or localities within the same country being informal and sporadic.

A special factor among the Maronites is the existence in some Latin American countries of branches of the Maronite missionary order of Lebanon. The Maronite Fathers operate churches and schools preserving the distinctive character of the Maronites among the Roman Catholic population. They wield a powerful influence upon their congregations, and are a relatively potent force in keeping the second and third generations faithful to the community.

E. Political Activities

In general, Arabic-speaking immigrants are not interested in politics and seldom take part in the political discussions of the Latin American countries. Most of them simply desire to earn

a living and rear their children as citizens of the new country without becoming entangled in controversial political issues. An important exception are the wealthy members of the community, who have little choice but to meddle in politics to defend or advance their economic interests.

Second and third generation Syro-Lebanese, as thoroughly assimilated members of the Latin American nations, often enter into politics as a career, and some of them have become leading figures in their countries. The names of Gabriel Turbay in Colombia and Leandro Alem and Hipólito de Irigoyen in Argentina have already been mentioned.

As a whole, the Arabic-speaking communities have only a lukewarm interest in world politics and the affairs of the homeland in the Middle East, their concern with the lands of their birth being largely sentimental memories without a desire to return. As far as the communities can be said to have a general point of view in the present war, it is pro-Allied. The Lebanese, in particular, have a long tradition of goodwill toward the French although the struggle for their allegiance between the Fighting French and Vichy representatives, (now won by the Fighting French) and the recent difficulties between the governments of Syria and Lebanon and the French authorities have somewhat shaken this. The Maronite Fathers have been a potent source of pro-French propaganda.

To the extent that there are Syrian Nationalist and Pan-Arab movements, there have also been pro-Axis sentiment and agitation in the Syro-Lebanese communities. The anti-Zionist, anti-French, anti-British position of Arab and Syrian nationalism leads almost invariably to sympathy for the Axis. The Muslims have been the element most affected by these movements but a small minority among the Christian communities, including some men of considerable wealth and influence, has also espoused the Greater Syria and to a lesser extent Pan-Arab causes. Since these groups have the greatest interest in continuing the use of Arabic, they tend proportionate to their numbers to control a large part of the Arabic-language press and exert considerable influence over the Arabic community organs. The principal point of agreement in political discussions is opposition to Zionism and Allied control of the Middle East. In Argentina, where pro-Axis movements can operate without incurring government displeasure, the principal groups in the communities are the Syrian Popular (Qawmi) Party of Antun Saadeh (See Appendix I), which has a branch in Brazil; the Pan-Islamic movement of Saifuddin Rahhal; and the Pan-Arab Movement supported by Abdul Latif El-Jachin. In other Latin American countries, such openly pro-Axis movements have been forced to adopt various disguises or disband altogether.

II. NOTES ON THE ARABIC-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES IN INDIVIDUAL LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

A. Argentina

The Arabic-speaking communities in Argentina are among the oldest, most numerous, and best organized in Latin America. Their estimated 90,000 members are largely concentrated in the capital city of Buenos Aires, the surrounding province of Buenos Aires, the great inland port of Rosario, and the surrounding province of Santa Fé, and in the northern and northeastern provinces of Tucumán, Salta, and Santiago del Estero.

In the northeast, Syro-Lebanese have become particularly important as merchants, bankers, landowners, and as lumber barons. During the Castillo administration, when legislative bodies still functioned, Syro-Lebanese financial interests controlled a powerful section of votes in the provincial legislature of Salta, known publicly as the Syro-Lebanese bloc. The emergence of the Syro-Lebanese as one of the dominant economic groups in the northeast has led in recent years, to the growth of widespread prejudice against them, to discussion of the "Syrian Problem", and to proposals for government action against them. Most of the Arabic-speaking people in Argentina, however, are small businessmen, shopkeepers, artisans, and laborers.

The Arabic-language press in Argentina is the largest and most active in Latin America. Virtually every group of any size within the community publishes a separate organ. The press is

described in Appendix II.

As has already been mentioned, the chief pro-Axis groups operating in Argentina are the Syrian Popular (Qawmi) Party of Antun Saadeh (See Appendix I) which has its headquarters in Buenos Aires, where the movement's organ Azzanbaha is published, and branches in Córdoba and Tucumán; the Pan-Islamic movement of Saifuddin Rahhal with its organ Natur el-Islam; and the Pan-Arab movement supported by Abdul Latif El-Jachin in the newspaper La Bandera Árabe. Both the Pan-Arab and the Pan-Islamic movements are in correspondence with Shakib Arslan, an Arab nationalist now living in Geneva, who is one of the leaders of Pan-Arabism and for some time has been in Nazi pay. In Argentina, these movements mostly affect the Muslims.

Aside from these movements there are a number of free-lance Axis sympathizers among the population whose desire for the freedom of their homelands leads them to wish for an Axis victory but who are not prepared to risk their businesses and standing in Argentina to further it. The Lebanese Patriotic Union and, to some extent, the Maronite Missionary Order have shown guarded pro-Axis sympathies.

The Maronites who constitute the most important religious group in the Arabic-speaking communities of Argentina, have a religious organization partially separate from the Roman Catholic diocesan structure, though subject to episcopal supervision, through the Maronite Fathers. They are a well-established

religious order in Buenos Aires under the supervision of Father Juan Habib, whose chief assistants are Miguel R. Indery, Pablo Hourt, and Brother José Kuraiche. The premises of the order at Calle Paraguay 828-834 include, among other things, the convent buildings, a school "Colegio San Marón," and a printing plant. The printing plant has brought the Maronite Fathers under suspicion of being pro-Axis since, in addition to publishing their own organ El Misionero and a review for circulation in Brazil (Los Sirios), they accept commissions to print papers and literature without troubling themselves about the Axis connections of some of their customers or the pro-Axis propaganda in the product.

The premises of the Maronite Order at Calle Paraguay 834 are also headquarters for the Lebanese Patriotic Union, through which the Maronite Fathers exercise a considerable control over Lebanese affairs. Rachid A. Rustom, owner of La Unión Libanesa, and Rafael Lahoud, owner of Ad-Difah, are in constant contact with the order.

B. Brazil

Brazil has the most numerous Arabic-speaking settlement of any Latin American country, an estimated 135,000. Their principal concentrations are in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, where some members have become wealthy bankers, industrialists, and landowners, and have won social acceptance among the Brazilian upper-class. In rural areas, particularly of the interior, Syro-Lebanese are economically important as traders on credit. They are also prominent in the raising of coffee and cotton on plantations in the state of São Paulo. The communities are usually on

cordial terms with Brazilian authorities.

Syro-Lebanese religious organization in Brazil consists of the Maronite Fathers, Greek Orthodox Church, and some Melkite Catholic priests. The Jews use Sephardic religious facilities while the Muslims have no organized cult. The Maronite Missionary Congregation, which is a branch of the order in Lebanon, has headquarters in Rio de Janeiro at Rua Conde de Bomfim 638. Its superior, Reverend Father Elias Gorayeb, has lived in South America for more than forty years and was formerly head of the Maronite School in Buenos Aires. He is assisted by the Very Reverend Father Jean Saadé, Titular Archbishop of Cyprus and visitor of the Maronite Missions, who also represents the Maronite Patriarch. The Maronite Fathers maintain schools in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but their activities are restricted by a lack of Maronite priests.

The Greek Orthodox church has as its spiritual head in Brazil, the Archimandrite Issaias Abbud, who lives in São Paulo. In Rio, the Greek Orthodox Church at Rua Gomes Freire 101, whose lay president is Riskalla Haddad, ministers not only to Greek Orthodox, Lebanese, and Syrians, but also to Greeks, Russians, and Rumanians.

Prior to 1939 the Arabic-speaking communities had an active press and a considerable number of community organizations. The Lebanese alone had organized throughout the country about fifteen reunion centers, the most important being the Society of the Cedar at Rio under the honorary presidency of the Ambassador of France, and the Phoenician Club directed by Akl El Jorr, who is today

president of the Comité pro-France Combattante et Liban. In 1939 the Brazilian government decreed a series of nationalization measures aimed at hastening the assimilation of foreign communities. In consequence, many of the Syro-Lebanese clubs and societies were forced to disband or reorganize as Brazilian organizations. Of the Lebanese societies, there exist today only the Cooperative Society of Lebanese Missionaries, the Maronite Welfare Society, Club Nacional at Rio, the Club Fluminese at Niteroi, and a large Lebanese club (under a Brazilian name) in São Paulo.

The large Arabic press, numbering almost 20 newspapers and reviews in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo was hard hit by the nationalization measures of 1939, which forbade issuance of publications in foreign languages. Most of the periodicals closed down, only two of them, Al Raad and Al Watan, being able to continue publication on condition that they appear in Portuguese. The Brazilian government has also moved to prevent the importation of Arabic organs printed in Argentina, which had been used to fill the gap left by the disappearance of the Arabic-language press.

The Brazilian government has permitted a number of Syro-Lebanese radio programs to continue. Two Syrian programs "The Arab Voice," broadcast in Rio and São Paulo have Pan-Arab tendencies and are suspected of being pro-Axis. "The Voice of Lebanon" (Radio Mayrink Veiga), directed by Tamus Georges Bastany and Miguel Chaloub, under the control of the Maronite Fathers, favors the United Nations.

In general the Syrian and Lebanese communities are pro-Allied. The Lebanese, under the leadership of the Maronite Fathers, are strongly pro-French and have long had good relations with the French authorities in Brazil. Most of the Christian Syrians are also pro-French and pro-Allied. A minority among the Christian Syrians and many of the Muslims, as adherents of the Pan-Arab and Greater Syria movements, are pro-Axis. The Syrian Société Arabe in Rio, which has been closed down, was openly Pan-Arab. Antun Saadeh has been able to recruit some influential agents in Brazil, including Riskalla Haddad the wealthy and prominent Lebanese president of the Greek Orthodox Church at Rio. The Saadeh group has organized the Union Syrienne, which poses as spokesman of a united Syro-Lebanese community.

C. Chile

The Arabic-speaking settlement in Chile is comparatively small, an estimated 15,000, who are unusual because of the high degree of illiteracy among them. Only 25% are able to read or write Arabic, and 50% are said to be totally illiterate. The principal center of concentration is Santiago, the capital, and to a lesser extent, Chillán.

A certain amount of pro-Axis activity has come to light in the Centro Unión Palestino in Chillán, which has been used by a number of German firms for obtaining American merchandise. The Centro maintained social and commercial relations with members of the local German club after the latter had been shut down. A

certain Schain, resident in Chile, is leader of the pro-Axis Arab Youth Movement in Latin America.

D. Cuba

Cuba has a sizable Arabic-speaking settlement estimated at 30,000. The principal concentrations are in Habana, the capital of the republic, and around Holguín, an important market center in Oriente Province. Most of the Syro-Lebanese are petty merchants or shopkeepers, but a number have achieved prominence in the professions or have amassed considerable wealth. Many are workers in the tobacco plantations of Pinar del Rio Province. In Oriente Province there are some almost exclusively Syrian colonies of coffee growers, each family having a tract of land which it cultivates independently. There are also a number of sugar cane growers.

Most of the Syro-Lebanese are Cuban citizens and have been well assimilated, particularly the second and third generation people. In the process of assimilation, the Greek Orthodox tend to become Roman Catholics.

The communities maintain a number of small clubs, of which the wealthiest and most important is the Club Sirio-Líbano-Palestino at Paseo de Martí 258, Prado, Habana. These clubs are recreational and social rather than political in their purpose.

The leading Arabic newspaper is La Voz de Oriente or Sautuchark, published in Arabic and Spanish, which calls itself the "organ of the Syro-Lebanese-Palestinian community." It has

the reputation of being pro-Axis and its editor, Antonio Serrano, has been accused of being a Falangist. Farid Saba, who is firmly pro-democratic, edits a paper called La Unión, which opposed the French mandate over Syria but was otherwise favorable to the Allies.

As elsewhere, the Muslims and some of the Christians are pro-Axis. They have no organization, however, and are careful about disclosing their political sympathies in view of Cuban alignment with the United Nations. The Lebanese and other Christians and the Jews are almost entirely on the side of the United Nations. For a time, a strongly pro-United Nations organization, the Comité Libano-Francés con el General de Gaulle, raised large sums of money for transmission to the Fighting French. Its president, Marcelo Salup Juelle (or Huelle), although publicly thought enthusiastically pro-democratic, is rumored to have diverted much of the money to the Germans or Lebanese in their employ.

E. The Dominican Republic

Most of the estimated 4,050 Syro-Lebanese in the Dominican Republic live in the capital, Ciudad Trujillo. Many of the families have prospered; a few, such as the Dumit family in Santiago de los Caballeros, and the Azar and Jorge families in Ciudad Trujillo, have amassed substantial fortunes. President Trujillo has done the Syro-Lebanese numerous favors and has friendly personal relations with many of the members of the communities. His niece married into the Azar family. Trujillo's favor has not helped the communities win the esteem of the Dominican population.

The Syro-Lebanese are usually pro-French and pro-Allied whenever they have any position in the war. In March 1943, Grousset, delegate of the Fighting French National Committee for the Caribbean area, came to the Dominican Republic to make a special effort to enlist the support of the Arabic-speaking groups. In a number of conferences at local Syro-Lebanese centers, he succeeded in winning support for the Fighting French, but soon ran into covert opposition from President Trujillo, expressed in a satirical article in the magazine Cosmópolita. This frightened off the Syro-Lebanese, who were too dependent on Trujillo's good will to take an independent stand.

In the spring of 1942 the British Legation uncovered some evidence of Nazi sympathies among a few Palestinians, who had been promised lucrative jobs in Palestine after a German victory. Earlier, in 1935, a Lebanese newspaperman named Kassem Elmihani came to the republic for further Pan-Arab nationalism. Despite French protests, he was not molested since he had been astute enough to write fulsome eulogies of President Trujillo. His efforts have had little result.

F. Mexico

The principal centers of concentration of the estimated 20,000 Syrians, Lebanese, and Palestinians in Mexico are Mexico City; Mérida, Yucatán; and the Laguna region. They are largely traders and tend to specialize in the sale of textiles. In the Laguna region, the Syro-Lebanese competed with the Chinese for

control of petty trade until the Chinese were either massacred or expelled by the local Mexicans.

In recent years Syro-Lebanese economic success has led to some resentment and discrimination on the part of the Mexican population. The Mexican government has formally restricted the entry of immigrants from Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine, but does not sanction any discrimination against the people already in the country.

The Syro-Lebanese have assimilated easily into the Mexican population; most of them have taken up Mexican citizenship. The wealthy in the communities are accepted into upperclass Mexican society. Prominent Syro-Lebanese include Aboum Rad, a wealthy banker; Miguel E. Abed, a prosperous textile dealer; and Alfredo Kawage Ramia, an energetic and successful business man, editor of the influential weekly, Hoy, and a close friend of President Avila Camacho. Former President Calles is reported to be of Syro-Lebanese origin.

APPENDIX I

Antun Saadeh and his Syrian Popular (Qawmi) Party

Antun Saadeh is one of the most unusual political figures to appear in the Syro-Lebanese communities of Argentina. He was born in Syria in 1904, and was educated there and in Brazil, where his father was a journalist. While studying sociology in Brazil, he became interested in Syrian problems and organized the Syrian Patriotic League, a nationalist youth movement.

In 1930, he returned to Syria, where on 16 November 1932 he founded a [illegible]nt movement, which soon became known as the Syrian Nationalist (Popular Party and claimed to be independent of other movements in Arabic countries. The Party's aim was the economic and social liberation of Syria and Lebanon and their political union. Some informed sources state that the party was sponsored by the German Foreign Office, possibly through the capable and unscrupulous diplomat von Hentig.

Saadeh appears to have received subsidies from Axis agents during his activities in the Levant, but two facts contributed to the weakening of his influence: the Muslims were not interested in separating Syria and Lebanon from the total Arab problem; and the Lebanese, notably the Maronite Fathers, opposed the incorporation of Lebanon into a Greater Syria.

Saadeh was jailed on three occasions for short periods of time. While in prison, he wrote his best-known book, "The Evolution of the

Nations," which while not specifically political, expounds the broad outlines of his theory. His political position may be described as totalitarian, with emphasis on the creation and unification of a Greater Syria.

In 1938, after he had already fled from Syria to Germany, Saadeh was sentenced in absentia to twenty years in prison and twenty more in exile. From Germany, he went to Italy and finally to Brazil, where he was enthusiastically received at São Paulo. He was soon arrested and deported by the Brazilian authorities and has since remained in Argentina.

For some time after his arrival in Buenos Aires, Saadeh was ignored by the Syro-Lebanese population, but at last succeeded in gaining the support of Husny Abdulmalik, editor of the pro-United Nations newspaper, As-Salam. Saadeh's assurances to Abdulmalik, that he had no connections with foreign agents appear to have had less influence than Abdulmalik's friendship with Saadeh's father. In any case, because of the connection with Abdulmalik, Saadeh obtained a following among the Syro-Lebanese, lectured to the Syro-Lebanese Club Honor y Patria, and was written up in the Diario Siriolibanés. Abdulmalik meanwhile investigated Saadeh carefully, discovered his relations with the German embassy, and in March 1940 made a dramatic public break with Saadeh, denouncing him in the Syro-Lebanese papers. The open enmity of his former protector stripped Saadeh of the majority of his following. Only a small group stayed with him.

Saadeh still maintains the fiction of his leadership, but he is no longer taken seriously by the Syro-Lebanese in Buenos Aires, who are in any case apathetic about world politics. He has made periodic trips to Tucumán, Córdoba, and other provincial capitals, attempting to strengthen his movement, but the opposition of Abdulmalik has counted heavily against him. He has had great difficulty in finding a print shop that is willing to publish his paper, Azzaubaha.

Saadeh is nominally a Christian. He is a man of considerable personal magnetism, well-educated, and handsome. His address until the end of March 1943 was Calle Monte 1405, Buenos Aires. In the last days of March, he moved to Calle Bahía Blanca 2959 in the suburb of Villa Devoto. Since arriving in Argentina, he has married Julieta Elmir, sister of the influential businessman Jorge Elmir. His only visible means of support are the slight income from his newspaper and contributions from followers.

Saadeh's Syrian Nationalist Movement seeks to interest the Syro-Lebanese communities in Latin America, regardless of religious affiliation, in promoting the independence and union in a single state of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan. It advocates a totalitarian political organization, and exacts from its members an oath of unconditional obedience to Saadeh as Zaim or Führer.

The movement has been able to gain a small following in Argentina and Brazil. In Argentina its members consist of a number of genuine believers in Greater Syria, many of them laborers; people

lured by promises of political preferment in the New Order to be established; and women attracted by his rather magnetic personality. His chief lieutenant and leader of the movement in Tucumán is Yubran Massuh, who also figures as nominal director of Azzaubaha. Massuh has assisted El Pampero in obtaining newsprint and, as a result, has been placed upon the United States Proclaimed List. The leader of the movement in Córdoba is Abdon Sahade, head of the business house, Abdon Sahade and Sons, who is also known for his assistance to interned sailors from the Graf von Spee.

In Brazil, Saadeh has recruited a number of influential agents in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, including Riskalla Haddad, Lebanese president of the Greek Orthodox church in Rua Gomes Freire; Georges Saba, Greek Orthodox cloth merchant and ex-president of the Société Ababe; Tufiq Habib, a Greek Orthodox importer of jewels; Nagib Kaled Cheik, a Muslim cloth dealer; and Elias Chame, a Greek Orthodox wholesaler. The Saadeh following has organized the Union Syrienne, a thinly disguised pro-Axis organization, which poses as the spokesman of the Syro-Lebanese in Brazil and stresses the unity of the various groups.

APPENDIX II

The Arabic Language Press in Latin America

Note: The following list is complete only for Argentina, Brazil, and Cuba. It includes all types of periodicals. Unless otherwise stated, the periodicals are published in Arabic and the language of the country.

A. Argentina

1. Buenos Aires (Federal District)

a. The Syro-Lebanese Commercial Press

(1) El Diario Siriolibanés (Syro-Lebanese Daily). -- This is by far the most important newspaper in the Syro-Lebanese community, and the only daily. It was founded by Moisés J. Azize, a Syro-Lebanese leader, in 1928 and now claims a circulation of 15-18,000. About one-third of its ten to sixteen pages are in Spanish; the rest are in Arabic. Offices and plant of the paper are at Calle Reconquista 1038-1040.

Since June, 1941, the Diario has been favorable to the United Nations. It was formerly scrupulously neutral, publishing German and English releases side by side. The Arabic text, however, is not always entirely as completely pro-Allied as the Spanish material.

Moisés J. Azize is reported to be governed more by his estimate of the war's probable outcome than by his political principles, being secretly sympathetic to the Axis. Before his paper changed policy, he wrote a column for it under the nom-de-plume of Kathir Algalaba

(busybody) which ridiculed the United Nations and praised the Axis. The Diario is now nominally in the hands of Azize's brother Elian.

(2) Assalam--La Paz (Peace). -- This paper is relatively small, but it is the oldest Arabic publication in Buenos Aires and well thought of by the Syro-Lebanese educated upper-class. It was founded in 1903 by Wadi Schamun, who is still its owner, and appears three times a week. It claims a circulation of 10,000, part of which goes to neighboring countries. Its eight pages contain more Arabic than Spanish material. Offices and plant of the newspaper are at Calle Paraguay 487.

Assalam's articles, which are relatively well-written, display greater detachment and objectivity than those of its competitors. They are pro-Allied, but pursue a policy of moderation. Schamun and his editor-in-chief, Husny Abdulmalik, favor the United Nations, but Schamun's brother Camilo, the newspaper's administrator, has pro-Nazi tendencies and is said to be indirectly under the influence of Antun Saadeh.

b. The Muslim Press

(1) La Bandera Árabe--Al-Alam Al-Arabi (The Arab Banner). -- This publication which calls itself "the official organ of the Arab youth in America," is one of the most militantly anti-Allied newspapers in Argentina. Its editor is Abdul Latif El-Jachin, the Argentine lieutenant of one Sohsin, in Chile, who is reputed to be the leader of the so-called Arab Youth Movement in South America. The paper advocates Pan-Arabism.

La Bandera Árabe, which appears every Wednesday, claims a circulation of 4,000 although postal employees state that 1,200 is a more accurate estimate. Almost all its news is printed in Arabic, but a few Spanish articles are included. The offices of the paper are at Calle Campaña 621.

The paper is known to receive financial aid from the Germans. Its policy is nevertheless more anti-democratic than pro-Nazi, attacking Great Britain and President Roosevelt for supporting Palestinian Jews against the Arabs. The paper is supposedly controlled by a group of prominent Muslims in Buenos Aires under Ahmed Abboud, but its policy is actually directed from Europe by the Emir Shakib Arslan. El-Jachin is believed to receive Nazi subsidies through an intermediary named Fleischer.

(2) Natur el-Islam--Al-fitrah Al-Islamiah, called Alfutra (Islamic watchman).--Natur el-Islam is, with La Bandera Árabe, the only completely Muslim newspaper now published in Buenos Aires. It is not only anti-democratic but actively pro-Nazi. Its editor, Saifuddin Rahhal, has long been known as an agitator, and has received subsidies from Bernhard von Wolfersdorff of the Press Department of the German Embassy.

Natur el-Islam is published twice weekly on the premises of the blacklisted Rustom Brothers at Calle Reconquista 1010. The majority of its news is in Arabic and comes from Trans-Ocean and similar sources. Rahhal constantly attacks Britain and occasionally the United States. He is in constant touch with Emir Shakib Arslan in

Geneva.

(3) Al Istiklal (Independence). -- This paper is less vehemently Pan-Arab than La Bandera Árabe, and Natur el-Islam. Its editor, until his death in January 1943, was the Emir Emin Arslan, brother of the Emir Shakib Arslan. It is published twice a month at Calle Maipú 375, and is entirely in Arabic.

Al Istiklal's policy was anti-Allied and anti-British but pro-French until the death of Emin Arslan. It has now become anti-French as well.

(4) La Unión Arábiga (Arabic Union).-- This is a small, unimportant magazine which is violently Arab Nationalist and accordingly equally violently anti-Allied. Supposedly a monthly, it appears whenever finances and material permit. Printed almost wholly in Arabic, it is written and published by José Elydd at Calle Valdenegro 3452. The magazine was founded in 1940

c. Syro-Lebanese Nationalist Press (Non-Muslim)

(1) Azzaubaha--El Ciclón (The Whirlwind). -- This is the official organ of Antun Saadeh, founded by him in 1940. It is written and directed by Saadeh although the nominal director and owner is Saadeh's lieutenant, Yubran Massuh. Its format is that of a literary magazine, with several pages in Spanish and the rest in Arabic. There are occasional Brazilian articles in Portuguese. The review appears twice a month and has a circulation of about 2,500 copies. Its contents are devoted to Saadeh's cause as well as to totalitarian propaganda. The offices are at Calle Bahía Blanca 2959

and the printshop at Calle Reconquista 862.

(2) Azzaman (Time). -- This paper, until its demise in January 1943, was edited by Yauad Nader, a mouthpiece of Antun Saadeh, who reflected Saadeh's opinions. The owners of Azzaman, the Samra brothers, have done printing for El Pampero. Nader still works on a part-time basis for the Diario Siriolbanés.

(3) La Unión Libanesa--Al-Ittihad Al-Lubnani (The Lebanese Union). -- This magazine, although relatively small and unimportant is turned out in one of the most prolific Arabic-language print-shops in Argentina, "La Comercial" of Rustom Brothers at Calle Reconquista 1010. It is an eight-page weekly with most of the text in Arabic. It claims a circulation of 5,000, but 1,000 is probably more accurate. The founder, proprietor, and director is Rachid Assad Rustom, who with his two brothers makes up the firm "Rustom Hermanos." The brothers are Lebanese, and advocate the independence of Lebanon from Syria as well as from all foreign mandates.

Various informants report that La Unión Libanesa is not particularly pro-Axis, although it uses the graphic services of Trans-Ocean unofficially, and the news services of Correo Periodístico Sudamericano. It is said to be deeply influenced by the Maronite Fathers. Rustom has also occasionally printed such violently anti-democratic Arabic papers as Natur el-Islam and La Bandera Árabe, and portions of El Pampero. The print-shop has consequently been put on the British and United States Proclaimed Lists, although La Unión Libanesa was

not specifically included.

(4) Ad-Difah (Defense). -- This sixteen-page semi-monthly founded in June 1942, is directed by Rafael Lahoud and Antonio Saab. It is printed half in Arabic and half in Spanish. The Spanish text is extremely pro-Allied, showing especial friendliness toward the United States. A recent number was dedicated to the United States in gratitude for American recognition of the independence of Syria and Lebanon. The Arabic text is favorable to Soviet Russia. The two texts are not always in agreement; the United States Office of Censorship at Balboa declares the Arabic section neutral with respect to the war. Ad-Difah is on the blacklist of the British Embassy and the Inter-Allied Propaganda Office in Buenos Aires, apparently because of the reputation of the paper's owner, Rafael Lahoud.

Ad-Difah carries on a systematic campaign of denunciation of Moisés J. Azize, the Diario Siriolibanés, and Antun Saadeh.

d. The Maronite Press

(1) El Misionero (The Missionary). -- This paper is the organ of the Maronite Fathers, and as such has a great deal of influence among the Syro-Lebanese. It is a four-page semi-weekly, with one page in Spanish and three in Arabic. The contents are chiefly of a religious nature but whatever political material there is, expresses a democratic and pro-Allied point of view. The paper is published in the printshop of the Maronite Fathers.

(2) Los Sirios (Syrians). -- This is a Brazilian

Arabic review published by the Maronite Fathers in Argentina because of the Brazilian government's prohibition of the publishing of foreign-language periodicals. The editor, Chicralla (or Chucri) El Jorr of Rio de Janeiro, formerly published a magazine in Rio. He furnishes the material for Los Sirios and the list of people to whom it is to be sent. The review has been pronounced politically harmless by translators.

e. Miscellaneous

(1) Ahla Usahla-- Bienvenida (Welcome). -- This social, humorous, and musical review is published in Arabic and Spanish about ten times a year. Its director is Gabriel Trabulci; its offices are at Calle Reconquista 730.

(2) Al Ahita-- La Vida (Life). -- This is a monthly published mostly in Arabic. Its director is Jorge Assas; its offices are at Calle Paraguay 487, the address of Assalam.

(3) Chaja (?). -- The Argentine publishing directory lists a newspaper of this name with offices at Gorriti 5121.

(4) La Situación (The State of Affairs). -- Published twice-monthly, this is the organ of the Syro-Lebanese Chamber of Commerce. Its offices are at Calle Reconquista 210.

2. The Provinces

a. Revista de la Sociedad Unión Sirio-Libanesa. -- Santa Fé, province of Santa Fé.

b. El Eco de Oriente (The Echo of the East). -- Tucumán, province of Tucumán. Founded in 1917, this eight-page newspaper appears

in Arabic and Spanish. Its director is Nacib Baaclim. The offices of the paper are at Calle Muñecas 298-300.

B. Brazil

(The following list includes all Arabic-language periodicals issued in Brazil at the time of the decree against publication in foreign languages. Only the two periodicals starred have continued publication in Portuguese.)

1. Rio de Janeiro (Federal District)

a. A Verdade (Truth)

b. Al Riondat (?)

c. Confederação Libanesa (Lebanese Confederation)

d. A Liberdade (Freedom)

2. São Paulo

a. Al Alkar (?)

b. Liga Andaluza de Letras Árabes (Andalusian League of Arabic letters)

c. Esfinge (The Sphinx)

d. Fata Lubnan (Lebanese Youth)

e. A.B.C.

f. O Oriente (The East)

g. O Espelho do Mundo (The World Mirror)

h. *Al Raad-- O Reporter (sic) (Thunder)

i. Diário Sirio (Syrian Daily)

j. Os Liberais (The Liberals)

k. Al Watan-- A Pátria (The Fatherland). -- This periodical receives occasional subsidies from the British and French embassies

1. A Liga (The League)

m. Assikra--A Reminiscência (Remembrance)

C. Chile

1. El Mundo Árabe (The Arab World). -- Santiago. A monthly which began publication in 1935, went out of existence and reappeared in May 1938. It describes itself as the "organ of the Arabic-speaking communities."

2. Al-Islah--La Reforma (The Reform). -- Santiago. Published by Jorge Sabaj Zurob, this periodical is pro-Axis in its content. Its offices are at Bellavista 263.

D. Cuba

1. La Voz de Oriente--Sautuchark (The Voice of the East). -- Habana. Edited by Antonio Serrano, this paper has the reputation of being pro-Axis. Its offices are at Bernoza 110.

2. La Unión (The Union). -- Habana. Published from 1927 to 1938, this newspaper was revived during the war. Its editor is Farid Saba, who is firmly pro-Allied.

E. Mexico

1. Al Fared (The Unique). -- Mexico City. Edited by Nacif Fadl, this is a weekly devoted to topics of general interest, a variety review in the European sense of the term.

2. Al Gorbal (The Sieve). -- Mexico City. This periodical appears monthly under the editorship of Juan Bichara.

3. Al Kustas (The Balance). -- Mexico City. This has the widest circulation of the Mexican Arabic-language periodicals. Edited

by Alfredo Slim, it appears weekly. It has some Fighting French backing.

4. Emir (The Prince)--Mexico City. Like Al Fared above, this is devoted to topics of general interest. It is issued monthly under the editorship of Alfonso N. Aned.

5. Líbano (Lebanon) -- Mexico City.

APPENDIX III

Citizenship and Protection of Syro-Lebanese Emigrants

Most of the Syro-Lebanese immigrants have become citizens of their new country and passed completely under its jurisdiction. In the case of those who have not become naturalized, the break-up of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I produced a good deal of confusion about citizenship. As long as the Ottoman Empire lasted, the immigrants were considered to be Turkish subjects and under the protection of Turkish consular officials. The Maronites usually avoided contact with the Turkish consulates and preferred, in each center, to group themselves around one of their own number who acted as their official representative in dealings with Latin American authorities. In serious difficulties they often approached the local French representative, who intervened on the basis of the traditionally good relations between the Lebanese and the French.

In 1923 after the awarding of the mandate over Syria and Lebanon to France and over Palestine to Great Britain, the Syro-Lebanese residents in Latin America were given the opportunity to declare their choice of citizenship. Those who failed to opt for the citizenship of one of the mandated countries remained Turkish citizens. In view of the fact that many of the Syro-Lebanese gave up Turkish citizenship, Turkey considered it useless to maintain all of its consulates and closed down many of them, confiding the protection of its citizens to other countries. In Brazil, the

protecting power for Turkish citizens became Spain. About 40% of the Syro-Lebanese in Brazil retaining foreign citizenship are still Turkish citizens.

The protection of the Syrians and Lebanese was automatically a concern of French consulates until the expulsion of High Commissioner Dentz, which was followed by the proclamation of the independence of Syria and Lebanon by the Fighting French. As a result of agreements concluded between the republics of Syria and Lebanon, on the one hand, and the Fighting French, on the other, the latter are charged with representing the interests of the two new states in those countries where they have not considered it necessary to set up their own representation. The Fighting French have therefore continued to protect the interests of Syrian and Lebanese nationals in Latin America.

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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

MEMORANDUM TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FROM THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Number R-185 14 April 1944

APR 18 1944
AB-205

MIDDLE EASTERN PROBLEMS IN THE ARAB-AMERICAN MIRRO

Arab-Americans are heartily in favor of t ject for American exploitation of Arabian oil. Their unity on the subject equals and is related to their opposition to Zionist agitation for the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. On inter-Arab religious and political problems, however, underlying disagreements and conflicts continue.

DURING the first quarter of 1944 the principle subjects of discussion in the Arab-American press were the "threat" of Zionism and the spectacular project for the building of a pipeline across Arabia with the financial backing of the United States Government. On the latter, all of the papers in March were beginning to comment with enthusiasm. Franco-Lebanese relations had receded into the background, while Lebanese independence, Arab federation, and other political problems were only occasionally discussed.

Widely scattered and not highly organized or given to attending meetings, the Arab-American community voices its opinion through a small but lively press. Comprising nine papers -- two dailies, two published three times a week, three semi-weeklies, and two weeklies -- the Arab-language press has a total circulation probably not exceeding 15,000. Largest and most important of the papers is the daily *al-Hoda* of New York;

NN - F.N.B. Ent. #2, Box 242.

Lebanese-Maronite and separatist, it has in the past been accused of being subsidized by the French. The smaller *al-Akhlak* of New York prints a more moderate and less pro-French version of the same views, while the semi-weekly *al-Islaah* of New York speaks for the Orthodox Christians of Syrian descent. Largest of the papers representing the non-separatist Syrian minority of Arab-Americans are the nationalistic Brooklyn daily *as-Sameer* and the liberal and Pan-Arab *Nehnat-ul-Gharb* published three times a week in New York City. A Syrian-Druse paper which serves also as the voice of Syrian-American Moslems is *al-Bayan* formerly of Brooklyn but now issued three times a week in Washington, D. C., the most Pan-Arab publication in the United States. Since all the papers are kept and passed on from hand to hand it is estimated that they reach ultimately some 50,000 readers, or approximately one-third of the Arab-American community.

Opposition to Zionism Unanimous

Lebanese separatists, Syrian nationalists, Arab federationists, Catholic, Orthodox, Druse, and Moslems, provisionally submerging their other differences, have remained joined in opposition to Zionism.

The most abundant fuel for this unanimous opposition was provided by the public hearings on the resolution introduced in the House by Representatives James A. Wright of Pennsylvania and Ranulf Compton of Connecticut urging that the United States take appropriate measures to bring about the opening of Palestine to Jewish immigration, leading ultimately to the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth.*

* See "American Zionists and the Palestine Resolution," FN Number B-165 of 9 March 1944.

The principal witnesses for the Arab side were Professor Philip K. Hitti of Princeton, and Mr. Faris S. Malouf, Boston lawyer. All Arab-American papers applauded the stand of these two witnesses. *As-Sayeh* (24 February) lashed out against supporters of the resolution whom it accused of trying to play havoc with other people's rights. The United States entered the war to safeguard right against aggression, *as-Sayeh* asserted. Why then, did these Representatives ignore all principles of justice and try to dispose of other people's homelands? Did they not realize that by supporting Zionism they were stabbing democracy in the back?

Americans of Arab origin insist that their anti-Zionist feeling is political and not anti-Jewish. The Arabs, it is asserted, sympathize deeply with the Jewish victims of persecution and are ready to give shelter to their full quota of refugees in Palestine. But the Zionists, they declare, are taking advantage of a humanitarian problem which has evoked the commiseration of the whole world, and are trying under its cover to force through a ruthless political scheme whereby a Jewish home would be transformed into an independent national state built up entirely at the expense of Arab interests and violating one of the cardinal principles proclaimed by the United Nations.

Aftermath of the Congressional Hearings

The protests addressed to the President and the Department of State by all of the Arab states except Saudi Arabia against the Wright-Compton and the Senatorial Wagner-Taft resolutions were widely publicized and approved in the Arab-American newspapers; while Senator Wagner's reply to a message from members of the Iraqi Parliament drew rather caustic editorial comment. The Senator was quoted as stating that "the

American Congress has for the last hundred years been able to make its own decisions without outside interference." Senator Wagner and his friends, *as-Sameer* remarked (3 March), were the offenders in the matter of "outside interference," yet they insisted on being the plaintiffs. *Herriot-ul-Gharb*, usually mild and conservative in tone, devoted some bitter phrases to what it called Senator Wagner's ignorance and stubbornness, and especially to his assertion that he entertained nothing but the deepest friendship for all the Arabs. Continuing the attack, *as-Sameer* charged, as had *al Islaah* previously, that many of the Senators and Representatives supporting the resolutions, Democrats and Republicans alike, were doing so purely for political reasons, being eager to win the Jewish vote in the coming elections.

The statement of General Marshall to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, which was followed by the shelving of the Palestine resolutions in the Senate and the House, was greeted with deep relief by the Arab-American press and community. It was felt that a great victory had been won; but all were troubled by the fear that the problem had not yet been definitively settled and that the struggle would have to be resumed.

The statement given by President Roosevelt to Rabbis Abba Hillel Silver and Stephen S. Wise and made public before the National Conference on Palestine, in Washington 9 March, did nothing to allay these fears. *As-Sameer* and *al-Hoda*, however, interpreted the President's remarks to mean that a final settlement would be deferred until the end of the war; deferment, they thought, would aid the Arab cause.

During the period of the Committee hearings, several journals had urged their readers to shower their representatives in Congress with

letters of protest, and some papers printed model letters to be cut out, copied or adapted. A great many such letters were actually sent to Washington.

A constant theme in almost all the papers has emphasized the need for vigilance and united action. "Unwatched property," said *al-Bayan*, quoting Arab folklore, "leads to theft." Asserting that the Zionists were admirably organized, and under efficient leadership were intensifying their propaganda, *as-Sameer* has repeatedly urged Arab-Americans to organize in defense of Arab rights. Other papers have supported the idea and perhaps as a result of this campaign there has been organized in New York, according to *as-Sayeh*, a branch of the Arab American League for the Defense of Democracy. The parent organization was founded in Flint, Michigan, in the spring of 1943 as the League of American Arab Committees for Democracy, with the express purpose of fighting political Zionism.* It has apparently not been too energetic in seeking adherents, since its first affiliate seems to be the branch now formed in New York; but the parent society has recently appointed a special committee of outstanding members to work for the defense of Palestine against Zionist aims.

Criticism of British Policy

Throughout the discussion reference has of course frequently been made to Great Britain. The British Government is said to have been beguiled by the Zionists into the blunder of issuing the Balfour Declaration in 1917; now the Zionists are trying to involve the United States in the same

* See FN Number B-48 of 7 June 1943.

error. On the other hand, the White Paper which the Arabs originally rejected, is now regarded with some measure of approval. Palestine is no longer merely a British problem, *as-Sameer* asserted 2 March; it has become an international question in which Russia's new interest in the Middle East will play a decisive role.

Al-Hoda (26 February) in what was apparently meant as a veiled reference to Great Britain, spoke of a mysterious hand behind the scenes. That it was there is proved, the paper said, by the contradictory measures taken in connection with the two Middle Eastern crises. On the one hand pressure was applied for an immediate settlement of the Lebanese question; but on the other hand, delay was urged in dealing with the Palestinian problem. Such action, *al-Hoda* concluded, could only have been taken by a great Power. Nahas Pasha, Prime Minister of Egypt, was quote by the same paper as favoring the delay; and he was credited with having brought around all the other Arab states except Saudi Arabia to agree with his view.

Exploitation of Arabian Oil Endorsed

Although announcement of plans for the construction by the United States of a pipeline to carry oil from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean immediately received widespread publicity in the American press and evoked a spirited discussion both for and against, it was at first treated with remarkable caution by the Arabic-language newspapers in this country. The original report, translated from J. H. Carmical's article in the *New York Times* (28 January), was published without editorial comment in *al-Hoda* on 28 January and in *as-Sameer* of Brooklyn the next day. After the appearance of Secretary Ickes'

statement (5 February) and especially after the vigorous bolstering of the project by President Roosevelt in a press conference (11 February) some Arab-American editors felt themselves treading on safe ground and ventured to express opinions.

Al-Bayan of Brooklyn already on 10 February welcomed the idea that the United States Government should participate in the development of oil deposits in the Middle East. Connecting the agreement with the recent visit of the two Saudi-Arabian princes in Washington,* *al-Bayan* termed it a brilliant achievement of King Ibn Saud "who had the foresight and the power to confer with Americans and entrust the task to them." America, *al-Bayan* continued, was a power very desirable to have in the Middle East, for America had no secret or open designs on anybody's land, and her sense of fair play was proverbial. American development of the Arabian oil deposits, the paper concluded, would be of the greatest benefit to the entire Middle East as well as to America.

Meraat-ul-Gharb of New York on 16 February came out strongly in favor of American participation in the exploitation of Arabian oil. President Roosevelt's arguments for the need of a reserve source of oil in the Middle East were warmly seconded. The paper severely criticized those Senators, Congressmen, and others who had voiced opposition to the project. They were the same people, the paper declared, who had been isolationists before Pearl Harbor and whose motto had always been and would continue to be "to hell with the world, we are interested in profits." Fortunately, *Meraat-ul-Gharb* added, they constituted only a small minority in America.

* See FN Number 157 of 30 October 1943.

As-Sameer of Brooklyn (20 March) took a similar position, charging that isolationists were trying to clip the wings of the American eagle ("the sky is for eagles and not for starlings"), and adding that if we had beaten Japan to the Far Eastern sources of rubber and oil, Japan would not have been able to attack us.

Al-Hoda, the Lebanese separatist daily, has given more space and thought to the problem of Arabian oil than any of the other papers. In its news columns it has summarized the discussions in the leading American journals, and it has presented its own views in a series of editorials. The United States was determined, *al-Hoda* stated (3 March), to become a leading power in the air after the war, and must therefore be vitally interested in the Arabian oil deposits which are among the largest of their kind in the world. The paper drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the formulation of foreign policies. This new interest in Arabian oil explained recent American political activity in the Middle East. Economically it would be of vast benefit to all Arab lands.

On the political side, *al-Hoda* asserted, American interest in Arabian oil would be very damaging to the Zionist program for establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. The United States and Great Britain have seen the necessity for conciliating the Arabs and winning their friendship, and they would therefore work for a settlement in Palestine doing justice to Arab rights. The United States, moreover, would be in the Middle East to stay, not as an imperialist power, it was hoped, but with a policy of live and let live in accordance with the terms of the Atlantic Charter.

The attitude of *al-Hoda*, essentially shared by the Syrian Orthodox papers *Meraat-ul-Ghorb* and *as-Sameer* and by the Druse-Moslem *al-Bayan*, may safely be taken as reflecting the feeling of the Arab-American community as a whole. Conversations with Americans of Arab origin have indicated that almost all are ardently hoping that the agreement will be speedily ratified and put into execution. Great Britain is rarely mentioned, although the special interest of the British in the exploitation of Middle Eastern oil is recognized. It seemed to be commonly assumed that the United States and Britain could and would settle to mutual satisfaction such conflicting matters as might arise.

Differences over Lebanon

Although the animosities aroused at the time of the Franco-Lebanese crisis have largely subsided, *al-Hoda*, representing the Lebanese-Maronites, at intervals still raises its voice in defense of the French and in regret that the French mandate over Lebanon was cast off with so great haste. Pan-Arab papers such as the Druse-Moslem *al-Bayan* seize the opportunity whenever offered to criticize French harshness and injustice towards the Lebanese or to fulminate against French imperialism. The separatist *as-Sabah* of Detroit, on the other hand, published a story 27 January charging that British agents fomented the Lebanese disorders, expending much gold in bribing a small minority of malcontents to make trouble while the great majority of the Lebanese were content with the French mandate. *As-Sameer*, for its part, accused General de Gaulle and the French Committee of National Liberation of bad faith and insolence in sending a High Commissioner to Lebanon without previously having consulted the Lebanese Government

concerning the appointment, as diplomatic custom demanded. The paper approved the refusal of the Lebanese Government to meet the French Commissioner on his arrival.

The contest between the Lebanese separatists and the advocates of Arab federation has continued whenever occasion presented itself. Standing for the cause of absolute independence for Lebanon, *al-Hoda* was pleased to publish (11 February) the categorical statement of the Lebanese president Bechara al Khoury, that Lebanon will never yield its sovereignty by joining a Greater Syria nor will it be part of any Arab federation. The same paper a few days later welcomed the supplementary announcement of the Lebanese Prime Minister Riad Solh, formerly known as a Pan-Arab enthusiast, that he, too, now favored independence.

Arab Federation Loses Support

A declaration attributed to Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia during his passage through Egypt homeward-bound from America has gravely weakened the cause of Arab federation among Arab-Americans. The Prince was quoted as saying that in the view of his father, King Abdul-Aziz (Ibn Saud), any Arab federation must be based on the Koran. This stipulation that the federation must be officially Moslem has alarmed Christian Arabs and disturbed liberal Mohammedans. Supporters of the movement for federation have had most of the support knocked out from under their case; while the separatists have unexpectedly been provided with a powerful, fresh argument to win adherents.

Arabs of North Africa

Several of the papers have recently devoted some attention to the Arabs of North Africa and to their movement for the creation of an independent Arab state comprising Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco. *Meraat-ul-Gharb*, reporting that a committee had been formed in Cairo to further such a project, expatiated on the widespread hatred for the French said to prevail among North African Arabs together with a desire for the termination of French rule. If a mandate were necessary, the paper concluded, the Arabs would prefer to have America assume responsibility for it. *Al-Bayan*, calling the Arabs of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco "the forgotten peoples" asserted that they would continue to suffer the fate of enslaved peoples under the yoke of France, unless the United Nations through American leadership did something about it. *Al-Islaah*, referring to the same stirrings for independence among the North African Arabs, regarded the repressive measures to which the French were resorting, as promising signs of future developments, for they were similar to the measures employed by the French imperialists in Lebanon, which alienated the good will of the people there and ultimately led to the liberation of Lebanon. *Al-Islaah*, too, believed that although most of the North Africans desired independence, many would be favorable to an American or a British mandate. England's promise that Libya would not be given back to Italy was of the utmost importance to the Arab world which was relying on Great Britain to keep that promise.

Syrian National Party Reported Reviving

Though apparently not mentioned in any of the papers, a movement is believed to be under way to revive interest in the Syrian National Party. The leader of the movement in this country is said to be Dr. Fakhri Maluf who lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, but commutes to Worcester where he teaches physics and mathematics at Holy Cross. Dr. Maluf, a man in his late twenties, came to the United States in 1938, and after first studying at the University of Michigan, received his doctorate from Harvard. A devout Roman Catholic, Dr. Maluf is thought to be too deeply religious and too immersed in academic philosophy to be a really effective leader. Nevertheless, some of his compatriots think that his brilliance and charm are such that he may ultimately emerge as ruler of his people.

Dr. Maluf was registered in 1942 under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as representative in the United States of the Syrian National Party. Subsequently in June 1943, he requested that his personal registration be withdrawn and a new one substituted in the name of the organization itself. Maluf has been regarded as spokesman for the Syrian nationalist leader, Antun Sa'adah, now living in exile in Argentina, although his friends say that Maluf has had no recent contact with Sa'adah. It is known that no prominent Syrian-Americans in Boston and probably very few others have actually joined his organization; and the party is believed to have only a handful of members in the United States. At a closed meeting held 19 March in Boston, no more than 25 persons were present.

2.2

The principles and aims of the Syrian National Party have been set forth together with the text of the members' oath, in a small pamphlet printed in English, a copy of which has come into the possession of this Branch. The statement of principles begins with the assertion that Syria is for the Syrians and the Syrians are a complete nation. Syria is defined as extending from the Taurus Range in the north to the Suez Canal in the south, including the Sinai peninsula and the Gulf of Akaba; and from the Syrian Sea in the west to the Syrian desert up to its junction with the Tigris in the east.

Separation of church and state, removal of all barriers between the different sects, abolition of feudalism, security of the rights of labor, and the creation of a strong army to defend the country, are among the principles proclaimed. The aim of the party, the pamphlet continues, is to create a Syrian national revival to realize these principles and to work for the formation of an Arab front. In a series of questions, prospective members are asked if they believe in these principles; are prepared to apply, spread, and defend them; and are willing to accept the discipline of the party and preserve its secrets within the limits of their responsibilities as citizens of the United States.

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PROFESSOR DEWITT C. POOLE
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
310 SIXTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR PROFESSOR POOLE:

I AM ENCLOSING AN ARTICLE WHICH MAY INTEREST YOU.

SINCERELY YOURS,

Jacob Landau

JACOB LANDAU
MANAGING DIRECTOR

JL:F

ENCL:

ARABS AID AXIS IN ARGENTINA. BY TOM NELSON

MONTEVIDEO (ONA)--ONE OF THE MOST INDEFATIGABLE AND EFFECTIVE AXIS AGENTS IN LATIN AMERICA IS A HANDSOME, STOCKY, DARKISH, FORTYISH ARAB NAMED ANTOUN SAADI.

ANTOUN IS FUEHRER OF A STORM-TROOP ORGANIZATION OF ARAB NATIONALISTS REACHING INTO EVERY LATIN AMERICAN STATE AND HAVING CONTACTS EVEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

WHILE HIS STORM-TROOP ARABS NUMBER AT MOST 20,000 AND CONSEQUENTLY DO NOT CONSTITUTE AN IMPORTANT MILITARY FACTOR, THEY ARE CONCEDED BY INFORMED OBSERVERS TO BE AN EXCELLENT ESPIONAGE ORGANIZATION FOR THE AXIS IN THIS HEMISPHERE.

ONE OF THEIR VIRTUES, EXTREMELY HELPFUL AT A TIME WHEN AXIS ESPIONAGE OPERATES UNDER DIFFICULTIES, IS THAT LITTLE ATTENTION IS PAID TO THEM BY THE AUTHORITIES.

AND NOT THE LEAST USEFUL DUTY THEY PERFORM FOR THE AXIS IS THE FUNNELING OF PRO-AXIS PROPAGANDA TO THE ARAB COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS IS DONE THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF A RAB NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN LATIN AMERICAN, PARTICULARLY ARGENTINA, WHICH ARE SMUGGLED TO ARAB-SPEAKING COUNTRIES TO PROVE THAT ALL THE ARABS IN AMERICA ARE FASCISTS AND PRO-AXIS.

ANTOUN'S PERSONAL ORGAN, THE BI-MONTHLY AZZAUBAHA (THE CYCLONE) PUBLISHES WITHOUT INTERFERENCE IN ARGENTINA WHILE LEFTIST AND LIBERAL ARAB PAPERS, OF WHICH THERE WERE A NUMBER, HAVE BEEN SUPPRESSED BY THE ARGENTINE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP.

BUT ANTOUN'S ACTIVITIES, DANGEROUS AS THEY MAY BE TO THE ALLIED CAUSE, DO NOT GENUINELY REFLECT THE FEELINGS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE ARABS IN LATIN AMERICA, OF WHOM THERE ARE CLOSE TO 900,000.

OF THIS NUMBER SOME 400,000 LIVE IN ARGENTINA, AN EQUAL NUMBER IN BRAZIL, 10,000 EACH IN PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY, 20,000 IN CHILE, 15,000 IN COLOMBIA, 8,000 IN BOLIVIA AND 15 OR 20,000 IN THE REST OF SOUTH AMERICA.

THE PRESENCE OF 400,000 ARABS IN ARGENTINA IS LITTLE NOTICED, AS THEY USUALLY ASSIMILATE EASILY. THERE ARE, FOR EXAMPLE, VERY FEW ARAB SCHOOLS IN ARGENTINA SO THAT THE ARAB CHILDREN GROW UP AND STUDY WITH OTHER ARGENTINE CHILDREN AND LITTLE DIFFERENCE IS NOTICEABLE.

IN BUENOS AIRES, THERE ARE SOME STREETS POPULATED MOSTLY WITH ARABS, AND SOME BUSINESS QUARTERS SHOW AN ARAB MAJORITY, BUT THE LARGEST GROUPS OF THE ARAB IMMIGRATION WENT TO THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF

ARGENTINA WHERE CLIMATIC CONDITIONS ARE MORE FAVORABLE TO THEM. IN THESE PROVINCES THEY OFTEN REPRESENT MINORITIES OF 15 PER CENT OR GREATER. WHILE THE FIRST IMMIGRANTS WERE MOSTLY CONNECTED WITH TEXTILE MANUFACTURE AND IMPORT, TODAY THEY ARE REPRESENTED IN ALL SOCIAL CLASSES AND ALL OCCUPATIONS.

THIRTY PER CENT OF THE ARAB IMMIGRANTS ARE FROM SYRIA AND 50 PER CENT FROM LEBANON, BUT THERE ARE ALSO PALESTINE ARABS, AND ARABS FROM SAUDI ARABIA AND EGYPT. ABOUT TWO-THIRDS ARE CHRISTIANS AND ONE-THIRD MOSLEMS. THEY BELONG TO 20 OR MORE CHRISTIAN AND MOSLEM SECTS.

IN ARGENTINA THE ARABS ARE ORGANIZED INTO SOME 200 POLITICAL, SOCI SOCIAL, SPORTS AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS. THEY HAVE TWO DAILIES, 11 WEEKLY OR BI-MONTHLY PUBLICATIONS, EIGHT MAGAZINES. POLITICALLY, THEY ARE DIVIDED IN A GREAT NUMBER OF FACTIONS, SO THAT IT IS HARD EVEN FOR AN ARAB TO UNDERSTAND ARABIAN POLITICS IN ARGENTINA, THE INTERNATIONAL TENDENCIES OF WHICH ARE EXTREMELY CONFUSED. EVEN ON THE JEWISH ISSUE THEY ARE NOT UNITED. THERE IS A VIOLENTLY ANTI-JEWISH NEWSPAPER, THE "NATUR-ISLAM," WHOSE EDITORS WANT ALL JEWS SENT TO THE SAHARA, AND A PRO-JEWISH PAPER "ASSALAM" (PEACE), WHICH IS OPPOSED TO THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER ON PALESTINE.

ALTHOUGH PROBABLY 60 PER CENT OF THE ARGENTINE ARABS STAND ON THE SIDE OF THE UNITED NATIONS, EITHER SYMPATHIZING WITH THEM OR ACTIVELY CONTRIBUTING TO THE W AR EFFORT, IT HAS PROVED IMPOSSIBLE TO UNITE THEM. DIFFERENCES ON SEEMINGLY MINOR QUESTIONS HAVE PROVED A MAJOR OBSTACLE.

ONE OF THE LATEST EFFORTS TO UNITE ALL ARGENTINE ARABS, AS A MATTER OF FACT ALL AMERICAN ARABS, WAS MADE BY ANTOUN SAADI, WHO FOR MORE THAN TEN YEARS SOUGHT RECOGNITION AS THE FUEHRER OF ALL SYRIO-LEBANESE ARABS.

AFTER HAVING STUDIES FASCIST METHODS OF ORGANIZATION AND PROPAGANDA IN GERMANY AND ITALY, HAVING BECOME A FRIEND OF HITLER AND MUSSOLINI AND HAVING BEEN TAUGHT HOW TO BECOME THE FUEHRER OF HIS OWN PEOPLE, ANTOUN RETURNED IN THE EARLY THIRTIES TO SYRIA. HE WAS WELL PROVIDED WITH MONEY BY WEALTHY SYRIAN NATIONALISTS AND OTHER SOURCES, AND SO ORGANIZED HIS SYRIAN NATIONALIST PARTY. BEING A TRAINED ORGANIZER, A GOOD PROPAGANDIST AND AN EXCELLENT AND CONVINCING SPEAKER, HE SUCCEEDED IN FORMING A NATIONALIST MOVEMENT WHICH, WITH ITS YOUTH AND STUDENT MOVEMENTS, AND MILITARY FORMATIONS ORGANIZED LIKE HITLER'S STORM TROOPERS AND MUSSOLINI'S BLACKSHIRTS, CREATED A LOT OF TROUBLE FOR THE

FRENCH AUTHORITIES. FINALLY, NOT LONG BEFORE THE WAR, THE FRENCH WERE SO ANNOYED THAT THEY SUPPRESSED ANTOUN'S PARTY AND HIS OTHER SEMI-LEGAL ORGANIZATIONS. SOME OF THE MINOR LEADERS WENT TO JAIL, BUT ANTOUN AND HALF A DOZEN OF THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS WENT TO BERLIN. LATER ON, THE GERMANS DECIDED TO EXPORT ANTOUN TO SOUTH AMERICA.

TOGETHER WITH A COUPLE OF FRIENDS HE FIRST WENT TO BRAZIL, WHERE HE STARTED A FASCIST NEWSPAPER, "THE NEW SYRIA" AND ORGANIZED A COUPLE OF THOUSAND "SYRIO-BRAZILIANS" IN HIS "SYRIAN NATIONALIST PARTY." WHEN THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT BECAME WAR CONSCIOUS, DISSOLVED FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS AND CLOSED DOWN THE AXIS PRESS, ANTOUN AND A FEW OF HIS LEADERS FOUND A NEW ASYLUM IN ARGENTINA, WHERE THE "NEUTRALIST" GOVERNMENT GAVE HIM FULL FREEDOM TO ORGANIZE THE HEADQUARTERS OF HIS PARTY.

THE PARTY IS ORGANIZED ALONG THE LINES OF THE GERMAN N.S.D.A.P., WITH ABSOLUTE DISCIPLINE AND OBEDIENCE TO THE FUEHRER, WITH A MILITARY ORGANIZATION TO PROTECT THE MEETINGS AND ACT AS A BODYGUARD FOR THE GUEHRER,AAND WI TH ALL THE USUAL MYSTIC TRAPPINGS OF FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS.

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

AB

AB-210
MAY 18 1944

1.8

WITH Salloum Mokarzel SUBJECT

FOR F.N.B. Carl W. Blegen

DATE 12 May 1944 INITIATIVE Mr. Blegen ☐ BY TELEPHONE

PLACE Sheikh Restaurant
Washington St., New York. ☒ FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

Mr. Mokarzel spent some time in general comments on the Arab background with particular reference to the Arab-American community. Touching on political questions, he remarked that he believed the question of militant Zionism was now shelved for the time being. Arab-Americans regardless of religion and politics, he said, were all united in their opposition to the establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine. The decision of the Congressional Committees to postpone indefinitely further consideration of the Senate and House measures was, however, a great relief to the Arab-American community.

According to Mr. Mokarzel the problem of Arab federation had likewise become pretty much a dead issue at the moment. It had been killed among Arab-Americans principally because of the remarks made by Prince Faisal in Cairo, to the effect that his father, King Ibn Saud, held that the Koran must be the basis of any such federation. Arab-Americans are still somewhat worried,

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however, by the idea of an Arab federation. That is to say, he specified, the Maronites among them are still somewhat disturbed; and their alarm has recently been heightened by the proposal for joint customs and joint expenditure of customs receipts by the governments of Lebanon and Syria. Such a proposal seemed to the Maronites in this country to form an entering wedge for a broader federation in the future.

Maronite Americans, said Mr. Mokarzel, were still concerned about the independence of Lebanon, free from any ties with Syria and the other Arab states. In any such union they knew they would be swallowed up as a small Christian minority in a great Moslem majority, and then might risk losing their freedom of religion. They believe that the Moslems are still fanatically and violently anti-Christian. As a safeguard for their Christianity they clung to the French, who had protected them often from medieval times to our own day, and especially in the disturbances of 1860. That is why the Maronite Americans were reluctant to see the ties of their homeland with France broken so abruptly and before guarantees from other powerful quarters had been secured. They were also worried because they observed that some of the leaders in the recent movement for independence from France were men who all their lives had worked for Arab federation, such, for example, as Riad al-Solh. This fact made them suspicious that there might be ulterior motives in that campaign to sever the ties with

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France. The Maronites in America were also concerned in watching the growth of British influence and power in Syria and Lebanon. That whole region, they felt, had now become a British sphere of influence and they feared that the British had helped the Lebanese get rid of the French in order that they might take over themselves. The British had now become strongly pro-Arab in their views on account of their policy of exploiting the oil deposits in Arab lands; and they would therefore now do everything they could to please the Arabs. There was consequently some danger that they might use their influence to push Lebanon into an Arab federation.

Irrespective of their religion and state Arabs were friendly to America, Mr. Mokarzel continued, and they would welcome an American mandate in the Near East and a more active American interest in that region. Without exception the Arabs hoped that America would emerge from her isolationism of the past and take a real concern in the problems of Arab lands.

Speaking about his paper, Al-Hoda, which seems to be very prosperous, Mr. Mokarzel told me that it possesses two linotypes, completely equipped for handling the Arabic script. The paper owned its own building and its own press and it had not suffered in any way from a shortage of paper. Al-Hoda made no use of the Associated Press or United Press or of any of the news services, Mr. Mokarzel remarked. It had a correspondent or two in Lebanon, but nothing of any consequence comes through now. The

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paper aimed to give a general, objective news coverage, Mr. Mokarzel asserted, taking its news largely from the metropolitan newspapers of New York, and sometimes giving a credit line to the New York Times, for example, or some other paper. An effort was constantly made to use good judgment in selecting and translating the articles and to present fairly all sides of the problems or questions reported; and the presentation of the news was in no way colored. The responsible views of the editor were set forth only in the editorials. Al-Hoda carries relatively little advertising, most of the advertising being of long term character.

Commenting on other Arabic language newspapers in the United States, Mr. Mokarzel spoke with approval of Ad-Daleel of Detroit, which he said was making considerable progress. As-Sabah of Detroit, of which he did not think so highly, was owned, he said, by a family formerly Maronite, but he did not know what their religious connection now was. Mr. Mokarzel was not familiar with Al-Ettehad of Detroit and said he had never seen a copy of it. He referred to Al-Hayat, a Moslem magazine published monthly in Detroit. This was one of the few publications in the United States representing Moslem views.

1.3 Anthony

Referring to Archbishop Bashir, Mr. Mokarzel said he was a well educated and able man, but opportunistic like most church leaders. He had under him in his diocese some forty or more churches. The Archbishop himself was Lebanese, but like all

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Orthodox was friendly to the project for an Arab federation. The basic reason for the Orthodox sympathy with the idea of an Arab federation, according to Mr. Mokarzel, is that the Orthodox are inclined to identify Lebanese independence with the Maronites and Rome, and they are bitterly hostile to Rome; hence they shortsightedly take the view along with their Archbishop that they are opposing the Roman Catholics in supporting Arab federation.

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DEAR PROFESSOR POOLE:

I AM ENCLOSING COPY OF LETTER RECEIVED FROM OUR MEXICAN CORRESPONDENT.

SINCERELY YOURS,

JL:F

JACOB LANDAU
MANAGING DIRECTOR

ENCL:

MEXICO, JUNE 6, 1944

MR. JACOB LANDAU
OVERSEAS NEWS AGENCY
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

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DEAR MR. LANDAU:

CONTINUING MY RESEARCHES INTO THE FOREIGN COLONIES AND THEIR PRESS, HEREWITH A REPORT ON THE LEBANESE:

1) THERE ARE 25,000 LEBANESE (NOT SIRIO-LEBANESE) IN MEXICO, A COLONLY ONLY INFERIOR TO THOSE IN BRAZIL (70,000), ARGENTINA (40,000) AND THE U.S. (ABOUT 125,000 IT IS THOUGHT). THEY ARE TERRIFICALLY WEALTHY, WITH HIGH CONNECTIONS BY MARRIAGE. MIGUEL ABED, A CONTRACTOR, IS A CLOSE FRIEND OF MAXIMINO AVILA CAMACHO.

2) BY FAR THE MAJORITY ARE PRO-ALLIED, BUT HAVE NOT MADE UP THEIR QURRREL WITH THE DE GAULLISTS EXCEPT FORMALLY. THE LEADING INFLUENCES ARE CULTURABLY PRO-FRENCH, POLITICALLY PRO-BRITISH AND SOCIALLY (VERY OFTEN BY MARRIAGE) PRO-AMERICAN. AMERICAN INFLUENCE IS STRONG AMONG THE PROFESSIONALS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT. MOST ARE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

3) FOR SOME REASON, THE ALLIED AGENCIES HERE, IT IS COMPLAINED, HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY COLD TO THE LEBANESE COLONY. THE ALLIED INFORMATION OFFICE REFUSED THEIR AID. THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR RECEIVED A DELEGATION IN MARCH 1942, BUT NOTHING MUCH CAME OF IT.

4) THERE ARE TWO WEEKLIES IN ARABIC, AL-FARAED (GEMS) AND AL-KUSTAS (THE BALANCE); A MONTHLY IN SPANISH, EMIR; ANOTHER IRREGULAR ROTOGRAVURE ON A BIGGER SCALE, LIBANON. HOWEVER, LIBANON IS NOT MUCH LIKED AS IT IS DEVOTED ALMOST ENTIRELY TO SELF-GLORIFICATION BY ABED AND MAXIMINO. THESE PAPERS ARE PRO-ALLIED.

THERE IS AN ARABIC-LANGUAGE MONTHLY CALLED AL-GURBAL (SIEVE) EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY A PALESTINIAN ARAB OF PANARABIC TENDENCIES. IT HAS NOT OPENLY ATTACKED THE ALLIES SINCE 1942.

THERE IS ALSO TEMPESTAD, A MONTHLY IN SPANISH, CALLED "A REVUE OF THE FREE SYRIANS." FOUNDED IN MARCH 1940 BY TUFIC YOMA AND FUAD SIMON, IT IS A 34-PABE TABLOID SIZE, RATHER WELL GOT UP. IT IS AN ORGAN OF THE SYRIAN NATIONALIST PARTY, WHOSE CHIEF, ANTUN SAADEH, WAS EXPELLED FROM SYRIA, WENT TO BRAZIL, AND WAS THEREFROM DEPORTED TO TUCUMAN, ARGENTINA. ITS EMBLEM IS FOUR CRESCENTS DISPOSED IN A PATTERN THAT LOOKS REMARKABLY LIKE A SWASTIKA.

5) IN ARGENTINA THERE IS A FAIRLY PRO-ALLIED PAPER AD-DIFAH IN SPANISH AND A DAILY DIARIO SIRIO-LIBANES, RUN BY A CERTAIN MOISES AZIZE, CLOSE TO SAADE. AD-DIFAH ACCUSED AZIZE IN 1942 OF CLOSE CONNECTIONS WITH PRO-NAZI ORGANIZATIONS. OTHER LEBANESE PAPERS IN SOUTH AMERICA WILL BE MENTIONED IN A SUPPOEMENTARY MEMORANDUM.

6) SO FAR AS MEXICO IS CONCERNED, THERE SEEM TO BE SEVERAL CURRENTS:

A. THE PRO-ALLIED, BUT NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT DE GAULLE;
B. BIG BUSINESS, READY TO COOPERATE WITH ANYONE, AND ONLY RECENTLY "CONVERTED" TO THE ALLIES;
C. THE SYRIAN NATIONALISTS, WHO LOOK REMARKABLY LIKE A BRANCH OF THE FIFTH COLUMN;
D. THE PANARABIANS.

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THE LATTER SEEM TO HAVE CONNECTIONS WITH THE READERS AND MAYBE THE BACKERS OF THE FRANKLY PRO-NAZI PAPERS OMEGA AND HOMBRE LIBRE. THEIR HEADQUARTERS ARE IN THE MERCED MARKET, WHICH IS A WEIRD CONGLOMERATION OF LEBANESE, SYRIANS, POLISH JEWS, ARABS, FALANGE SPANIARDS, MEXICAN LOWER MIDDLE-CLASS FASCISTS AND SO ON. OMEGA RANKS THE MERCED AS ONE OF ITS BEST SALES AREAS. IT CONTAINS THE ONLY TWO "SYRIAN" RESTAURANTS, ONE OF WHICH IS IN FACT LEBANESE.

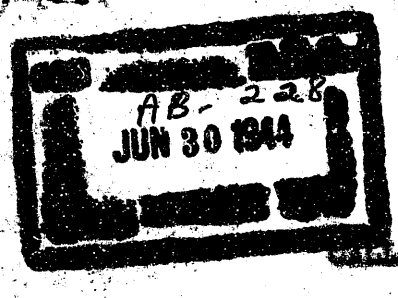
EG. NATIONALISM SEEMS VERY STRONG. THE LEBANESE STRONGLY OBJECT TO BEING CALLED SYRIO-LEBANESE, THOUGH THE MEXICAN MARKET PUBLIC AND PROVINCIALS CALL THE LEBANESE SYRIANS. IN ALMOST ALL SMALL TOWNS, THE LEBANESE DOMINATE THE MARKETS AND THE DRYGOODS STORES. THE SYRIAN NATIONALIST PARTY DECLARES THERE IS SUCH A THING AS A SYRIO-LEBANESE AND THE LEBANESE SAY THERE'S NO SICH CRITTUR. BEST EXPRESSION OF THE LATTER IS A LETTER FROM DR. PHILIP HITTO OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY TO DR. WILLIAM NIMEH, AN IMPORTANT FIGURE IN THE MEXICO COMMUNITY. IN 1942, THE SYRIAN NATIONALIST PARTY HEADQUARTERS IN CORDOBA, NERZCRUZ, WAS INVESTIGATED AND GIVEN A CLEAN BILL OF HEALTH. HOWEVER, THAT IS NOT VERY CONCLUSIVE SINCE MAYOR CALATAYUD OF CORDOBA THAT YEAR PERMITTED THE SPANISH FALANGE TO PARADE OPENLY WITH ITS OWN FLAG ON MEXICO'S CONSTITUTION DAY.

IF YOU THINK IT WORTH WHILE, I WILL GO INTO THIS.

/S/ FRANK JELLINEK

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30 June 1944

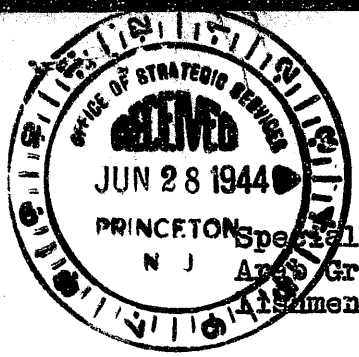
CALL TO PRAYER ON D-DAY BY THE ARABIC-LANGUAGE PRESS

In commenting on D-Day and the beginning of the invasion of Western Europe, many of the Arabic-language newspapers in this country, though not in doubt about the successful outcome of the enterprise, sounded a rather sober, religious note. Al-Hoda, Lebanese-Maronite daily of New York, greeting D-Day at long last, said (7 June) it marked the beginning of the end -- the end of an era of darkness. Despotism was now about to reap what it had sown. In this moment it was only proper for the nations now fighting for the sake of democracy -- those nations which still placed their trust in God -- to turn to Him in prayer for the ultimate victory of right over wrong. Those who kindled the flame of this war would be consumed therein.

As-Sameer, Syrian-Orthodox daily of Brooklyn, expressed the same general attitude. The day of reckoning had now come, it remarked (7 June), and although the western shores of Europe had been strongly fortified by the Germans, our armies would succeed in bringing the enemy to his knees. This was the beginning of the end. We could only lift our voices to God in prayer for our children who were now battling the enemy. Though the road might be long and hard, we knew that

we should surely win.

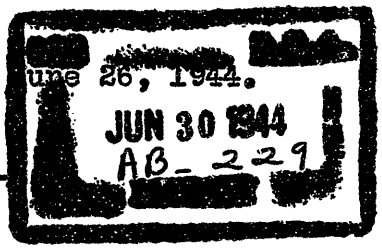
Mirat-ul-Gharb, Syrian-Orthodox paper of New York, declared (7 June), under the caption "Judgment Day," that this was the day of liberation, hope, and redemption. The fortress of Europe had been attacked and its walls had been breached. Those who took the sword should perish by the sword. That should be the fate of Hitler. He had schemed to extend his power over all the world, but the swords of our valiant soldiers would tear to shreds the paperhanger's dream along with his "damnable" book. At this moment, the paper concluded, we were turning our eyes unto God in prayer for the vindication of right and truth.



ARABIC

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Date: June 26, 1944.

Special Report on Preliminary Meeting by Arab Group in New York City for the Establishment of an Arab Bureau of Information

2.11 General

On Thursday, June 15, a group of Arabs in New York City, mostly from Palestine, met to discuss the establishment of an Arab bureau of information. The primary purpose of the organization is to combat Zionist propoganda in the United States. The need for such an organization has long been felt. But there were several difficulties which the community could not surmount, and still cannot overcome completely.

4

In the first place the bulk of the community is Lebanese who are not as concerned with the problem of Palestine as are the rest of the Arabs. These Lebanese associate the Palestine case with the Arab federation to which they generally cool. This attitude has changed considerably especially after the united stand which the Arab countries took during the Lebanese crisis last year. Furthermore the emergence of Professor Philip K. Hitti, himself a Lebanese, as the mouth piece of the Arab opposition to Zionism has aroused considerable interest among the Lebanese in the Palestine case. Above all, Lebanese as well as Syrian abroad have been more and more Arab in their aspirations than ever before. The Lebanese community could not but echo the aspirations of their fellow Lebanese abroad.

The second difficulty melted away with the removal of the German threat from the Near East. At that time Arabs did not wish to embarrass the Allies and were also apprehensive lest any anti-Zionist activity might be regarded as pro-Nazi. Now this danger has been lifted.

A third difficulty which still exist is the fear of the Arab merchant from "kickbacks" on the part of the Zionists. These merchants have to deal with Jewish merchants who did not hesitate to boycott any Arab merchant who gave active support to the Arab case.

On the positive side, Arabs have received encouragement from abroad. They also received appeals that they organize and that help, financial help would be forthcoming. It is universally felt that anything which the Arabs here should do should be done before the peace conference.

With these in mind the Arabs met. The meeting was expla-

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ratory. The meeting was attended by fifteen members of the community, mostly Palestinians and belonging to the younger generation which feels that the old guards have outlived their utility.

The group decide to call another meeting before which the results of the first meeting could be submitted for approval and action. These results were: 1. An organization should be established; 2. Its headquarters should New York; 3. It should have two secretaries - a Moslem and a Christian; 4. A general meeting to which the representatives of Arab communities in the interior should be invited.

The fifteen present pledged a sum of about 8,000 dollars to start with. The quota was set for 25,000 for the first year.

Before the second meeting was convened some elder members of the community, suspicious of the younger men and controlling as they do the finances of the community, decided to put off the meeting until the whole community is sounded on the question. The younger group was ready to go ahead with a Palestinian group; the older members wanted the group to represent the Syrians and the Lebanese as well. The older members too wanted to know who is to be the choice of the group for heading the office. Much they said depended on the person.

Consequently four members: three Palestinians and one Syrian met for a lunch one day, and surveyed the field for a personality around which the group could operate. It was again decided that the office should have at least one Moslem and one Christian. The Moslems are very sensitive. They are a minority here, and less educated than the Christian. But when it comes to contributions, the Moslems of New York, Washington, and Detroit would shoulder most of the load.

It was finally decided to call the general meeting in the near future and to submit the names of four or five candidates for the job. Among those mentioned was Dr. Khalil Totah of the Friends School, Palestine.

The other points decided were that a committee or a board of trustees be selected to supervize the office, and that Dr, Philip K. Hitti be invited with Faris Malouf to be as honorary chairman and vice-chaiman respectively. Neither of the gentlemen has any inkling of the decision as yet.

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The younger group who is behind the whole matter has assurances that aid would come from the Near East as soon as the office is under way. The appeal of the Palestine Arab Party, cabled to al-Hoda, and other personal letters which I have seen myself, both suggest that the East is looking to the Arabs of America for action. The community here is almost unanimous in its desire to make a start. The only obstacle is finding the person whom all factions respect and trust. That person has not yet been found. Nothing could be done until he is found. That is why considerable thought is being given to the importation of an outsider from the East. That is why Totah's name has been high on the [redacted] list.

The next meeting is expected very soon. I shall report on it as soon as it is held.

I have not given the names of the person who have been responsible for the meeting not because they are not known, but because the source of my information has requested that for the time being their identity be withheld. They are with but two exceptions Palestinians. The other two are an Iraqi and a Syrian.

Nabih Amin Faris
78 Alexander Street
[redacted]
Princeton, N. J.

JUL 1944
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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

MEMORANDUM TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FROM THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Number B-222 3 July 1944

ARAB-AMERICANS LAY PLANS TO COMBAT ZIO

AB-233
JUL 5 1944

From a confidential but reliable report [illegible] this Branch, it is learned that a group [illegible] Arab-Americans have met to plan the establish[illegible] an organization to combat Zionist propaganda [illegible] the United States. Traditional Lebanese resistance to Arab unity is reported weakening, and there are signs at hand that financial aid for the new undertaking will be forthcoming from the Near East.

ON Thursday, 15 June, a group of Arab-Americans in New York City, mostly of Palestinian origin, met to discuss the establishment of an Arab Bureau of Information, with the primary purpose of combatting Zionist propaganda in the United States. The need for such an organization has long been felt, and has often been proclaimed in the Arabic-language press. But there were three difficulties which the community could not surmount and which still have not been altogether overcome.

In the first place the great majority of the Arab-American community is of Lebanese extraction, and the Lebanese have tended to associate the Palestine question with the project for Arab federation which they as nationalists shunned. Recently this attitude has apparently been changing, especially after the united stand of the Arab countries during the Lebanese crisis last autumn. The emergence of Professor Philip K. Hitti, himself a Lebanese, as the mouthpiece of Arab-American opposition to

-J-NB. Int. #2. Box 2 of 2.

Zionism, may also in itself have tended to arouse interest among the Lebanese-Americans in the Palestine problem.*

The second difficulty has melted away with the removal of the German threat to the Near East. When that threat was acute, early in the war, Arabs and Arab-Americans did not wish to do anything that might embarrass the Allies; and they were also apprehensive lest anti-Zionist activity might be regarded as pro-Nazi. Now this danger has been eliminated.

The third difficulty (which still exists) is the Arab-American merchants' fear of Zionist retaliation. Jewish merchants, it is charged, have not hesitated in the past to boycott any Arab-American merchant who gave active support to the Arab cause.

On the positive side Arab-Americans have received encouragement from abroad. They have been exhorted repeatedly to organize, and they have been promised that financial help will be forthcoming. Action has been regarded as urgent since it is widely felt that anything the Arab-Americans could do should be done before the peace conference.

It was with these considerations in mind that fifteen members of the Arab-American community of New York assembled for the exploratory meeting of 15 June. Thirteen could trace their origin back to Palestine, one to Syria, and one to Iraq; but all belonged to the younger generation

* As reported in FN Number B-185 of 14 April 1944, Professor Hitti testified for the opposition at the public hearings on the Wright-Compton resolution (later defeated) which urged the United States to take steps to bring about the opening of Palestine to Jewish immigration. See also "Arab-Americans and the Crisis in Lebanon," FN Number B-118 of 30 November 1943.

which is inclined to feel that the old guard has outlived its usefulness.

The group reached a decision on four points: 1) an organization should be established; 2) its headquarters should be in New York; 3) it should have two secretaries, a Moslem and a Christian; 4) a general meeting should be convened to which the representatives of all the Arab-American communities in the country should be invited. The fifteen persons present pledged a sum of about $8,000 out of a quota of $25,000 set for the first year.

Signs of Opposition Before a second meeting of the committee could be held some older members of the Arab-American community in New York, requested that the second meeting should be put off until the whole community could be sounded on the question. The older leaders wanted the group to represent Syrian- and Lebanese-Americans as well as the Palestinians, and they wanted to know who was to be the choice of the group as head of the Bureau.

In consequence of this opposition, and because the financial support of the older leaders was considered essential, four members of the original committee, three Palestinian- and one Syrian-American, met to survey the field for a personality around which the group could operate. They decided to call a general meeting in the near future and to submit to it the names of four or five candidates for the position. Among those mentioned was Dr. Khalil Totah of the Friends School, Palestine.

It was agreed further that a committee or a board of trustees be selected to supervise the office, and that Professor Hitti and Faris S. Malouf, a Boston lawyer, be invited to serve as honorary chairman and vice-chairman

respectively. Neither has yet been informed of the decision.

The younger group is said to have had assurances that financial aid will come from the Near East as soon as the office is opened for work. A cabled appeal of the Palestine Arab Party, published in *al-Hoda* 27 May, and personal letters which have been received by various members of the Arab-American community, together suggest that the Arabs of the Near East are looking to their kinsmen in America for action. The community here is almost unanimous in its desire to make a start.

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JUL 6 1944
13

Reader: Faris

Date: July 3, 1944.

On June 29, the second preparatory meeting for the establishment of an Arab Bureau of Information was held in New York City. The subject was again discussed, all agreeing that such an office should be started. Some of those meeting again expressed a desire to select first the person around whom such an office could be organized. It was felt that the selection of the director is all important. The different candidates were discussed. Failing to agree on any one person, it was finally decided to proceed with the election of a temporary committee to raise the necessary funds, after which another general meeting would be held for the selection of the director. The date of the meeting was set for Thursday, July 13. The newly elected committee consists of the following:

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AB-234
JUL 6 1944

Ali Mahadeen, leading Moslem, president of the Young Mens Moslem Association, chairman

Isa al-Batih, Christian from Ramallah, Palestine, treasurer

Hamdan Ghannam, Moslem merchant from al-Tur, outside Jerusalem, Palestine, member

E. J. Audi, Christian merchant, member

This committee is a compromise. There was a desire to divorce the organization from the "old guard"; but at the same time the old guard has the money, without which no such organization could exist. Likewise the merchant group is well represented in order to insure the active support of the New York merchants, Palestinians and otherwise. Furthermore, the committee is strongly Palestinian, though not exclusively so. In terms of religious affiliation it is equally divided among the Moslems and the Greek Orthodox. Noteworthy, there are no Maronites on the committee. The temper of the committee is enthusiastic. They feel confident that they can start with a budget of at least $25,000.00, provided the personality around whom the office would be organized is satisfactory.

[My next report on this subject would be after the next meeting, unless something new develops.]

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Rpt #2

JUL 8 1944
AG-235

RESTRICTED

8 July 1944

GENERAL DE GAULLE, IN THE VIEW OF THE ARAB-LANGUAGE PRESS

Seizing upon the occasion offered by the American press when it recently criticized General de Gaulle and the French Committee of National Liberation for alleged failure to collaborate adequately in the Allied invasion of Normandy, several of the Arabic-language newspapers in the United States have in their turn aired their views on the subject. Two clashing attitudes have made themselves manifest, founded on a lengthy tradition of disagreement on Middle Eastern political questions.

Kawkabu and Alkhatra have long supported Arab nationalist views. In the autumn of 1943 they came out vigorously against the French Mandates in the Levant States, and fought for the independence of Lebanon and Syria. Fearing that General de Gaulle and the FCNL still cherish imperialistic designs against those states, Alkhatra and Kawkabu are always ready to assail General de Gaulle, whom they regard as a symbol of a reactionary French imperialism.

On the other hand, de Gaulle and the French Committee have regularly had a faithful and consistent defender and advocate in Alhoda, New York daily, spokesman for the substantial Lebanese-Maronite element in the Arab-American community. The Maronites, who under their own Patriarch and rite recognize the supreme authority of the Pope in Rome,

have a long record of friendship for France. For almost a century they have considered French support indispensable for the protection of freedom of Christian worship in Lebanon, and in recent years they have counted on France to save them from being engulfed in a Moslem Arab union.

The Nationalist Press — Al-Sha'ab, Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox weekly of Detroit, assured General de Gaulle (13 June) of trickery in appointing military and civilian governors for liberated French territory in Normandy. It also asserted that whenever the Allies refused something de Gaulle requested, he countered "by threatening to join hands with Russia." The paper expressed its hope that an early solution of the de Gaulle problem would be found, a solution satisfactory to the Allies "who are putting so much effort into the liberation of that great country France, the France we all love."

Al-Hoda, New York daily representing the Syrian Orthodox point of view, in an editorial (20 June) entitled "De Gaulle — a Nuisance," denounced General de Gaulle as one who seemed to pay attention to nothing except his own personal advantage and good. "The goal he aims at is not the liberation of his country from the Nazis," Al-Hoda declared, "but to make himself the chief of the French people with the aid of the arms and the guns of the Allies." The Allies, the paper continued, had often assured de Gaulle

that they would put no obstacles in his way, if and when the liberated French nation should express its desire to have him as its leader. This was altogether reasonable, Al-Hayat thought, "but it does not entirely the ambitions of de Gaulle with his military tendency toward dictatorship." At the present moment, the paper asserted, there was no evidence to show that the French wanted de Gaulle and the Allies did not choose to repeat the mistake they made in forcing Badoglio on the Italian people, only to find that the Italian people did not want him. Al-Hayat hoped that General de Gaulle's stubbornness would end before it injured the Allied cause.

Al-Bayan, published three times a week in Washington, and speaking for the Druze and Maronite elements in the Arab-American community, took a similar stand. Conceding (22 June) that de Gaulle was probably a sincere patriot who put what he thought the interests of his own country before everything else, Al-Bayan insisted that the General was not a diplomat and was not fit to represent a power such as France. According to Al-Bayan, de Gaulle wished to reconstruct imperial France in all her splendor, forgetting that France had been defeated by the Germans and that, were it not for the British and American armies, there would be no Free French flag flying in North Africa or in France today. De Gaulle desired to have everything without giving anything

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In return, the paper concluded, and President Roosevelt acted wisely when he recognized him as leader of the FCNL, but not as head of the French Government.

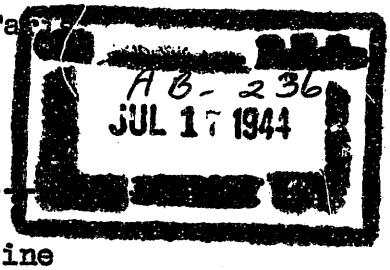
In answering its editorial adversaries, Alfhild cited the New York Former President Herbert Hoover's speech before the Republican National Convention in Chicago provided an opportunity, quoting Mr. Hoover's statement (NY Times) concerning the necessity of American participation in an international organization, the leading membership of which should be "the United States, Britain, possibly China, and certainly France when restored to her rightful position among the family of nations." Alfhild made clear its vigorous approval. The paper saw no stability unless France should play an active part in world affairs. Alfhild then welcomed de Gaulle's impending visit to Washington, and hoped that it might result in closer Franco-American ties and in dispelling the slight misunderstanding between President Roosevelt and the General.

Date: 7/12/44. AB

Language: Arabic Reader: Fa

Publication: As-Sameer, Brooklyn

Date of Issue: July 3, 1944.



2.2

The American League for the Defense of Palestine

An American League for the Defence of Palestine has just been formed in Boston, Mass. The preparatory meeting was held at the home of Faris Malouf, attorney, who appeared with Philip K. Hitti before the Foreign House Affairs Committee. The meeting decided to form the league and proceeded to elect officers. The following were elected:

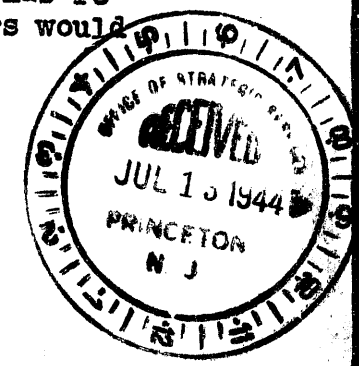
Hasan Mahfuz, president
Ilyaz Yazbak, vice-president
The Rev. Shibli Malouf, secretary
Mis Nabihah Madari, assistant secretary
Siman Rihbani, treasurer

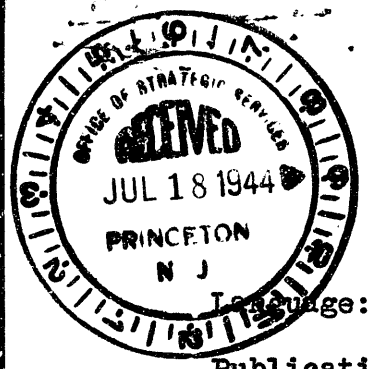
Besides this committee another, a standing committee, was also elected:

Dr. Ilyas Sawabini
Sa'd Faris
Abd Ali
Abdallah Omar
Faris Malouf
Nabihah Madari
Adib Jabbour
Mohammed Omar
Nasib Barbar

The League is primarily for the defence of Palestine against Zionism. It has decided to form similar organizations in every place where there is an Arab community. Palestine is not only a holy land but also an Arab land. This is their slogan.

[Boston is the first city where the Arab community has re-organized on behalf of Palestine. I believe others would follow.]





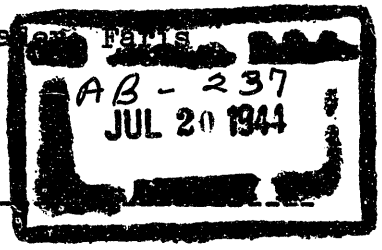


CONFIDENTIAL

Date: 7/17/44.

Language: Arabic

Reader: Faris



Publication: Al - Hoda, New York

Date of Issue: July 10, 1944.

The Syrian Nationalist Party Again Active in the United States of America

Describing himself as the "Executive General of the Syrian Nationalist Party in the United States of America", Dr. Fakhri Maluf of Cambridge, Mass., writes to al-Hoda a long letter, first published in English in the New Haven Journal-Courier as a reply to Tom Nelson's article on the Arabs of Argentina and their help to the Axis. The letter was sent to al-Hoda because it had published in translation Nelson's article (see my report of 6/4/44 on "Anton Sa'adah the Lebanese"). In the letter, Dr. Maluf defends the Syrian Nationalist Party and its leader Anton Sa'adah. He denies that the Party is patterend after Nazi models and that it has any connexion with the Nazis.

Al-Hoda devotes the editorial of the day for the letter. Al-Hoda recalls an editorial which appeared on its pages on October 8, 1941, sequel to a visit made by Maluf and Raji Daher, the two representatives of the Syrian Nationalist Party in the United States, introduced by Fuad Mufarrij, another Party worker. Al-Hoda cites the organization and rules of the Party, the position of the leader, Sa'adah, and the activities of the members to show that they were and are Nazi inspired. Al-Hoda also cites that the exiled and otherwise sentenced members of the Party were pardoned and received a general amnesty from the Vichy officials after the fall of France. This amnesty was, according to information received by al-Hoda, inspired by the Germans.

[Evidence is abundant that the Nationalist Syrian Party is Axis inspired. Likewise, evidence seems to be abundant that the group is again active in the United States, though without success. The same letter that appeared in al-Hoda was first sent to as-Sayeh. But as-Sayeh refused to publish it, replying to the sender, Maluf, that as a paper, As-Sayeh does not approve of the Nationalist Syrian Party and consi-

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ders its activity harmful to the cause of the United States as well as to the cause of the Arabs.

In reply to this, as-Sayeh received a letter, dated Boston, July 11, 1944, written by M. S. Abourjaily, in which the writer, Abourjaily, speaking for the Nationalist Syrian Party, threatens as-Sayeh that if "I [Abourjaily] do not receive a reply by the 18th of July", and if the reply is not published by as-Sayeh before the 21st of July, a campaign would be launched against as-Sayeh on the local Arabic radio in Boston. Abourjaily, I might add, conducts an Arabic commercial radio programme on one of the local Boston station.

I have personally seen Abourjaily's letter to As-Sayeh. If anything is blackmail, this is one. It is to be regretted that the "Party" and the Party men are using Nazi tactics in their attempts to frighten the Arabic Press. I have already suggested to as-Sayeh to place the letter in the hands of the Post Office Department or in the hand of the F.B.I. In the meantime I suggest that this movement is detrimental to the best interests of the United States and those of the Arabs as well. Maluf signs himself as the Executive General of the Party in the United States, and Abourjaily is one of his henchmen. I believe there is a law against the use of the United States mail for blackmail. But the case goes beyond the legal aspects of a blackmail case. Here is a Nazi inspired, and perhaps Nazi supported group, using the freedom of the United States to poison the minds of loyal citizens and to bulldoze and intimidate the opposition by blackmail.

The only bright thing about the whole affair is the fact that the Party does not command any support among the Arab community here. It has a few fanatics attached to it, and that is all.

Abourjaily has often boasted of some political "protection" which he enjoys in Boston. This protection, he believes has saved him from the F. B. I. when he was investigated sometime ago. What that protection is I do not know. It is supposed to have something to do with the Curley machine of Boston.]

(HT & AB 237)

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20 July 1944

C. D. Marron, Esquire
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marron:

The attached report on recent activities of the Syrian Nationalist Party was written by a member of this Branch. In Mr. Poole's absence I am sending it to you for such interest as it may have for you.

Yours sincerely,

Carl W. Blegen
Chief, Chancery Division
Foreign Nationalities Branch

Attachment

cc: Jesse MacKnight, Esq.
James R. Murphy, Esq.
Foy Kohler, Esq.

CWB:mck

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20 July 1944

Jesse MacKnight, Esquire
Chief, Organizations and
Propaganda Analysis Section,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. MacKnight:

The attached report on recent activities of the Syrian Nationalist Party was written by a member of this Branch. In Mr. Poole's absence I am sending it to you for such interest as it may have for you.

Yours sincerely,

Carl W. Blegen
Chief, Chancery Division
Foreign Nationalities Branch

Attachment (see C. D. Marron letter, 20 July '44)

cc: C. D. Marron, Esq.
James R. Murphy, Esq.
Foy Kohler, Esq.

CWB:mck

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20 July 1944

James R. Murphy, Esquire
Chief, X-2 Branch,
Room 2075 Que Building

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cc: C. D. Marron, Esq.
Jesse MacKnight, Esq.
Foy Kohler, Esq.

CWB:mck

Mr. Kohler (for - Pres. of Jan.)

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Attached is a report prepared in this Branch on recent activities of the Syrian Nationalist Party in this country. You may find it of some interest.

Carl W. Blegen

Attachment (see C. D. Marron letter - 20 July '44)

cc: C. D. Marron, Esq.
Jesse MacKnight, Esq.
James R. Murphy, Esq.

CWB:mck

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ACTIVITIES OF THE SYRIAN NATIONALIST PARTY

An article by Tom Nelson, Overseas News Agency correspondent in Buenos Aires, dealing with the Arabs in Argentina and the pro-Nazi activities of the Syrian Nationalist Party there under its leader Anton Sa'adah, received some publicity in the United States (New Haven Journal-Courier 17 May). It was also published in an Arabic translation in Al-Hoda of New York on 29 May 1944.

On 10 July 1944, Al-Hoda gave space to a long letter of rebuttal (which had previously appeared in English in the New Haven Journal-Courier) in which Dr. Fakhri Maluf of Cambridge, Massachusetts, describing himself as the Executive General of the Syrian Nationalist Party in the United States of America, defended the Syrian Nationalist Party and its leader Anton Sa'adah, and denied that the Party was patterned after Nazi models and that it had any connection with the Nazis.

In its main editorial Al-Hoda, 10 July, recalling the circumstances of the organization and the rules of the Party, the position of its leader Sa'adah and the activities of its members, insisted that they were and are Nazi-inspired. Al-Hoda further called attention to the fact that the members of the Party who had been exiled from Syria and Lebanon or otherwise sentenced, were pardoned and granted a general amnesty

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by the Vichy officials after the fall of France. According to Al-Hoda, the amnesty was inspired by the Germans.

From a trustworthy source, this Branch has learned that Dr. Maluf's letter published by Al-Hoda was first sent to As-Sayeh of New York, and that As-Sayeh refused to print it on the ground that that paper disapproved of the Syrian Nationalist Party and considered its activity harmful to the cause of the United States as well as to the cause of the Arabs.

In answer to this refusal, the report continued, As-Sayeh received a letter dated Boston, 11 July 1944, written by Mr. M. S. Abourjaily, in which Abourjaily, speaking for the Syrian Nationalist Party, threatened As-Sayeh that if he obtained no reply by the 18th of July and if the reply were not published by As-Sayeh before the 21st of July, a campaign against As-Sayeh would be launched on the Arabic-language radio program in Boston (Abourjaily is known to conduct a commercial radio program on a local Boston Station).

Abourjaily's letter to As-Sayeh was seen by an Arab-American who is a friend of this Branch. He characterized it as out-and-out blackmail and as evidence that the Syrian Nationalist Party and its Party men were using Nazi tactics in an attempt to frighten the Arabic-language press in this country. According to his account, he advised As-Sayeh to put

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the letter in the hands of the Post Office Department or the FBI. But the matter went beyond the legal aspects of a blackmail case, he declared; for here was a Nazi-inspired and perhaps Nazi-supported group, using the freedom of the United States to poison the minds of loyal citizens and to intimidate its opponents by blackmail. The one bright thing about the whole affair, this Arab-American remarked, was the fact that the Syrian Nationalist Party had no following in the Arab-American community beyond a few fanatics.

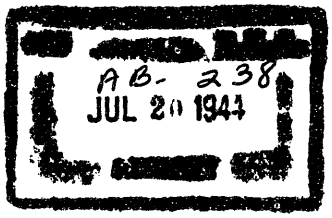
Abourjaily is said to have boasted that he enjoys some political "protection" in Boston and that it saved him from the FBI when he was investigated some time ago. Just what the "protection" is appears to be unknown, but it is supposed to be provided by a Boston political machine.

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REPORT #612





SUBJECT: Syrians - Lebanons

PLACE: Detroit, Michigan

DATE: July 12th, 1944

For some time now I thought I would try to find out about the Syrian-Lebanon colony in Detroit. I have already written to you heretofore on this subject. However this time I decided to contact the publishers of some of the newspapers.

For your information the following four newspapers are published in Detroit:

(1) "Ad-Daleel" (The Guide) - Editor: Shuki Rayess (a Lebanon newspaper with about 2,000 circulation.

(2) "Ad-Sabah" (Morning Tribune) - Editor: Joseph Kahwaju (a Lebanon newspaper and organ of the League of Arabs of America for Defense of Democracy) circulation about 600.

(3) "Al-Ettehad" (Union) - Editor: Joseph E. Youakim (a Lebanon paper).

(4) "Al-Hayat" (The Life) - Rev. Iman Hussein Karoub of Highland Park, Michigan (an Arabic paper).

I interviewed SHUKI RAYESS, editor of the "Ad-Daleel" (The Guide) first. This is the newest newspaper among the Syrians-Lebanons, being in existence only two years. Mr. Rayess seemed to be quite an intelligent man. He studied at the American University of Bierut and was a pupil of Archbishop Anthony Bashir who is the head of the Syrian Orthodox Church in North America. He is also a graduate of the University of Michigan, resided for some time in Toledo, moved to Detroit and then began publishing this newspaper.

I asked Mr. Rayess how large the Syrian-Lebanon population is and he answered there are about 5,900 in Detroit and Wayne County. He multiplied each family by five which makes it between 25,000 and 30,000. To prove his contention, he presented me with a copy of the Syrian-Lebanon directory of Michigan, which he published in 1942, copy of which I am sending you under separate cover, and I am sure it contains information which will be valuable to you on this subject.

As to religion, he divided them as follows: Marianites (Roman Catholics) 10,000/- Mohammedans 8,000 - Orthodox 6,000 - Greek Catholic (Melchites) 5,000/- and about 30 families of Druz.

We then discussed the problems which are confronting the Syrians and

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the Lebanons. First of all he told me that the Arabs would like to unite (1) the Lebanons (2) Syrians (3) Palestine (4) Oran (which they call "Gebel Druza" (Mountain of Druz) and (5) Alawain (which is situated in the Southern Mediterranean and the capital of which is Latakia).

Mr. Rayess claims those who live in Detroit are mostly from Lebanon; that the majority of them don't want to be known as Syrians; that they would like to see Lebanon an independent republic, but some of the old-timers claim Lebanon is not ripe for independence and would like to see the French mandate continued.

As to the Palestinian question, he stated many of them are against the Zionists. That his paper "Ad-Daleel" (Guide) does not take part in the discussion on this subject, however personally he believes that the immigration into Palestine by the Jews was very good - that they advanced Palestine 1,000 years. That Palestine is now one of the brightest spots in the Arabic world and credit for its development should be given to the Jews.

He claims that in private conversation with Archbishop Anthony Bashir, the Archbishop told him he is very much in favor of Jews settling in Palestine and that he would like to invite the Jews to Lebanon to help develop the country, however he would not make this statement public because there is some opposition.

Mr. Rayess claims that the "Ad-Sabah" (Morning Tribune) and the "Al-Ettehad" (Union) last week had editorials raising hell with the Republican Party for the insertion of the Polish question into the Republican program. That his paper was the only one which stayed neutral. That he would like to come out in his paper in favor of the Zionist movement, but is afraid he might lose some subscriptions. Being that his paper is a new one, he will have to wait for some time before he is strong enough.

Mr. Rayess in discussing the Moslems, stated there are between 4,000 and 5,000 in greater Detroit and most of them reside in Highland Park; that they don't have much in common with the other Syrians and Lebanons. Most of them are from Syria, a few from Turkey, very few from Lebanon; that most of them look to Mr. Hamady of Flint who is a Druz, for leadership. He is a merchant and has a large chain of groceries in Flint.

Sometime ago I was asked to find out if there is in existence a "League

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of Arabs for Defense of Democracy" in Detroit. Mr. Rayess told me there is such an organization with a branch in Detroit and that the official organ for said organization is the "Al-Hayat" (The Life); that the editor is REV. IMAN HUSSEIN KAROUB, and the president of the Detroit branch is SAMRA NJGLB of Detroit. He used to be a salt salesman, but now has a grocery store in Flint. The purpose of this organization is against the Jews in Palestine and to unite the Arabic countries; that the name of the organization in Arabic is "Al-Jamia Al-Arabiah". He claims also that GEORGE H. BASHARA, prominent attorney in Detroit is behind this League.

Mr. Rayess stated: "I don't mind the Jewish immigration to Palestine. I would like to see them come to Syria and Lebanon. If doors could be opened in Syria and Lebanon to Jews, they would advance the development of the country immensely. However I cannot write about this in my paper because the people here in Detroit are not ready for it and don't seem to understand the situation."

He claims those from Syria in Detroit are mostly Christians, but the prominent religion in Syria is Mohammedan, and therefore the Syrians in Detroit do not exercise any influence over those living in Syria.

When I asked him what is the main subject discussed in the Syrian-Lebanon papers, his answer was "The question of the Jews in Palestine and the Uniting of the Arabic world".

Kahwaji

JOSEPH KAHWAJU, editor of the "Ad-Sabah" (Morning Tribune):

I then went to see Mr. Kahwaju, editor of the Morning Tribune. He received me quite coldly in the beginning, however later warmed up and tried to be helpful. He told me there are 60,000 Syrians from Lebanon in Detroit and Wayne County; that 90% are Lebanons and 10,000 Mohammedans 90% of whom live in Dearborn and 10% in Highland Park. I am inclined to believe Mr. Rayess' statement that there are only 30,000. I believe he substantiates it by his directory.

Mr. Kahwaju told me that a lot of people call the Lebanons "Syrians" but the Lebanons don't want to be known as "Syrians" but as "Lebanons". That the people of Lebanon and the people in Detroit are 100% against unity with the Arabs. "If we are to choose anybody, we will choose the French".

Speaking about Palestine, he stated that Palestine was always a part

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Syria regardless of the present status. He then told me that the Lebanons cannot get along with the Arabs because the Arabs base their government on the Koran bible, and the majority of them are Moslems and the rest Christians.

He claims the Mohammedans whether they are from Syria or from Lebanon want to be known as Arabs, so do the Orthodox, but the Lebanons don't want to have anything to do with the Arabs.

Speaking about Palestine he stated he would like to see a strong Jewish Palestine; that Lebanon then would be safe for centuries from Arab penetration. He told me that the slogan of his paper is "Lebanon for Lebanons" and that he will fight as long as he can to see that no union is made with Syria or with the Arabic world.

Mr. Kahwaju accused the Orthodox and the Mohammedans of being by nature Arabians. He ridiculed the claim of the Arabs that Lebanons are Arabs, claiming that the Lebanons are decendants of the [redacted] Phoenicians.

He further claimed that the last census showed there are about 13% illiterates in Lebanon and that the Arab world is 75% illiterate. He accused the "Ad Daleel" (The Guide) of writing against Palestine (SL - The Guide accused him of writing against Palestine). Being I can't read Arabic I will have to leave it to you to find out which is telling the truth). He also claims he would like to see a large Jewish population in Lebanon to help develop the country.

He further stated that REV. IMAN HUSSEIN KAROUB from the magazine "Al-Hayat" (The Life) called him a few days ago and asked him to join with him in sending a delegation to Washington to protest against Jewish claims on Palestine. He told me also there is an Arabic organization known as the "PROGRESSIVE AMERICAN HASHIMITE SOCIETY" in Dearborn, Michigan, which is a political club to which most of the Moslems from Lebanon belong and the purpose of this organization is to try to unite the Arabs and fight against a Jewish Palestine; that the leader of this organization is Rev. Karoub.

He concluded our conversation stating the Lebanons want an independent republic but they want protection for their independence. However they would not like to be slaves to any nation which protects them. That the French for their protection demanded slavery and therefore there was a revolt against them, notwithstanding that the French were the true friends of the Lebanons for

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centuries.

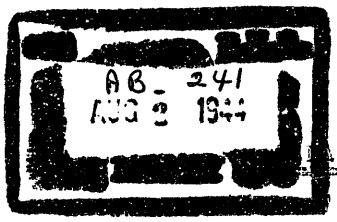
CONCLUSIONS

It seemed to me that the Lebanons in Detroit don't want to be known as Arabs; that they are not in favor of uniting with Syria and they are not against Palestine immigration. That some of the Moslems who are in the minority in Detroit, do quite a bit of agitating against the Jews in Palestine and are for a united Arabic world. That most of them belong to the League of Arabs for Defense of Democracy, of which Rev. Karoub, editor of the monthly magazine "Life" (also sheik of the Moslems) is the leader.

* * * * *

PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

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ARABIC LANGUAGE PRESS

INTRODUCTION

The attitude of the Arabic press in the United States towards the Allies in general has been very favourable since the last general report was made. With the exception of Al Hoda, the attitude towards Great Britain, in particular, has improved, and many writers who were formerly anti-British have, in recent months, repeatedly written pro-British articles. This change of heart is due mainly to the attitude and policy of the British Government in regard to the two main problems which are uppermost in the minds of the Arabs, i.e. the Zionist question and the pro-Arab movement. The friendly policy of the British Government toward the Arabs on these two issues has regained their friendship, not only in the United States, but all over the world.

Al Hoda's tacit unfriendliness which was not evident in editorials but in the fact that the paper published certain articles from American newspapers which were not very complimentary to the British, is due mainly to the misunderstanding between the British Government and the French Committee of National Liberation regarding the independence of Syria and Lebanon. Britain's support for these two countries in their demand for independence was acclaimed by all the Arabic newspapers except Al Hoda, which adopted an unfriendly attitude on account of its pro-French inclinations. Al Hoda supported and is still supporting the French in Syria and Lebanon.

AL AKHLAK
859 Washington St.,
New York, N.Y.

Bi-Weekly

Publisher & Editor: Jacob Raphael

Circulation: 500

This paper caters to the Maronites and a few others. Pro-American, pro-British, pro-French and pro-Separatist.

AL BAYAN
Washington, D.C.

Tri-Weekly

Publisher: Ameen Fayed (Druze)

Business Manager: Saeed Fayed (Druze)

Editors: Massoud Samaha (Christian, Poet)
and Abdullah Barry (Moslem)

Circulation: about 1,500

Islamic organ. Subscribers are mostly Mohammedan. Anti-French. Was decidedly anti-British but now is openly pro-British, pro-Ally on account of a favourable British policy. The newspaper has bought a new building in Washington, D.C. and is improving considerably.

AL DAIEL.....

AD DALEEL
4478 Cass Avenue
Detroit, Mich.

Weekly

Publisher and Editor: Shauki Rayess

Circulation: 2,000

The editor is an ambitious young man who started this newspaper about a year ago and has been getting many adherents. Policy is pro-American, pro-British and pro-Nationalist.

AL ETTAHAD
132 East Larnad Street
Detroit, Mich.

Weekly

Publisher and Editor: Joseph Yoachim

Circulation: 500

Pro-American. Pro-British. Circulation has dropped somewhat, possibly on account of the poor health of the editor.

AL HAYAT
216 Cottage Grove
Detroit, Mich.

Monthly magazine

Publisher and Editor: Sheik Hussein Karoub

Circulation: 1,000

Islamic magazine. Pro-American, pro-British, pro-Arab and Islam unity.

AL HODA
55 Washington St.,
New York, N.Y.

Daily

Publisher and Editor: Salloum Mokarzel

Circulation: About 3,500

This is the oldest and largest Arabic newspaper in the Americas. Pro-American, pro-United Nations, decidedly pro-French and pro-Separatist.

AL ISLAAH
216 West 18th Street
New York, N.Y.

Bi-Weekly

Editor & Publisher: Fozi Braidy

Circulation: 1,200

Pro-Ally. Pro-British. Anti-French. Pro-Nationalist. This newspaper had stopped circulation but was started again more than a year ago. The Editor is the son of a well-known leader in Zahle, Lebanon.

AL NISR
181 Atlantic Ave.,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Daily

This paper, which was decidedly pro-British was discontinued last year on the death of its publisher and editor, Najeeb Badran.

AS SABAAH.....

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AS SABAAH
553 Orleans St.,
Detroit, Mich.

Weekly

Publisher and Editor: Joseph Kahwajy

Circulation: 1,000

Decidedly pro-French. Pro-Lebanon independence under French supervision. Pro-American. Pro-British when interests of British and French do not conflict. Mostly Maronite subscribers.

AS SAMEER
144 Livingston St.,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Daily

Editor and Publisher: Elia D. Madey (famous Arab poet)

Circulation: About 3,000

Mostly Greek Orthodox and Mohammedan subscribers. This paper, which recently bought a new building, is doing well. Liberal. Pro-Ally. Pro-American. Nationalist. Pro-Arab Federation. Anti-French. It has ceased to be anti-British, showing a change of heart since Pearl Harbor on account of Britain's attitude towards the Arab Federation and the Zionist question.

AS SAYEH
303 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Bi-Weekly

Publisher and Editor: Madrah Haddad

Owner: Abdul Maseeh Haddad

Circulation: 1,000

Pro-American. Nationalist. Anti-French. Was formerly pro-British. The owner of the paper, Abdul Maseeh, who formerly appeared as the Editor, is now in the service of the U.S. Government.

FEDERATION HERALD
Boston, Mass.

No longer in existence

MERAAT UL GHARB
80 Washington St.,
New York, N.Y.

Tri-Weekly

Publisher: Angelina Diab

Editor: Fareed Ghosn

Circulation: About 2,500

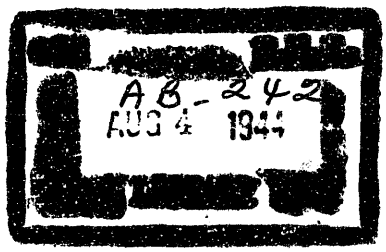
Pro-Ally. Pro-British. Arab nationalist. Anti-French. Pro-Arab Federation. Anti-Zionist. This newspaper has promised its readers that it will be published daily beginning in September 1944.

SYRIAN ARK
Indianapolis, Ind.

No longer in existence.

From: Nabih Amin Faris

Date: 8/1/44.



Special

A new Arab quarterly, in English, is out this last month. It is THE ARAB WORLD. The editor is Dr. George Kheirallah. The quarterly is supposed to be sponsored by American citizens of Arab descent to cement Arab American friendship. It is published by The Arab American Press. The address of the quarterly is: 1182 Broadway, New York City, N. Y.

[The quarterly is supposed to aim at cementing Arab American friendship. It is however a one man effort to make a living off a few Arab enthusiasts. The main support of the quarterly comes from a certain Hamdan Ghannam of 95 Madison Avenue, New York City. Kheirallah, who is a convert to Islam, because he came to believe that one cannot be an Arab patriot without being a Moslem, has exploited the Moslem theme in his quarterly. In order to insure undivided support he had been able to convince a few wealthy Moslems that such a magazine would make an Arab Bureau in New York superfluous. While the stated purpose of the magazine is to cement Arab American friendship, its real reason is to combat Zionist propoganda in the United States and to put forth the Arab point of view. The idea might have received a greater support if Kheirallah was not associated with it. He is not trusted by any Arabic-speaking person, not even the man who financed him.

The magazine has 101 pages, devoted mostly to Arab political problem, Egypt's King and his friendship to Britain (obviously an attempt to counter Zionist propoganda that Faruq is pro-Italian and Axis partisan), Iraq's contribution to the war effort (motivated by the same impulse), and Palestine.

It is extremely doubtful that a second number would be issued. The general feeling however is that such a magazine is necessary, and the hope is expressed that for once Kheirallah would surprize everybody and stick to the project.]

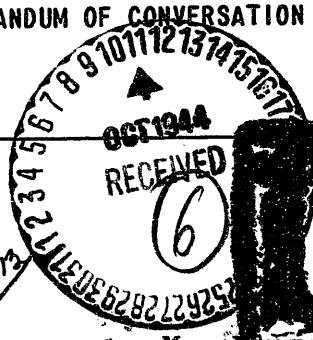
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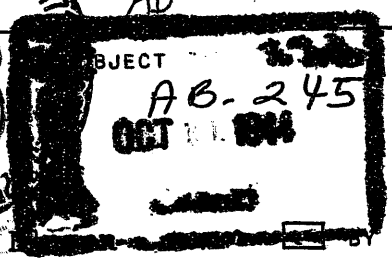
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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

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WITH Salloum Mokarzel
Editor of Al-Hoda

FOR F.N.B. Carl W. Blegen

DATE 4 October 1944 INITIATIVE Mr. [redacted] BY TELEPHONE

PLACE 55 Washington Street, New York [X] FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

Mr. Mokarzel said that all Arab-Americans were not only greatly pleased but elated with the United States' recognition of Lebanese and Syrian independence and the appointment of a minister to those countries. They had three main reasons for their satisfaction:

1) The recognition stabilized the situation and insured the independence of Lebanon and Syria; 2) it strengthened the bonds connecting Lebanon and Syria with the United States and it gave those two small countries the right to appeal for help to the United States if and when necessary; 3) it tended to promote unity among Arab-Americans in this country.

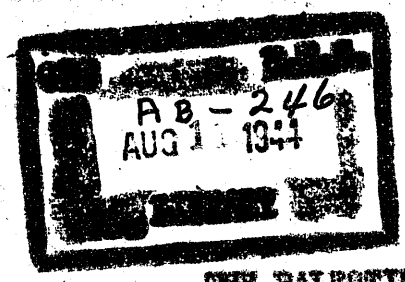
Lebanese separatists, Mr. Mokarzel continued, were happy because they felt that the real independence of Lebanon was now assured against British aims. Arab federationists on the other hand, were pleased because they thought the French Mandate had now been

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definitely excluded, that the possibility was still open of entering an Arab federation at a later time.

2.11 General Speaking of the recent Lebanese-American convention held in New York, Mokarzel said it had been called deliberately for the ninth and tenth of September in order to influence the discussions in the conference on Arab federation to be held in Egypt starting 25 September. Mokarzel said that twenty-five Lebanese societies sent delegates and twenty-five others were represented by proxy. The convention, he stated, sent cables to the President, the Prime Minister and the President of the Chamber of Lebanon, saying that Lebanese-Americans, while not attempting to dictate or impose their will on the home country, urged the authorities there to exercise the greatest care in protecting the independence of Lebanon.

The most important result of the convention, Mr. Mokarzel declared, was the establishment of a permanent national organization, the "Lebanese National Committee", of which Mr. Mokarzel is the chairman, George A. Betros of Poughkeepsie, New York, is the secretary, and Joseph Morin of Newark, New Jersey, is the treasurer.



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9 August 1944

THE PALESTINE PLANK AND THE ARAB PRESS

When the Republicans inserted a plank in their platform concerning Palestine, As-Sayah, a Syrian Greek Orthodox New York newspaper appearing twice weekly, quoted (6 July) an Arab saying that "he who interferes in that which concerneth him not will hear what does not please him." Never did we expect any party in America to descend to such a level, remarked As-Sayah; the Republicans are re-enacting the parable, which Nathan recited before King David, of the rich man who slaughtered his poor neighbor's single ewe lamb. The Republicans wish to be generous at the expense of some one else.

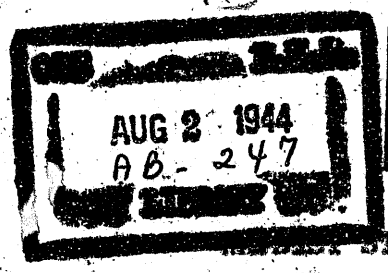
When the Democrats also mentioned Palestine in their platform, As-Sayah (24 July) declared that the competition was like that of two urchins vying with each other in betting when neither really risks anything. "I bet you a thousand dollars," says one. "I bet you a hundred thousand," replies the other.

Although As-Sayah has been the only Arabic newspaper to editorialize on this subject, that does not mean, according to informed opinion, that the other Arabic papers approve of the Palestine plank in the two platforms. Pecuniary motives restrain them from expressing their views, it is believed, for candidates of both parties advertise

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in their columns. Most of these papers are Republican in sympathy, which inhibited criticism in the first place, while now they cannot criticize the Democrats without, by implication, including the Republicans as well. The Arabic-language press is believed to feel, furthermore, that the whole matter is domestic and is motivated by a common desire to attract the Jewish vote.

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24 August 1944

[illegible] STATESMAN PRAISES ARAB UNION AND IS CRITICAL OF THE BRITISH

Incorrect - Confused with Ahmed al Wakil - (airgram A-725 12/9/44)

The Egyptian Minister of Health, Dr. Abd-al-Wahid al-Wakil, has recently been visiting this country at the invitation of the American Government in order to inspect and study r[illegible]l health conditions in the United States. Dr. al-Wakil is a brother-in-law of Hahas Pasha, Prime Minister of Egypt, and is said to be perhaps the most important man in the Nationalist Party in Egypt today.

During his sojourn in New York he was the guest of honor at a banquet offered him at Delmonico's by Dr. Faud al-Akl, Brooklyn and New York physician, born in Egypt of Lebanese parentage. The other guests included Dean Berbour, Dr. Hussein Chawky, Egyptian Consul General in New York, representatives of the Arabic-language press, and many merchants and other businessmen of Arab descent.

Almost all those present took advantage of the opportunity to speak, and political problems of the Near East, especially Zionism and Pan-Arabism, were frequently touched upon.

3.1.7

Al-Sayeh, New York semi-weekly (3 August), quoted Dr. al-Wakil as declaring in his address:

> Egypt is one of the leading nations in the Arab world, and her efforts are directed toward organizing and building a Pan-Arab union. We must begin to build

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this union on an educational, not political, formation, which will be the basis of our unity.

In the past two decades Egyptians were only concerned with their own Egyptian nationalism; but that has all changed and now they are Arabs and not as such. In the recent crisis their solidarity with the Arab movement was plainly seen; and for the future we will all work until this dream of unity becomes a reality.

According to information which has reached the Foreign Nationalities Branch from a trustworthy source, Dr. el-Wakil was much more spicy and less guarded in remarks made in private, off-the-record conversations. He is quoted as having stated that the Egyptians were fed up with the British more than ever before. At the time of El Alamein, he said, the British were polite and courteous. Now, however, they were as arrogant as ever. American policy in Egypt and the Near East, he continued, followed essentially Great Britain's; and it was difficult for the Egyptians to distinguish between what was British and what was American.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

MEMORANDUM TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FROM THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Number B-251 26 September 1944

AB-250
SEP 26 1944
AB

LEBANESE-AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO ARAB FEDERATION

A Lebanese-American conference in New York has initiated a campaign to oppose Lebanese participation in an Arab federation. Disagreement has developed between the two Lebanese-Maronite papers *al-Hoda* and *al-Akhlak*, with the latter attacking resolutions which it says were passed by the New York conference.

TO DISCUSS the stand Lebanese-Americans should take toward recent events in Lebanon, delegates from thirty-five Lebanese societies of ten different states met 9-10 September at the headquarters in New York of the Lebanon League of Progress, which is also the office of the Lebanese-Maronite daily *al-Hoda*.

Called jointly by Salloum Mokarzel, editor of the strongly separatist *al-Hoda* and president of the Lebanon League, and Alexander G. Antoun, secretary of the League, the meeting was apparently timed to anticipate a conference on Arab federation convoked by the Prime Minister of Egypt and to be held in Alexandria the latter part of September. According to one Arab-American observer, the active participation of the Lebanese Prime Minister, Riad al-Suhl, in the plans for the Alexandria conference, had produced fears among the separatist and Maronite-Christian Lebanese in the United States that Lebanon might be brought into an Arab federation. On the

agenda of the Alexandria conference is said to be a scheme calling for the union of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan, and for an Arab League with Syria and Iraq as the nucleus. Included among the proposals to be considered is a guarantee of freedom of worship for the Maronite-Christian Lebanese.

Al-Hodn's Version

Two versions of the conference's decisions have been published in the Arabic-language press. According to the daily *al-Hodn* (12-16 September) whose editor was presiding officer, a standing committee was formed to represent all Lebanese societies in the United States, with Salloum Mokarzel as chairman. The committee was instructed to promote the general welfare of the Lebanese communities in the United States; to make every possible effort to safeguard the independence of Lebanon; and to oppose the entry of Lebanon into any political federation, and specifically, into an Arab federation. The conference also cabled the President and the Prime Minister of Lebanon, urging them to safeguard Lebanon's independence and integrity.

Al-Akhlak Differs

An altogether different account was given (12 September) in the Lebanese-Maronite semi-weekly *al-Akhlak*, which, while it had no official correspondent present at the meetings, claimed to have received its information from a trustworthy source. According to *al-Akhlak* the conference condemned the President and the Prime Minister of Lebanon as traitors; provided for the dispatch of a delegate to Washington to protest against Iraq's and Syria's designs against Lebanon; demanded that the United States Government deliver to Lebanon a share in Lend-Lease; and elected a representative of the Lebanese-Americans in the United States to attend the peace conference as their spokesman.

In its editorial comment *al-Akhlak* argued that if the Lebanese wished to join an Arab federation it was their own business. Lebanon's share in Lend-Lease the paper considered the concern of the Lebanese Government and not of the conference in New York. The appointment of a Lebanese-American representative to the peace conference was "ludicrous." *Al-Akhlak* was particularly indignant at the condemnation of the President and the Prime Minister of Lebanon.

Serving the same Lebanese-American Maronite communities, *al-Akhlak* is a weak competitor of the much more widely read *al-Hoda* and has consistently attacked and criticized the latter. *Al-Akhlak*'s version of the resolutions, it has been suggested, may therefore be somewhat colored by journalistic rivalry and the desire to score against the more prosperous *al-Hoda*. Nevertheless, an Arab-American remarked to this Branch, it was not unlikely that the subjects dealt with in the *al-Akhlak* version were actually discussed at the conference in New York.

Mokarzel the Central Figure

Mokarzel was undoubtedly the moving spirit behind the conference. His persistent opposition to Lebanese participation in an Arab federation, he has told this Branch, stemmed primarily from his feeling that if predominantly Christian Lebanon were swallowed up in a great Arab union controlled by Moslems, religious freedom would be endangered and the Lebanese Christians might be subjected to harsh persecution.

Mokarzel's opponents ascribe his antagonism to Arab federation to another motive. They charge that he is wholly committed to the support and maintenance of French interests and power in the Near East, and that he sees in an Arab federation, which is thought to have British approval, a serious threat to such

French influence as may still survive. His critics, therefore, look upon Mokarzel as one who has betrayed the Arab cause in favor of France. Mokarzel, however, explains his devotion to the French on the ground that for a century and more France has stood as the unfailing protector of Christianity in Lebanon.

The charge is also leveled at Mokarzel that he organized the Lebanese-American conference in New York at this particular time with the deliberate purpose of wrecking all chances of success for the conference of Arab leaders.

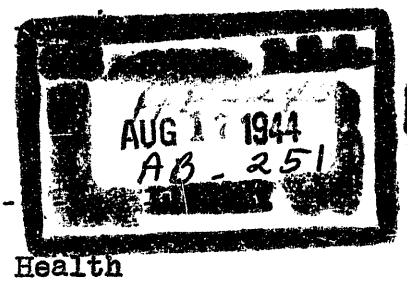
(1)

Date: 8/15/44.

Language: Arabic Reader:

Publication: As-Sayeh, New York

Date of Issue: Aug. 3/7, 1944.



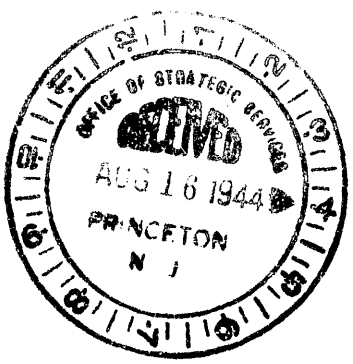
AR

A Banquet in Honour of Egypt's Minister of Health

Dr. Fuad al-Akl, a Brooklyn and New York physician, born in Egypt of Lebanese parentage, gave a banquet in honour of Abd-al-Wahid al-Wakil, Egyptian Minister of Health, now in the United States at the invitation of the government to inspect and study rural health conditions in the United States of America.

As usual speeches were made by almost everyone present. Practically all the speeches were tainted with politics of the Near East, particularly Zionism and pan-Arabism .

[More important than the speeches were the private conversations with al-Wakil. He is the brother-in-law of Nahhas Pasha and most important man in the Wafd at the present time. He is quoted to have said that Egyptians are fed up with the British, more than ever before. At the time of El-Alamain, he said, the British were polite and courteous. Now, however, they are as arrogant as ever. He is also quoted to have said that American policy in the Near East and Egypt follows in the main Britain's. As such, it is difficult for Egyptians to distinguish between what is British and what is American.]



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OCT 14 1944
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Control

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

The following current news is circulated at once by reason of its timeliness. In conjunction with other and later intelligence the material may be used again in the longer-range studies of this Branch.

☐ *Press Item* ☐ *Account of Oral Interview* ☒ *Confidential Report*

Number N-65 **11 October 1944**

UNITED STATES RECOGNITION OF SYRIA AND LEBANON RECEIVES UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF ARAB-AMERICAN PRESS

UNITED STATES recognition of the independence of Syria and Lebanon, with the appointment of George Wadsworth as Minister Plenipotentiary, met with enthusiastic approval in the Arab-American press. In spite of political and religious differences, all papers welcomed the event as a long step toward post-war security for the Near East, some papers seeing in it removal of another barrier to eventual Lebanese and Syrian participation in an Arab federation, others a guarantee of independence for the two nations.

3.1.1

As-Sayeh of New York paused in its rejoicing (21 September) to call attention to Palestine, "an integral part of the Arab world," which still remained under the "threat of Zionism."

3.1.1 3.1.1

Al-Akhlak (19 September), al-Hoda (20 September), Meraat-ul-Gharb (20 September), As-Sameer (21 September), and Al-Islaah (22 September), expressed their gratitude to America. The three last-named papers went on directly or by implication to denounce the "reactionary al-Hoda, vassal of the French," for its recent sponsorship in New York of a Lebanese convention opposed to Arab

federation,* and some critics charged the paper with being lukewarm to the recognition.

Salloum Mokarzel, editor of al-Hoda, however, told this Branch that all Arab-Americans were elated with the step taken by the American Government. Three principal reasons accounted for their satisfaction, he said: 1) Recognition stabilized the situation and guaranteed the independence of Lebanon and Syria; 2) it strengthened the bonds connecting Syria and Lebanon with the United States and gave those small countries the right to appeal for help to America if and when necessary; 3) it tended to promote unity among Arab-Americans.

Mr. Mokarzel explained that Lebanese separatists were delighted because they felt that independence of Lebanon from British influence was now assured, while on the other hand Arab federationists were pleased because they saw the definite exclusion of any future French Mandate, leaving open the possibility that the two countries could enter an Arab federation later.

* See "Lebanese-American Opposition to Arab Federation," FN Number B-251 of 26 September 1944.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Nov. 13, 1944

For

Mr. Carl Blegen
Foreign Nationality Branch
Office of Strategic Services

From . F. D. Kohler
State Dept.



BY COURIER

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Buenos Aires, Argentina, June [illegible], 1944
Central Information Office
(C.I.O.) Report

No. 15[illegible]

Subject: Transmitting a Memorandum Regarding Syrio-Lebanese Activities in Argentina During the Period of May, 1943, to June, 1944.

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The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatch no. 10087 of May 10, 1943, with which there was enclosed a memorandum prepared by Mr. W. Wendell Blancké of the Central Information Office, entitled "Memorandum on Syrio-Lebanese Activities in Argentina". There is submitted herewith a further report on the same subject, dealing with developments during the past year within the various Arabic-language groups in Argentina whose activities are considered hostile to the United States.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador,

Hugh Millard

Hugh Millard
First Secretary of Embassy

Enclosures:

1. Memorandum
2. Copy of "El Libro Blanco del Líbano", by Rafael Lahoud.
3. Copy of "La Verdad sobre la Cuestión de Palestina", by Rafael Lahoud.
4. Photostat of Manuscript entitled "Zionist Aspirations", by Salim Constantino.
5. Translation of same.

Original (for Ozalid machine) to Department
File no. 820.02
WWB:jf

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Enclosure No. 1 to despatch
No. 15[illegible] dated June [illegible], 1944
from American Embassy at
Buenos Aires.

MEMORANDUM REGARDING SYRIO-LEBANESE ACTIVITIES IN ARGENTINA DURING THE PERIOD OF MAY, 1943, TO JUNE, 1944

The present memorandum has been divided into two principal sections, entitled "Moslem Groups" and "Christian Groups". In it, special attention has been given to those small Arabic-language nuclei whose activities contrary to the interests of the United States have been considered of sufficient importance to warrant investigation by the Embassy. However, it should be borne in mind that these groups are relatively small, and that the large majority of the considerable Syrio-Lebanese community in Argentina is considered pro-Allied, if somewhat apathetic regarding world issues.

Apparently by inclination as well as for religious reasons, the Moslem and Christian groups do not mix. Nevertheless, there is a common ground bass running through all their anti-United States propaganda - the question of the Zionist Movement and its aspirations in Palestine, which aspirations the United States is accused of encouraging. Although this quarrel undoubtedly had its origins among the Arabs themselves, there are sufficient indications that in Argentina, as elsewhere, German propagandists have spared little effort to keep its flame alive.

Antún SAADEH, well known as the "Zaim", or leader, of the Syrian Nationalist Party, has been classed as a Christian because he was raised in the Christian faith.

MOSLEM GROUPS

There are three principal Moslem groups in Buenos Aires, all of them hostile to the United States and Great Britain, and in favor of Germany in varying degrees. They are: La Alianza Arabe, with headquarters at Calle Homero 472; the Sociedad de Beneficencia Solidaridad Islámica, at Calle Orán 447; and the so-called Asociación Pan-Islamista, now broken up into the Asociación Islámica de Previsión and the Asociación de Jóvenes Musulmanos, both located at Calle Venezuela 826.

These groups are not inimical to one another, and it is the hope of certain leaders in each organization that they may some day be united into a homogeneous whole. At present they often act jointly in matters of common interest. One of the chief reasons for continued separation is that each was formed in a different section of the city, and they do not respond to any central unifying influence such as the "Club Honor y Patria" of the Christian Syrio-Lebanese.

La Alianza Arabe

La Alianza Arabe

Under the more complete title of Sociedad de Beneficencia La Alianza Arabe, this group functions at Calle Homero 472. It was founded on January 4, 1931, with the object of "unifying the Arab immigrants to this country, cooperating in all national activities tending to serve their interests, upholding the moral and cultural level of our people, propagating the teaching of the Koran, et cetera." Membership is open to Arabs and their descendents, and no objection is interposed to those who have taken out Argentine citizenship as long as the subject professes the Moslem religion and is able to adduce antecedents of rectitude and moral fiber. "Cooperating members", non-Arab or non-Moslem, may enjoy equal rights with regular members excepting the power to vote. The Society maintains such beneficent advantages as free consulting lawyers and doctors, and provides for the burial of its members.

The locale at Calle Homero 472 is a large one. The president is Ali Hadji BANYEK, the rich head of two enterprises, a factory for making automatic scales and a business in the importation of tea, coffee and yerba mate. The former is located at Calle Juan B. Alberdi 3401, the latter at Calle Dolores 226, both in the Federal Capital. Although Banyek is the influential leader of the society, he is in turn obedient to the directives of the notorious Moslem agitator Abdul Latif EL JECHEN 1/, known to have been in the pay of the German Embassy two years ago. El Jechen was then, and still is, the editor of the rabidly pro-Nazi newspaper La Bandera Arabe (Al-Alam-Al-Arabi), and was under the orders of the Assistant Press Attaché of the Germans, Bernhard VON WOLFERSDORFF. La Bandera Arabe vies with Natur-Islam for the position of No. 1 hater of the Anglo-Saxons. Much of its concern lately has been to stir up internal revolt in India. Subhas Chandra BOSE is lauded as the leader of Indian renascence, and it is stated that now is the time for the Indians to rise up and join hands with the Japanese, to expel the British and Americans from India.

In a recent interview with Banyek, an informant of the Embassy received the following statement:

> "For five years I have led the Arabic Alliance group at Calle Homero. Our organ is La Bandera Arabe. Soon we shall succeed in unifying all the Syrio-Lebanese Moslem groups and there will be one bloc, composed of those of Orán, of Venezuela 2/ and ours of Homero. That will give us a total of 6,000 active members.

"Our

1/. Also transliterated as EL JECHIN and ELJECHEN.
2/. See following sections.

"Our object is to make the United States detested in Latin America, and to leave them few friends. We already obtained certain success in the time of President Irigoyen in creating currents of opinion against the United States, and we shall continue to do so, because the United States is the supporter of the Jews."

In connection with Banyek's expressed hope that his organization might soon form an alliance with the other two leading Moslem organizations, it is reported that the Solidaridad Islámica group at Calle Orán 447 purchased some time ago a property at Calle Bogotá 3449, where it is expected that both these groups, and possibly the third, will eventually unite. Although the property is in need of considerable repairs, it is worth 30,000 pesos as it stands.

The headquarters of the Alianza Arabe are under the management of one Abdul KERIM, whose wife is a Christian. There is a large room decorated with portraits of Moslems purportedly assassinated by the British in Syria, and many copies of La Bandera Arabe, vade mecum of the members. The treasurer is a hundred percent Moslem Nazi named Julio AGUADA, the owner of a grocery store at Calle Zelada 4900. Aguada's wife told an informant of the Embassy that meetings take place every other Sunday, from five to eight p.m.

The same informant attended a social meeting at the home of Alí Almad HIYAZI, ex-president of the organization at Calle Caxaraville 4843. There were interminable discussions regarding the relative merits and faults of the Germans and the Anglo-Saxons, the speakers growing more excited as the theme was developed. Among those present was a certain Said HABIB also known as Pedro, who is a clever pro-Nazi agitator and a clandestine agent for the form of gambling known as the "quiniela". Habib is an intimate friend of Hiyazi, who is believed to have afforded him protection against the police.

Sociedad de Beneficencia Solidaridad Islámica

The beneficent society "Islamic Solidarity" was established approximately nineteen years ago, and has its present locale at Calle Orán 447, in the outlying Buenos Aires district of Floresta. In this place, about 500 Syrian Moslem fanatics gather, under the pretext of beneficent and cultural aims, to vent their hatred against the United Nations, especially against the United States. German heroism and the sterling qualities of the Teutonic race are exalted by means of specious arguments culled from the Argentine nationalist press. Neighbors state that when a meeting is in progress, it can be heard for blocks around. The organization is led by four or five individuals, three of whom are Nazre HARB, of Calle

Concordia 515, Rada MUCABED, of Calle Concordia 617, and Asadala TIVA, address unverified. The first two addresses are close to the Society's premises.

Next door to Calle Orán 447 is another locale of the same group, at Calle Orán 453. Rather pompously named Club Social y Cultural de la Juventud Arabe, it claims for some reason to be independent of its neighbor, but in reality the two are twin facets of the same organization. The former is more a political society, while the latter devotes itself to social life, the organization of entertainments, et cetera. The leader of this youthful auxiliary is Nasib MUCABED, son of Rada Mucabed. As stated above, in the section devoted to the Alianza Arabe, the Solidaridad Islámica group has purchased a property at Calle Bogotá 3449, where the two groups at Orán 447 and 453 expect shortly to unite, even though the Alianza Araba may delay some time in the projected fusion.

A contact of the Embassy's informant has become a member of Solidaridad Islámica, and has stated the following to be the principal tenets of the group:

1. We identify ourselves with the present Argentine régime.

2. We shall uphold and defend the Germans by every means in our power.

3. The Germans will recompense us by according the complete independence of unified Syria, from the Turkish frontier to that of Egypt.

4. Even though the Germans should be defeated, they will remain sufficiently strong after the war to protect us against the North Americans. The English themselves will end by depending on unified Germany for support when the war is over. 1/

5. Our hatred for the United States is based on its support of the immigration of European Jews to Palestine. Even the English are not so strongly in favor of such immigration at present. 1/

There is

1/. This recurrent theme of "even the English" is believed interesting, in that it is so similar to present Argentine nationalist propaganda. There too, the campaign against the United States often assumes the form of holding up Britain as comparatively a lesser evil.

There is at present a movement on foot, sponsored by Solidaridad Islámica, to build in Buenos Aires a mosque for the use of all Mohammedans. Apparently the project is meeting with some success, and it has been decided by the three Moslem societies to sell certain of their properties to raise funds. A committee has been named to tour the interior provinces on a money-raising campaign, and has already visited several. The committee is composed of M. Hassan DAEJ, Khaled ADIB and Abdelcarim (Miguel) ALLAME. Contributions are to be addressed to: Husain MADE and Hasan HAIDAR, at Calle Orán 447. While it now seems possible that the project may be realized, the observation can hardly be avoided that practically all such projects of the Arab community in the past have fallen through because the funds collected were diverted largely into the pockets of the collectors.

Asociación Pan-Islamista

This group gravitates around the fanatical Arab-language weekly, Natur-Islam (Al-Fitreh Al-Islamiah), dealt with exhaustively in the memorandum enclosed with the Embassy's despatch no. 10087 of May 10, 1943. As mentioned therein, Saifuddin Rahhal joined with the brothers Ahmad, Muhammad, and Said MURAD to edit the pro-German Bandera Otomana during the past war. Ahmad and Muhammad died and Said Murad returned to Syria some years ago, since which time Rahhal has edited Natur-Islam and has acted as a leader of the Asociación Pan-Islamista, formed principally by his efforts. During the past year Rahhal has become largely discredited, and the editorship of Natur-Islam has been taken over by his former assistant, Mohamad Mahmood RAMADAN. However, Rahhal is still counted among the paper's contributors, and is a member of the so-called "Permanent Executive Committee of the first Pan-Arabic Congress in America" (see below).

Owing largely to disagreements between the older and younger members of the society, the original Asociación Pan-Islamista has been broken up into two parts, the Asociación Islámica de Previsión (Islamic Welfare Association) and the Asociación de Jóvenes Musulmanos (Young Moslems' Association). Both groups, however, are united in their hostility to the United Nations and, above all, to the colonization projects of the Zionist Jews in Palestine. Many of the Association's members are said to be lukewarm on the political questions involved, but eager to take advantage of the business contacts offered by membership in the Association. Many members are accustomed to meet with germanophile Argentines in the cellar of the Café Tortoni, on the Avenida de Mayo.

The locale of the organization is at Calle Venezuela 826, an address fronted by the dry-goods business on one of the members, Alí M. SALEH. Saifuddin Rahhal has been replaced as leader by a young scholar named Casim M. ABDALA Neman (or Kasem Abdullah). Another important individual among the younger group is Ibrahim HALLAR, son of one of the original mainstays of Rahhal.

Venezuela 826 also figures as the address of the "Permanent Executive Committee of the First Pan-Arabic Congress in America". In spite of the pomposity of the title, this organization is rather insignificant, and is said to obey the directives of the pro-German propagandist, the Emir Chekib ARSLAN (now believed to be in Geneva). The "Congress" was at one time presided over by the cousin of Chekib Arslan, the Emir Emin ARSLAN, now deceased, with the Arabic poet Rachid KHURY of Sao Paulo as vice president and Casim Abdala as secretary.

During the month of March, 1944, the "Congress" sent out a circular letter to most of the countries of the western hemisphere to appeal for funds and support against the Zionist Movement, and to prevent the latter from making Palestine a Jewish-controlled state. The letter was signed by Casim Abdala, and the contributions were to be sent to Alí HALLAR. It was announced that in April, 1944, the first pan-Arabic Congress would be held in Buenos Aires, and would be attended by representatives of the two million Arabs in America. However, to date the "Congress" has not been held, nor does it seem probable that it will be held in the near future. On June 1, an informant of the Embassy was told by a committee member that it had been postponed for the time being, but that the project had not been given up.

In the March 24 issue of Natur-Islam, a lengthy editorial was devoted to the matter of the "Congress" and the Zionist problem. After pointing out that the Arabs had retaken Palestine from the Byzantine Greeks in the time of Omar Ibn-al-Jottáb, and that the Jewish claims after thirteen hundred years were just as logical as if the Araucanian Indians should reclaim the Province of Buenos Aires because their ancestors had roamed there, the editorial went on to reprint a letter to the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which the following was stated:

Having been informed through the press that Mosaic Jews had celebrated, on June 11-12, the "First South American Congress of the New Zionist Organization" in various American capitals, the organization wished to go on record to the effect that: 1) The problem of Palestine was a strictly Arab problem, and as such the Arab people were competent to settle it; 2) Military conquest gave no right to annul the independence of occupied nations; 3) Self determination was a right recognized by the democratic conscience, and the Arabs repudiated all foreign tutelage over their affairs; 4) The Arabs had never recognized the projected constitution of a Jewish Home in Palestine, much less a Jewish State, and also refused to recognize the Zionist problem; 5) Immigration was a weapon of conquest, which even if limited, would

finally

finally put the Arabs in a minority in their own land. Great Britain recognized this when it put a limit to Jewish immigration as of April first, as set forth in the "white paper". 6) The creation in Palestine of a Jewish Army of Defense, representing the international Jews of many nations, would be an affront to Arab sovereignty and an ever-present menace to Arab security. Such an army would be ever ready to put its own interests before that of the country in any question which might arise.

As a solution, the "Pan-Arabic Congress" suggested the following:

(1) To consider Palestine as an indivisible part of the Arabic nation.

(2) To declare the Zionist problem as non-existent, insofar as Palestine was being considered a partial or total Jewish state.

(3) To ask for absolute independence for Palestine and Transjordania, with a national constitutional government.

(4) To continue considering Jews who were natives of Palestine as co-nationals with equal duties and rights as Mohammedans and Christians born there. All foreigners, whether Hebrew or of any other creed, were to be treated as guests, as in any civilized nation.

(5) To include Free Palestine in the Arabic Union, which Union was to be the aim of the Pan Arabic Congress, to be held soon in Cairo under the auspices of the Egyptian Government.

On the premises of the Asociación Pan-Islamista at Calle Venezuela 826, classes are given to inculcate in Syrian youth the traditional beliefs of their fathers. The younger group, known as the Asociación de Jóvenes Musulanos, has in reality accomplished little more than to bring about the disintegration of the elder organization, although one of its principal postulates is the unification of all Mohammedan nuclei. The principal figures in the young men's association are Casim Abdala, Ibrahim Hallar, and Khaled Adib. Adib, an ex-secretary of the Christian prophet Antún SAADEH, is now a foremost enemy of the latter. Ibrahim Hallar was quoted in the Nazi-nationalist daily El Federal, in an article entitled, "The Arabs repudiate the Jews".

Most of the elder members of the Association are financially well off, engaged in the dry-goods business, and have ample leisure to mature their political intrigues and to give free rein to their religious fanaticism.

Principal among them are:

H. Ali Hallar	Venezuela 883,	Buenos Aires
Ali Saleh M.	Venezuela 826,	Buenos Aires
Mustafa Murad	Perú 358,	Buenos Aires
Hamed Murad	Reconquista 675,	Buenos Aires
Saifuddin Rahhal.	Reconquista 1010,	Buenos Aires
Masoud y Hassan	Reconquista 775,	Buenos Aires
Saleh C.Abosaleh.	Reconquista 730,	Buenos Aires

It is also said that the Lebanese Christian soldier of fortune Rafael LAHOUD, has been in contact with the group at Venezuela 826.

Pro-Axis Moslems in General.

The following is a list furnished by the Embassy's informant of leading Moslem supporters of the anti-United Nations campaign, without distinction as regards the three groups mentioned in the immediately preceding sections:

H. Ali Hallar	Venezuela 883,	Buenos Aires
Ali M. Saleh	Venezuela 826,	Buenos Aires
Mustafa Murad	Perú 358,	Buenos Aires
Hamad Murad	Reconquista 657,	Buenos Aires
Masoud y Hassan	Reconquista 775,	Buenos Aires
Saleh C. Abosaleh	Reconquista 730,	Buenos Aires
Alberto Abdala Mohmud . .	Caracas 960,	Buenos Aires
Mahmud Nasra y Hno. . . .	Av. Pavón 402,	(Lanús)
Mustafa Tarbuch	Charcas 463,	Buenos Aires
Amin Daud	Canning 557,	Buenos Aires
Asom Tarbuch E.	S. Blas 5158,	Buenos Aires
Jalid Erut	Reconquista 783,	Buenos Aires
José Adid		Mendoza
Hasan Hadid		Mendoza
Abdelali Kssab		Mendoza
Mahmud Ganúm		Mendoza
Jabsa Hnos.		Córdoba
Husain Sucarie.		Córdoba
Muhammad Ganám.		Tucumán
José Sarmi.		Tucumán

The following are Moslem business houses which have given financial support to the nationalist cause:

Hallar Hnos. & Cía. (José and Ibrahim). . .	Venezuela 883,	Buenos Aires
Murad & Cía.	Reconquista 657,	Buenos Aires
Masoud & Hassan.	Reconquista 775,	Buenos Aires
Alberto Abdala Mahmud . .	Caracas 960,	Buenos Aires
José Adid		Mendoza
Hasan Hadid.		Mendoza
Mahmud Ganúm		Mendoza
Muhammad Ganám		Tucumán
Jabsa Hnos.		Córdoba

"Al Istiklal"

"Al Istiklal" and the followers of the deceased Emir Emin Arslan.

In the Embassy's memorandum enclosed with despatch no. 10087 of May 10, 1943, it was stated that owing to the recent death of the Emir Emin Arslan, his newspaper Al Istiklal (Independence) had been carried on by a small group calling itself the "Drusa Association". This group, representing the Druze in Argentina, are very pro-Nazi and have brought the paper definitely into the fold of the Moslem press. It is now edited by Saleh C. ABOSALEH, and although the address of the administration is given as Calle Maipú 735, it is printed at Calle Reconquista 730. Abosaleh is said to be almost illiterate, the real editor being a certain Yad Uvar UVAR, a Syrian engaged in the dry-goods trade on Calle Reconquista. Connected with UVAR are the brothers Alex and Hussein ALSAIEG, of Calle Juncal 905, reported by an informant of the Embassy as German agents. Abosaleh, also, is said to be in the pay of the enemy, and is a member of the Asociación Pan-Islamista.

Since his death, the Emir Emin Arslan has been made a hero by the Syrio-Lebanese community, and on July 17, 1943, a public funeral was held in his name. Arabs of all stripes were invited, the committee of homage being made up of pro-Nazi Moslems and pro-Allied Christians indiscriminately.

CHRISTIAN GROUPS

Two predominant Christian groups in Syrio-Lebanese politics, as discussed in the Embassy's previous memorandum on the subject, are those Lebanese connected with the Maronite religious order and the Syrio-Lebanese, mostly Syrians, who still follow Antún SAADEH. It will be observed below that there has been a schism within the ranks of the former. As for Saadeh's followers, they have gradually lost importance and may now be considered a non-entity. Notwithstanding his waning prestige, however, Saadeh continues to publish his organ Azzaubaha, and to correspond with supporters in other South American countries, notably Mexico and Brazil.

Regarding the large majority of the Syrio-Lebanese in Argentina, not identified with either of the above-mentioned groups, the present report has little to add to that which was set forth in the previous memorandum. The "Club Honor y Patria" and its leader, Moises J. AZIZE, are, in the main pro-Allied as regards the war and uninterested in the political situation of their homeland, except in a purely theoretical way.

The director of Azize's Diario Siriolibanés, Emilio, or Amin, CONSTANTINO, continues to be extremely friendly to the Allied cause and is willing to execute any reasonable suggestion as to how to combat the Moslem-Fascists. Constantino has stated that Ambassador Armour's endorsement

of the special

of the special issue of the Diario Siriolibanés, on January 12, did much good among the better class Syrio-Lebanese, both Moslem and Christian. Moreover, the assignment of Mr. George WADSWORTH as special diplomatic agent and Consul General in Beirut and Damascus was looked on with great favor by Syrio-Lebanese in Buenos Aires.

The Lebanese, through the organ Voz Libanesa, demand the integral independence of the Lebanon, at the expense of Syria. However, it is the opinion of Mr. Constantino that the United States will obtain greater sympathy among the better class of both Moslems and Christians if it does not separate the cause of the Lebanese from that of the Syrians.

The Lebanese Patriotic Association and the "Voz Libanesa"

The Asociación Patriótica Libanesa is an old and established Arabic group in Argentina, and was dealt with at some length in the Embassy's former memorandum on the subject, referred to above. During the course of its history, the Association has always been considered under the direct influence of the Maronite Fathers, the Lebanese Christian religious order located at Calle Paraguay 834. In January, 1943, there appeared the first issue of a bi-monthly, tabloid-size newspaper in Spanish and Arabic, named Voz Libanesa. This paper was published at the Maronites' printing establishment at the address of Paraguay 834, which also housed the Association at that time. However, during the following March there appeared a schism within the ranks of the Association, and the majority of the members seceded to re-form their group under the same name of Asociación Patriótica Libanesa, moving to an address at Calle San Martín 911-917. The premises were sublet from a Syrian tailor. The secessionists took the publication Voz Libanesa with them, and the subsequent April issue made its appearance under the new address.

The reason for the break, according to an informant, was that a group of younger members, including certain lay brothers of the Maronite Order itself, wished to free themselves from the directives of the Maronite Fathers. The separation was effected discreetly and no reasons were given but to the public. In a confidential interview with the leaders of the new group, José Miguel KAIRUZ and Elías RICHA, the Embassy's informant, who is a Turk well versed in Arabic affairs, learned the following: The secessionists, who continue to bear the name of the Association, wished to break with French political and financial influence and effect a closer rapprochement with the Anglo-Saxon powers. Some of the members also wanted to incline the group specifically towards the United States, not only in Argentina but also all over Latin America, by means of the numerous Syrio-Lebanese colonies throughout the continent.

The Maronite Fathers, it was said, were scandalized by the insubordination of the lay brothers and of the

Association

Association, stating that it was insanity to abandon the aegis of Catholic France to place themselves under the domination of the Anglo-Saxon nations. The Fathers did not announce their displeasure publicly, but the informant stated that it was made quite evident in the Arabic text of the Order's organ, El Misionero. The Maronite Order is reported to have oriented its policy along the lines of the "French Colonialists", based on the hope of a satisfactory recolonization arrangement between France and Germany after the cessation of hostilities. For this reason, the Order has taken up an attitude of veiled hostility towards the United States, as it fears that the latter would favor the formation of a federal republic with Damascus as capital, to include all the small Syrian states artificially created after the last war. It is on this basis that German propagandists have based their maneuvers to agitate the Lebanese elements in Argentina and to create an atmosphere of hostility towards the United States.

Notwithstanding the assertions of the secessionist leaders regarding their friendship for North America and the cause of the United Nations, an Argentine nationalist broadside attacking the United States and the newspaper La Prensa was discovered being distributed on the premises of the new association, at San Martin 911. Moreover, the presence on the staff of the Voz Libanesa by Mr. Rafael LAHOUD is not reassuring to the Embassy, which has had several rather chastening experiences with him in the past. Although Lahoud has repeatedly attempted to convince the Embassy of his friendship for the United Nations, he is known to have received aid from both sides during the early years of the war, and to be ethically unreliable. Lahoud's hatred for the leader of the Syrio-Lebanese community, Moises J. Azize, is reflected regularly in the pages of Voz Libanesa. Although he is at present identified with the new group at San Martin 911, he is said to be supported sub rosa by the French who incline towards a future understanding with Germany, and by the Maronite Fathers.

Rafael Lahoud lives with a woman at Calle 25 de Mayo 611, 1st floor, apartment 3, in a boarding house run by a German woman. He comes from an excellent Lebanese family, and is now in his early thirties. Married in Beirut, he abandoned his wife when he was sent by the Government of the Lebanese Republic on a mission to Argentina, of which the nature is not known. When he was recalled to the Lebanon, he refused to go, under vague pretexts, and remained in this country in the service of the Germans, at the beginning of the present war. Although he is now attempting to make contacts with Allied representatives, his writings still encourage the Moslems in their hostility to the United States, accusing the latter of upholding the Zionist Jews against the Moslem and Christian Syrio-Lebanese. Copies of two of Lahoud's books, "The Truth about the Palestine Situation" and "The White Paper of the Lebanon" are enclosed with the present memorandum. (Enclosures 2 and 3).

There is also

There is also enclosed (No. 4) the text of an article by Salim CONSTANTINO, brother of the pro-Allied Emilio Constantino. Salim is his brother's enemy, and lives at Calle Uruguay 328, 4th floor, apartment 8, where he runs a boarding house. A close associate of Rafael Lahoud, he is the author of a year book on the Arab community in Argentina, a work of little importance. The enclosed manuscript was made temporarily available to the Embassy by a contact, and attacks Zionist aspirations in Palestina. Constantino attempted to sell it to several large Buenos Aires dailies, without success.

The Spanish texts of Voz Libanesa are pro-Allied, and the Embassy's informant states that the Arabic is not hostile. There is little doubt that the organization as a whole is not pro-Nazi, although the intricacies of Arab politics make a blanket classification inadvisable. The following is a list of the constituted authorities of the Asociación Patriótica Libanesa, elected at the time of its withdrawal from the influence of the Maronite Order:

President	Mr. José Miguel Kairúz
1st Vice President	Mr. Miguel Marun
2nd Vice President	Mr. Joseph Farhat
General Secretary	Mr. Elías Richa
Asst. General Secretary	Mr. Richard El Khoury
Recording Secretary	Dr. José Sejean
Asst. Recording Secretary	Mr. Tufic Yabbur
Treasurer	Mr. Tufic Fadul
Asst. Treasurer	Mr. Pedro A. Faisal
Auditor	Mr. Naim Haua
	Mr. Emilio Abdallah
Members	Messrs: Habib Khairallah, Juan Maluf, Miguel Abdi, Angel Tubia, Elías Busleiman, Ramón Alam and José Salum.
Substitutes	Messrs: Said Jozani, Gabriel Curi, Abdu J. Bueri, José Gasibe, Antonio Nazer and Aiub Diab.

Antún Saadeh

The subject of Antún Saadeh was treated exhaustively in the Embassy's former memorandum, enclosed with despatch no. 10087, of May 10, 1943. At the time of its writing, it was pointed out that the influence of Saadeh was already waning in Argentina, and that the "Zaim" of the Syrian Nationalist Party was finding it increasingly difficult to obtain funds for the support of his movement. During the past year this situation has become even more serious, with the result that Saadeh's activities have been confined largely to that same small group of faithful supporters, half believers and half rogues, who were mentioned in the

previous

previous memorandum. This clique is apparently still able to unearth an occasional gullible contributor, notably in the province of Tucumán, but there are indications through various censorship intercepts that Saadeh is depending in an increasing degree on the support of followers outside Argentina. Chief among these groups is the Syrian Nationalist Party in Mexico.

A censorship intercept of February 6, 1944, confirmed the Embassy's information that Saadeh is at present residing in the city of Tucumán, at Calle Maipú 453. This is the address of Saadeh's chief lieutenant, Yubran MASSUH. In the same letter, Saadeh declared his desire to make a trip to Mexico, and possibly to the United States, within the next six months. The communication in question was addressed to one Assef ABUMRAD, Apartado 7638, Mexico D.F. The constant recurrence of this address in correspondence to and from Saadeh indicates that it is the principal center of the Syrian Nationalist Party in that country. From time to time Saadeh has acknowledged receipt of contributions from the faithful in Mexico, notably a remittance of $100.00 U.S. Cy., to help Saadeh to buy a new press for his monthly, Azzaubaha. It will be recalled that for the past two years, practically all such collections have been made under the pretext of buying this press, a project which appears to be no nearer realization than it was at the outset.

During the middle months of 1943, the printing of Azzaubaha was transferred from the address at Calle Reconquista 862 to a printing establishment at Calle Pozos 468, where the notoriously Nazi Croatian paper Hrvatski Domobran was also put out. However, probably through fear of reprisals on the part of the Allied Embassies, Saadeh once more moved in October to Calle Paraguay 487, where the Syrian Assalam is printed. As mentioned in the previous memorandum, Assalam is pro-Allied, but the miserable state of its finances has caused it on more than one occasion to accept contracts for the printing of other publications of doubtful sympathies. At present, it is reported that Azzaubaha has only a handful of subscribers in Argentina, but that a limited number of copies are being sent to other countries, especially to Mexico, from which country a mailing list was sent to the "Leader" by the Syrian Nationalist Headquarters. Moreover, during the first three months of 1944, Saadeh's paper published, in a prominent position, lists of names and addresses, which upon translation were discovered to be his duly constituted correspondents in various parts of Argentina and the hemisphere. While Saadeh's star has become somewhat eclipsed, it is nevertheless believed that this list is of sufficient interest to be included in the present memorandum, as follows:

In Argentina

IN ARGENTINA

Sr. Mehaman DAU
Villa Colon
Caucete--San Juan

Sr. Jacobo NASIF
Villa Cuyaya
Jujuy

Sr. Salim SAUA
Montevideo 34
Cordoba

Sr. Lipe ABUD
L.N. Alem, 270
La Banda - Pcia. Sgo del Estero

Sr. Munir DIP
Alvear esq. Balcarce
Jujuy

Sr. Jorge A. ABRAHAM
S. Lorenzo Y Gral. Pico
Pergamino
F.C.C.A.

Sr. Yubran MASSUH
Maipú 316
Tucumán

IN BRAZIL

Sr. William PALIS
Caixa Postal, 1487
Sao Paulo

Sr. Nagib ASSREUY
Passa Tempo
Via Oliveira, Minas

Sr. Jorge DADDE
Alfándega 332
Rio de Janeiro

IN MEXICO

Sr. Assef ABUMRAD
Apartado, 7638
Mexico - D.F.

IN THE UNITED STATES

Dr. Fakhori MALUF
24 De Wolfe St.
Cambridge, Mass.

Regarding

Regarding the presence on the list of the last named individual, Dr. Fakhori MALUF, it was ascertained that he is Saadeh's principal associate in the United States and that in May, 1943, Saadeh wrote him to discuss his trip to the United States, projected at that time. Saadeh's object was to persuade the United States authorities of the sincerity and independence of his movement, which he claimed had been misrepresented and distorted by his enemies. Saadeh's intentions and his connection with Dr. Maluf have been duly noted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington.

Saadeh's principal lieutenants in Argentina continue to be those mentioned in the previous memorandum, namely, Abdon SAHADE in Córdoba, Yubran MASSUH in Tucumán, and Yauad NADER in Buenos Aires. It will be recalled that the last named acted as Saadeh's agent in the pro-Allied Diario Siriolibanes until the connection was discovered. Azzaubaha has toned down considerably in its anti-Allied preaching, attempting to disguise its former pro-Axis sentiments under the guise of a purely Syrian nationalism. Nevertheless, few opportunities are missed to make oblique observations at the expense of the United States and Great Britain.

Antún Saadeh's pretensions for bringing about the renascence of Syria as a nation which should be a model state in all the orders of modern civilized life are probably best set forth in a speech delivered on the occasion of the "Zaim's" birthday, March 1, by his lieutenant Yubran Massuh. An informant states categorically that the address was written by Saadeh himself, and it is believed of sufficient interest for the inclusion of a synthesis in the present memorandum, as follows:

"Saadeh, Mahomet and Christ

"Certain professional exploiters of religion claim that our national resurgence is contrary to religion. This can only be attributed to a failure to understand us. We dignify and elevate the moral level of religion. Let those who are religious cling to their beliefs, but those who traffic in religion for the benefit of personal ambition must be eliminated. Our movement, for the first time in history, succeeds in joining Christ and Mahomet. These two figures clasp each other's hands in an effort to rescue a great nation from abysmal humiliation and misery. It is not our aim to unite two diverse creeds, but rather to superimpose our unity over the two. We respect the sheik (sic) while he remains in his mosque, and the priest while he teaches the faithful to do good. But the sheik or the priest interfering with our national existence and sowing intrigue and confusion has no place in our scheme of things. If we combat such individuals, it is because they are the enemies of our national resurgence and a dead weight against the march of our progress.

"Like Mahomet himself we destroy such interference and proscribe its false authority. With the insight of Christ, we expel the money-changers from the temple of our activities - Nationalist Syria! Our only ideal is to raise the moral level of our country and to return to it its lost dignity, sacrificing, if need be, life itself. Be sure that in all our meetings Mahomet and Christ are present - Mahomet to impart greatness, valor, dignity, integrity and self-confidence; Christ to teach us to pardon, and to teach love, modesty and sacrifice.

"Let our enemies understand that it is useless to stand in our way, that the nationalist will not be deterred even though he be crucified, that he will not falter in the confidence of his faith. Unity between sons of our Mother Country is an incontrovertible fact, and there is no human force capable of arresting it. Saadeh has united the personalities of Christ and Mahomet, for an ideal which we are confident will bring about the rebirth of our nation, yes, and further the cause of humanity. Our cause is the cause of all Arab peoples. Shout with me, 'Long live Mahomet!', 'Long live Christ!', 'Long live Saadeh!' "

In a more practical vein, Saadeh wrote an editorial in Azzaubaha, on November 8, 1943, which is also revealing as to his policies. Its purpose was to comment on the results of the Moscow Conference with respect to their possible effects on the Syrian nationalist cause. In it, the author stated that the many problems confronting the Syrian people had been foreseen by Saadeh at the outset of the conflict, and that the solution then proposed was still valid, namely, the preservation of an absolute neutrality. This neutral attitude need not, however, preclude future support of one or the other of the sides, if and when it should be demonstrated conclusively that that side would and could guarantee Syrian independence and the integrity of her territories. Saadeh lauded the statement of the Moscow Conference that there must be established, as soon as possible, a general international organization based on the principles of sovereign equality for all peace-loving states and the union of all these to maintain international peace and security. However, he enjoined his readers to meditate profoundly on these matters, and to take into account the following considerations:

1. Are we prepared, even in a small way, to join in any such international system?
2. Do we know positively what are the foremost interests of our country?
3. Do we know positively what destiny is best for us?
4. Do we know what fate other powers reserve for us? All countries bounding Syria, as well as certain others, are ambitious to get hold of our land because of its strategic value, its riches and the beauty of its soil. And, if we know these things, have we solved our own internal problems and domestic quarrels to such a point that we can

present

present to the world the legitimate claims of a people securely unified by its ideals and interests?

5. Have we managed to decide what political, social and agricultural problems will be presented by our delegates in the case of their attending such an international conference? Unfortunately, we must recognize that we have not.

Saadeh went on to state that the Syrian Nationalist Party had fought in the country and abroad for a period of years for an answer to the above problems, and had at least succeeded in creating a feeling of repudiation of the feudal régime which still humiliated the country. However, there were still many enemies who pretended to guide Syria's destinies but who were in reality only interested in conserving their power and influence. These individuals, working through sectarian hates, were the real enemies of the "Zaim" and of Syria.

Enclosure No. 5 to Despatch
No. [illegible] dated June [illegible], 1944,
from American Embassy at
Buenos Aires.

(Translation)

ZIONIST ASPIRATIONS

"Communiqué of the Permanent Office of the Neo-Zionist Congress in South America."

Under the above subtitle, the so-called Permanent Office of Zionism recently published its point of view in certain organs of the press. This entity has just held a congress in the Republic of Uruguay, with the confessed intention of discussing ideas regarding the proposed Jewish national home in Palestine.

Among other considerations, it was declared in the manifesto under reference that "the resolutions made do not put forward prestensions of political or territorial conquest nor do they attempt to foster ambitions of individuals or of a class, since Zionism - they say - stands for the reestablishment of a Jewish nation based on the postulates of the rights of peoples without conquest nor the spilling of blood."

But the Zionists forget, or pretend to forget, the spilled blood of thousands of innocent workers, Jews as well as Arabs, since the promise of Lord Balfour. This was especially true between 1934 and 1939.

It is also manifested in this same document that "as regards the declaration of the British Prime Minister (at that time Lord Arthur James Balfour) and the manifestations of Great Britain and other nations, these can be formulated as backing the establishment of a Jewish Home in Palestine in the certainty--as they say--that such an aspiration did not in the least run contrary to the interests of the natural rights of any people or nation in the land".

If what the Zionists say is true, why then were there produced the protest and massacres mentioned above? . . .

The manifesto continues to the effect that "the work carried out by the Jews in Palestine and their progress there did not justify the complaints lodged by the Arabs and, less still, of hundreds of Arab immigrants who were able to come to the soil of Palestine."

This part of the manifesto is insolent. In effect, according to the Zionists, the Jews arriving from all parts of the world are masters of the house, and the real masters of the house . . . intruders. Before saying my say, I wish to make clear the following: At the end of August of last year, Zionism had a Congress in North America. At that Congress, the Jewish Workers' representatives tenaciously opposed Zionist pretentions towards a National Jewish Home

in Palestine. Furthermore: The society known as "Hebraic American Unity" in Philadelphia published in The Times, on the 31st of August, a manifesto opposing the Zionists and the resolutions made in the recently closed Congress, in more or less the following words: "The Jews have not been the only people persecuted by Nazism and Fascism, but also many other anti-Nazi Christians, wherefore we hope that the Allies will try to remedy this pressing situation and exchange those inhabitants as soon as possible. As regards the Jews--says the manifesto--they should be content with the equality of rights and duties given them. We are energetically opposed--they state-- to the formation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, because that is absurd. We are opposed to all sectarian propaganda and to all those who say that the Jews have no country, since this doctrine is contrary to the interests of the Jews themselves."

The manifesto continues: "If it were not for this absurd idea of the National Jewish Home, we are certain that many thousands of Jews could have gone to Palestine from Nazi Germany without opposition.

"Palestine--it is said--is the cradle of the Israelites as well as of the Christians; the Mohammedans also have there the remains of the great Caliph Omar Ibn el Jottar . . .how, then, can we claim an exclusivity of this land for the Israelites? . . . The correct procedure would be to respect the government of the people of Palestine and that this latter, in turn, should respect its citizens equally, no matter what their religion, the same as happens in the United States, which is our country and where our religion is the Jewish."

This categorical declaration of a responsible institution such as "Hebraic American Unity" should be enough for the Zionists; nevertheless, before finishing these lines I wish to single out certain asseverations of the manifesto and refute them one by one: It is said at the outset that "this resolution does not pretend to territorial conquest", and later it refers to the natives of the country as immigrants, so that the Zionists not only wish territorial conquest, but also non-recognition of the rights of the inhabitants, whom it calls "immigrants".

When the Jews have been presecuted in various countries and their rights unrecognized, many university men and workers have formed tribunals and raised their voices to protest against this persecution. Good then, Palestine has its inhabitants which belong by confession to different religions, namely: Jews, Mohammedans and Christians. They are the inhabitants, wherefore any attempt to dislodge the Mohammedans and Christians would be the equivalent of taking away their inherent rights. If what was done with the Jews in several European countries was qualified by the Zionists as barbarism, then what should we call the same thing when the Jews wish to do it to others? Palestine is the Mecca of the Christians because Jesus was born there. There would be a certain right in their claiming this land because their

credo.

credo rose from there, and yet they do not claim it. Well and good. Since the Zionists say in their manifesto that "they wish the establishment of a Jewish homeland based on the rights of peoples without conquest nor spilling of blood, et cetera" why, then, do they not lay claim to the homeland of Abraham, the father of all the Jews? Of course, Abraham was a native of Ur of the Chaldees, near the Persian Gulf; later he moved to Aram in Caanan, near Armenia (Genesis XI-28-31). Why do they not try to establish their country there as this would be most natural, logical and reasonable?

The Lebanon, which protested oppertunely against the Jewish National Home in Palestine in 1942, when more than 400 Jews were not permitted to disembark from a ship--that Lebanon made a noble and generous gesture and called them together, giving them houses and lands and friendship. Let the Zionists consider that exemplary attitude and do likewise. Without going any further than this hospitable and most noble Argentina, we can see here many honorable Jews who live happily and respected by all in comfort, possessing, moreover, a homeland. In that, too, the Zionists might find a salutary example. They would not be lacking in a homeland either.

I wish to say something more: In these moments of sorrow so critical for humanity, the Zionists should not be making their claims, now with Churchill, again with Roosevelt,--the holding of congresses, the publishing of manifestos, et cetera. They should consider the trouble of the world and cease complaining and interrupting the task of men who hold the enormous responsibility of their positions and their historical influence over the life and death of many people. The Zionists should wait until the times and circumstances offer the solution for their problems and aspirations.

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NEWS NOTES

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The following current news is circulated at once by reason of its timeliness. In conjunction with other and later intelligence the material may be used again in the longer-range studies of this Branch.

☐ *Press Item* ☐ *Account of Oral Interview* ☒ *Confidential Report*

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Number N-102

16 November 1944

2.11 General

CALL FOR AN ARAB-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

A GENERAL conference of Arab-Americans has been called to meet in New York 25-26 November. A circular letter, dated 1 November and sent out over the signatures of Professor Philip K. Hitti of Princeton, Ali Mahadeen, president of the Young Men's Moslem Association, E. J. Audi, formerly secretary of the (disbanded) Arab National League, Essa Bateh and Kaid Barakat of New York, and Faris S. Malouf, a lawyer of Boston, has specified the following as subjects for discussion:

1. Ways and means to cement American relations with the Arab East.

2. Consideration of the problems, including Zionism, now facing the Arab-speaking countries.

3. Establishment in this country of an Arab Bureau of Information (2.16) with the object of promoting the welfare and interests of Arabs and Arab-Americans and making them better and more favorably known in Canada and the United States.

4. Any other pertinent matter that may be brought up at the conference.

The meeting was announced by Meraat-ul-Gharb (3.1.1) 30 October, and met with the cordial editorial approval of As-Sayeh (3.1.1) 2 November.

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While the principal purpose of the conference is probably to rally the Arab-American community to the defense of Palestine against Zionist propaganda, the sponsors are men of high standing in the community who desire to establish closer bonds between the United States and the Arab world. They have therefore laid particular emphasis on the Information Bureau.

A similar movement, but with a narrower aim, was recently started in Boston as the "American Council for the Defense of Arab Palestine." Since its moving spirit was Faris S. Malcuf, one of the sponsors of the coming conference, no hostility should be looked for from that direction. But an Arab American has told this Branch that opposition to the new movement is developing in Flint, Michigan, where Najib abu Samra has organized an "Arab Institute of America for Arab Affairs."

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NEWS NOTES

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The following current news is circulated at once by reason of its timeliness. In conjunction with other and later intelligence the material may be used again in the longer-range studies of this Branch.

☐ *Press Item* ☐ *Account of Oral Interview* ☒ *Confidential Report*

Number N-130 12 December 1944

BRITISH AND FRENCH OFFICIALS ATTEND LEBANESE-AMERICAN BANQUET

FOLLOWING a report released in Washington by the OWI that the Government of Lebanon had asked the Lebanese and their friends in America to celebrate Lebanon's independence day on 22 November, the Lebanon League of Progress of New York arranged a banquet for that date at the St. George Hotel, Brooklyn. Invitations were sent out to leaders of the Arab-American community as well as to the Lebanese delegates who had recently arrived in this country for the Aviation Conference in Chicago and the Business Conference at Rye, New York.

No complete account of what transpired at the banquet is available. One of the guests, however, has informed this Branch that the British Consul General in New York spoke in Arabic, expressing his wishes for the success of the Lebanese in their independence, which has been recognized by Great Britain. The French Consul General also is reported to have made a speech in French and English, emphasizing his desire that Franco-Lebanese friendship should continue. The French Consul General, it is

said, made no mention whatever of Lebanese independence, which was the raison d'etre of the celebration. This omission was noted and interpreted as an indication of French intentions toward Lebanon.

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

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WITH Major William Appleton Aiken SUBJECT His Conversation With Mr. Chamoun, Lebanese Delegate to the Civil Aviation Conference, Chicago

FOR F.N.B. Bjarne Braatoy Br.

DATE 22 December 1944 INITIATIVE Major Aiken ☐ BY TELEPHONE

PLACE Lunch - Washington, D. C. ☒ FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

1. Major Aiken is now in the office of the Chief of Liaison in the Office of War Information, Washington, D. C. He is an historian by training, and was a professor at Lehigh University when the war broke out. I made his acquaintance in 1942 when he was on the Washington Intelligence Panel of the Overseas Branch of the OWI, specializing on the Middle East. He remained in this position until he returned from a three months' tour of the Middle East early this year.

2. Mr. Chamoun, he said, was an intelligent Arab of the Greek Orthodox faith, forty-seven years of age, Minister-Designate of Lebanon to London, polite in his terminology, but outspoken about his impressions at the Conference and of American and United Nations policies in general.

Mr. Chamoun had met a number of Senators and Congressmen and felt that very little could be hoped of American democracy if the gentlemen he had met were true exponents of the capacity and understanding of the American people.

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The effects of the Stettinius statement on European affairs on 6 December were disastrous in the view of Mr. Chamoun. The peoples in his part of the world inferred nothing more was to be hoped from the United States; ultimately they would be forced to make their arrangements with the Soviet Union. He had discussed in detail the pressure that was being exercised upon Lebanon by the French with the apparent connivance of the British which was not acceptable to the Lebanese, unless in the series of bilateral pacts of which the pact with France would be first, a corresponding pact could be concluded with the United States.

Mr. Chamoun was completely pessimistic about the outlook for the smaller nations, even in his obligatory references to the Atlantic Charter.

Note: The views expressed by Mr. Chamoun correspond to the views reported in our press readings from the Arabic-language press. Our reader, Mr. Faris, refers to the delegates from the Middle East to the Civil Aviation Conference in Chicago and to the Businessmen's Conference at Rye as sources for these views. In the circumstances a News Note compiling these views would seem to be indicated.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

MEMORANDUM TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

FROM THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Number 8-297 2 January 1945

ARAB-AMERICANS DISTURBED BY AMERICAN "ISOLATIONISM"

A marked pessimism with respect to the fortunes of the Near East has been expressed in the Arab-American community lately. Arab ideals of national independence, it is felt, will be ignored by Allied Powers seeking their own political aggrandizement. One Lebanese official reports that Arab faith in the United States was shaken by the Stettinius hands-off statement, and prophesies that the Arab states will be forced ultimately to make an accommodation with the USSR.

SOME forty delegates and advisers from Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon, attending the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago and the International Businessmen's Conference at Rye, New York, took advantage of the opportunity to make contacts with Arab-Americans. At receptions in different cities and in private conversation, the Arab visitors gave outspoken voice to their fears that the interests of the small states of the Near East would be sacrificed to the interests of the Great Powers -- a prediction already common in the Arab-American press.

Lebanese Official Foresees Accommodation with Russia

One of the outstanding visitors was Kamil Chamoun, former Minister of Internal Affairs, now Minister-designate of Lebanon to Great Britain and a special envoy to the Civil Aviation Conference. In a talk

with a friend of this Branch Mr. Chamoun was pessimistic about the outlook for the small nations. The effect of Secretary Stettinius' statement on European affairs 6 December, he said, would be serious. The peoples of the Near East had inferred that nothing more was to be hoped for from the United States; ultimately they would be forced to make their arrangements with the Soviet Union. Mr. Chamoun referred to the pressure being exercised upon Lebanon by the French, with the apparent assent of the British; a bilateral pact as desired by the French, he said, was not acceptable to the Lebanese unless it should be only the first in a series of such pacts and a corresponding agreement should be concluded with the United States.

Effect upon the Community

Mr. Chamoun, an Arab-American told this Branch, has had considerable effect in "enlightening" his compatriots in this country. Such enlightenment was greatly needed, he asserted, for the Arab-American community was still accustomed to think in terms of a generation or two ago. It had had no idea of the radical social and political changes that had recently been taking place in the Near East, the breaking down of sectionalism, and the gradual disappearance of religious and sectarian differences. Living in the United States, where they had been caught up in idealistic conceptions of the rights of small nations to self-determination and freedom as presented in the Atlantic Charter, many Arab-Americans had held out for the sovereign independence of their lands of origin. It was true, he conceded, that all Arab-Americans regarded "aggressive Zionism" as a common danger against which they were ready to unite; but in other respects, many had thought, each Arab state might go its own separate way. To those holding such views the more realistic attitude of the visiting delegates came as a cold shower, the Arab-American spokesman declared.

Separatist al-Hoda Modifies its Stand

Current press items reveal that Arab-Americans, anxious over signs of strife among the Great Powers, fear that the lot of the Arab states may be no happier than that of Greece, Italy, or Poland. Even *al-Hoda*, long a champion of Lebanese separatism, has now softened its tone. In reporting (15 December) a cable from the Lebanese community in Rio de Janeiro announcing that the Lebanese of Brazil were in full agreement with their New York compatriots in opposing Arab federation, the paper did not, as customarily, stress the separatist theme.

In an earlier issue (1 December) *al-Hoda* spoke of the Near East as a stage set for a very serious drama on which the curtain had just gone up. Prior to the defeat of Italy and the isolation of Germany, the paper observed, events had been chiefly military. Now that Germany's grip on some countries had been broken the political aspects of international relations had come to the fore. In the ensuing political struggle the two main contenders for power were Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Moscow had already intervened in Iran, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and elsewhere. Great Britain, alarmed by the rapid spread of Russian influence, had hastened to intervene in Italy and Greece. In the face of this struggle for power the United States not only kept aloof but ventured to criticize the British policy of intervention. Experts, *al-Hoda* continued, saw the contest as one between capitalism and communism.

Near East States Called "Pawns"

This struggle was not confined to Europe, but had already spread to the Near East; and the recall from Syria and Lebanon of the "British High Commissioner to the Near East," General Sir Edward Spears -- at the specific request of

General de Gaulle, it was said -- should be interpreted in this light. Altogether the situation was disconcerting, the paper concluded; the small states of the Near East seemed like mere pawns in the game of power politics.

As-Sameer (11 December), *as-Sayeh* (14 December), and *al-Islaah* (15 December), laid the blame for the recent trouble in Italy and civil war in Greece squarely on Great Britain. Along with *al-Hoda* (9 December) and others, these papers expressed fear that the disunity now apparent among the principal United Nations might sow the seeds of a third world war. All voiced a fervent hope that the great leaders might be guided somehow to remedy the situation before it was too late.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES **SECRET** FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

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JAN 22 1945
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WITH Rev. K. A. Bishara SUBJECT Arab Affairs

FOR F.N.B. R. V. Lindabury

DATE Jan. 17, 1945 INITIATIVE R. V. L. ☐ BY TELEPHONE

PLACE 201 Clinton Street, Brooklyn ☒ FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

(A word of warning should be prefixed to any account of the sayings of Dr. Bishara. The zeal of his Presbyterianism is such that he is often astonishingly intemperate in his attacks on certain other faiths, notably the Catholic and the Moslem. In these attacks reason seems to play a negligible part, and his credibility suffers correspondingly. It is unnecessary to infer, however, that the man is insincere. He showed me a furious letter which he contributed recently to the Protestant Voice, complaining about the diplomatic standing of Myron Taylor at Rome; undoubtedly it expressed his firmest convictions. The problem of world peace can be solved easily, he told me, but in only one way: by making the whole world Christian. To Dr. Bishara, as once to Oliver Cromwell, Christian means something very close to Presbyterian, or at widest, Protestant.)

Dr. Bishara told me that he felt it his duty to inform the United States Government of certain suspicions that he had recently formed. Since the persons involved are all friends or acquaintances of his, and have no idea that he is in contact with government representatives, he urged strictest secrecy in the handling of his material. His suspicions cluster, for the most part, around the new magazine, The Arab World, and the Orthodox Brooklyn newspaper, As-Sameer, though they do not exclude the Moslem paper, Al-Bayan.

The Arab World, said Dr. Bishara, edited by Dr. George Kheirallah of Brooklyn and published at 1182 Broadway, New York, is operated indirectly by Germans. He reminded me that the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem is still in Berlin, along with Prince Shekeeb Arslan, a particularly pernicious Druse convert to Mohammedanism. What could be more likely than that these two, who have been engaged in broadcasting to Arabs over the German radio (previously over the Bari radio) should have representatives at work in this country? Such representatives might well be raising an anti-Jewish

issue on the pretext of opposing Zionism, whereas their true purpose would be to instil anti-Christian and anti-American ideas into the consciousness of Arab-Americans. This purpose Dr. Bishara finds exhibited in The Arab World, and concludes that the paper is in German hands.

Dr, Bishara proceeded with an account of George Kheirallah's father, Ibrahim, whom he characterized succinctly as "the Archdevil of Christianity". He was born in Lebanon and brought up as a Christian, graduating from the American university at Beirut. In the course of a wicked, profligate life, illumined at one time by simultaneous possession of nine wives, he came to the United States and became successively Mohammedan and Bahaist. Apprehended as a moomshiner on one occasion, he received a six-month jail sentence, which he may or may not have served. Upon his return to Beirut about ten years ago, his niece told Dr. Bishara with apparent satisfaction that the divine displeasure overtook him. The hot water in which he was bathing became miraculously scalding as his steamer approached port, and he died before he could spread the contagion of his ideas through the Near East.

George Kheirallah, the inheritor of this renown, also has a confused religious record. Educated as a Christian, like his father, he now calls himself a Mohammedan, and in fact named his first son "Ali". Dr. Bishara is sure that he is penniless, and regards with grave suspicion the absence of any name other than Kheirallah's on the masthead of The Arab World, for the magazine is expensively printed and must have important financial backing. Dr. Bishara called attention at this point to the close intimacy between Kheirallah and the sons of Ibn Saud, "the polygamist and murderer", on the occasion of their visit to America. Kheirallah even acted as toastmaster at the great banquet in their honor.

Clearly, said Dr. Bishara, The Arab World should be stopped. It is first and foremost for the Mohammedan cause, which is to say the suppression of Christianity. In view of Mohammedanism's historic use of the sword to put down its enemies, it is obvious that it finds Hitler's methods congenial and can use Hitler for its own purposes. It is our duty to defend Christianity before it is too late.

The case against As-Sameer is not so damning, in Dr. Bishara's mind. He suggested that Editor Elia Madey, "an old friend", be considered "under suspicion" only. The grounds for suspicion lie in his present traffic with the Mohammedans, but this is to be ascribed, according to Dr. Bishara, to Madey's inordinate love of money. Another

person who should be watched, said Dr. Bishara, is Habib Ibrahim Katibah, editor of the English page of As-Sameer. Katibah came to the United States to purue graduate studies after a preliminary Christian education abroad. In an evil hour he chose Harvard, "the hotbed of atheism in America", as the seat of his labors, received an M.A. degree, and is now lost to Christianity.

The immediate occasion of Dr. Bishara's misgivings about As-Sameer was a confidential conversation that he had had with a young parishioner of his who had worked for the paper. This young man, who remained nameless, had been deeply disturbed by a conference that had recently taken place in Madey's editorial office. He told Dr. Bishara that in the course of the conference, attended by Madey and Katibah among others, he became convinced that there was a German influence at work there, and that he could no longer conscientiously associate himself with the paper. His expression was that he could see "a German finger".

(I questioned Dr. Bishara closely about this charge, but could elicit no definite statements that would substantiate it. It is possible that the young man had no definite evidence to offer. Dr. Bishara undoubtedly regarded his testimony with respect, and seemed to believe that the present editorial policy of the paper bore it out, if any proof was needed. Inasmuch as Dr. Bishara's patriotism and sincerity are beyond question, and the concern of his informant appears to have impressive dimensions, I suggest that a vigilant attitude toward As-Sameer would not be out of place. Dr. Bishara's tendency to identify all Mohammedans with the powers of darkness, however, rather diminishes the force of his arguments. - RVL)

Moving away from the circle of suspicious characters, Dr. Bishara next had a good deal to say about Editor Mokarzel and Dr. Hitti. Mokarzel, he observed, was at least 7000 % American on his own showing, but actually his allegiances should be listed in the following order: 1) France; 2) De Gaulle (as against Vichy); and 3) the money he was receiving from "the French". When I asked for proof of the alleged financial connection, he admitted that he had none; but he insisted that none was needed since the fact was common knowledge. Mokarzel and his brother before him had been taking French pay for the last twenty-five years, or in other words, for the duration of the French mandate. The Mokarzels' espousal of the French cause had provoked Dr. Bishara to fight them from the pulpit; he had even challenged Saloum to a public debate on the question of

whether French domination was the best possible order for the Lebanon. The challenge was declined.

Dr. Hitti, according to Dr. Bishara, is best described as a fox. Born a Maronite, educated by British and American teachers, he graduated from the University of Beirut, but who knows now whether he is to be called a Catholic or a Protestant? Dr. Bishara believes that Hitti was responsible for his call to America, and feels a measure of gratitude on that account, but he regards it as astonishing that in the twenty-five years of his pastorate he has seen Hitti attending services no more than twice. When I remarked on the reputation that Hitti enjoys in America as a scholar, Dr. Bishara scoffed at the public ignorance. Hitti, he said, had hoped to be appointed to a professorship at Beirut, but was told that a professor must command considerably more learning than he had yet acquired. An instructorship was the appropriate post, but Hitti had other schemes in view. Having secured employment as a solicitor of funds for the University of Beirut, he travelled all over the world, noting carefully the sources from which the largest yields were derived. When he had looked the whole field over, he settled himself in Princeton. The man is, in brief, without principles. "He would sell his grandmother for a dollar", Dr. Bishara added, by way of amplification.

Dr. Bishara's particular objections to Dr. Hitti's scholarship may be well or ill founded, but they are beyond the competence of this reporter to judge. He especially condemned Hitti's alleged assertions that the original inhabitants of the Syrian littoral were Phoenicians, and that the Great Schism of the Churches in the Eleventh Century was a separation of East from West rather than the converse. Both assertions were made, Dr. Bishara said, to please Al-Hoda; the interpretation of the Schism, for example, obviously catered to Catholic prejudices. In the Hitti-Einstein press debate he thought that Einstein had had far the better of the argument. In general, said Dr. Bishara, Hitti espouses the Arab cause against all Christians except the Pope, simply because such a course will bring him popularity and influence. When I asked what Dr. Bishara thought of the other Arab authorities at Princeton, he mentioned only Faris, calling him a sound scholar and a modest man, lacking due recognition because Hitti appropriated all the available glory.

Dr. Bishara had a rather interesting point of view on the Zionist question, He gave it as his opinion

that 85% of the Jews were not Zionists, and that most of the remainder were Mongolians, chiefly from territories annexed by the Russian Empire. He professed to see an enormous difference between these Mongolians and "the children of Abraham" from the Mediterranean Basin, with whom he evidently feels a strong affinity. Disturbed by 3.1.1 Al-Bayan's attacks on the Jews, he advised the editor to substitute the word Zionist for Jew throughout his diatribes. Eventually he hopes that the Zionist agitation will die of inanition, provided the Arabs do not feed it with violence. He considers himself in some degree responsible for the visit of the Arab delegation to Washington, for he had urged Arab sympathizers to stop writing inflammatory prose, and to present their case to the proper authorities instead, if they felt that they had something to say.

Dr. Bishara is now engaged in promoting the candidacy of Elias Trabulse for the post of Lebanese Minister to the United States. Trabulse is pastor of a Presbyterian church at Beirut, and a graduate of the University of Beirut. Dr. Bishara has tried to bring him to public attention through the medium of the Arab-American press. Thus far Al-Hoda, Al-Akhlak, and Al-Islah have been cooperative, but As-Sameer has ignored Dr. Bishara's communications.

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PROFESSOR DEWITT C. POOLE
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
310 SIXTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR PROFESSOR POOLE:

HEREWITH TWO ADDITIONAL SHORT MEMORANDA ON THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE GROUPS IN LATIN AMERICA.

SINCERELY YOURS,

JACOB LANDAU
MANAGING DIRECTOR

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JANUARY 1945

ARAB POLITICAL PARTIES IN SOUTH AMERICA

THE SYRIAN NATIONAL PARTY FOUNDED BY AZ-ZAAEEM ANTON SAADI, THE SO-CALLED SYRIAN FUEHRER. IT PUBLISHES AZ-ZAWBAAA (THE TEMPEST) A WEEKLY, EDITED BY THE LEADER AND HIS LIEUTENANT, JIBRAN MASSOUH. THE BUREAU IS NOW IN BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA. ORIGINALLY FROM BRAZIL, THE LEADER ORGANIZED IN LEBANON, SYRIA, AND SENT LIEUTENANTS TO ALL OTHER COUNTRIES. HE FLED FROM SYRIA IN 1938, WAS GUEST OF HITLER IN BERLIN FOR OVER A MONTH, WENT BACK TO BRAZIL AND LATER HAD TO FLEE TO ARGENTINA.

AL ISTIQLAL (THE INDEPENDENCE) WITH A PAPER OF THE SAME NAME IN BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA, IS A MOSLVM DRUZ PARTY LED BY EMIR A. ARSLAN, BROTHER OF SH. ARSLAN THE ARAB SPEAKER OF THE LATE ARAB PROGRAM IN BARI DURING MUSSOLINI'S TIME.

ASH-SHABIBA-L-ISLAMIYA (THE MOSLEM YOUTH) A RELIGIOUS-POLITICO-AMONG THE LEADERS IS THE EDITOR-PUBLISHER OF THE ARAB LA BANDERA-ARABE, A PRO-AXIS SEMI-WEEKLY IN CHILE.

AL-ISLAAH PUBLISHED AND EDITED BY EL-JAMAL WITH AN ARAB ISLAMIC LEAGUE. PRO-AXIS BEFORE U.S. ENTERED THE WAR, AND STILL AGAINST ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.

THE LEAGUE FOR THE DEFENSE OF PALESTINE - A COMMITTEE EXISTING IN EVERY CAPITAL OF THE LATIN REPUBLICS. THE LEAGUE IS A FORMATION OF THE LATE SOUTH AMERICAN ARAB FEDERATION, WHICH MAY STILL EXIST AND WHO HAD HELD A CONFERENCE IN ARGENTINA LAST YEAR TO PROTEST AGAINST THE IMMIGRATION OF JEWS TO PALESTINE.

IN 1938 THE FEDERATION SENT DR. MIGUEL DE COSMA TO THE NEAR EAST TO PROPOSE AN ALL-ARAB FEDERATION FOR INDEPENDENCE SUPPORTED BY ALL THE ARAB FEDERATION LEAGUES IN NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA.

BUENOS AIRES JANUARY 1945

FOREIGN LANGUAGE GROUPS IN ARGENTINA

THE SYRO-LEBANESE: APPROXIMATELY HALF A MILLION SYRO-LEBANESE LIVE IN ARGENTINA (ONLY 50,000 IN BUENOS AIRES) SPREAD ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. ABOUT HALF OF THESE, OR THE OLDER GENERATION, ARE THE REAL IMMIGRANTS WHO CAME TO ARGENTINA MOSTLY TOWARDS THE END OF THE LAST CENTURY. THEY HAVE CONSERVED ALL THEIR NATIONAL TRADITIONS, WHILE THEIR SONS ARE GREATLY ASSIMILATED. MOST SYRO-LEBANESE ARE MERCHANTS, SOME ARE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AND SOME INTELLECTUALS. APART FROM A STRONGLY NATIONALISTIC GROUP OF ANTI-ALLIED TENDENCY, THERE DO NOT EXIST WELL DEFINED POLITICAL GROUPS AMONG THIS COMMUNITY, WHICH IS MAINLY INTERESTED IN THE QUESTIONS RLEATING TO THEIR OWN NATIONAL LIFE.

THIS COMMUNITY HAS ELEVEN PUBLICATIONS. THE MOST IMPORTANT ONES ARE:

ASSALAM (TRI-WEEKLY) FOUNDED 43 YEARS AGO - CIRCULATION 3,000; PRO-ALLIED.

EL DIARIO SIRIO-LIBANES (DAILY) FOUNDED 15 YEARS AGO - CIRCULATION 5,000.

UNION LIBANESA (WEEKLY) CIRCULATION, 2,000; PRO-ALLIED.

BANDERA ARABE (ARAB FLAG), AND NATUR ISLAM ARE THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE NATIONALISTS. EACH HAS A CIRCULATION OF ABOUT 1,500.

THERE EXISTS A GREAT NUMBER OF SIRIO-LEBANESE CLUBS AND ASSOCIATIONS.

THIS COMMUNITY IS AN IMPORTANT AND GENERALLY RESPECTED GROUP. SOME OF ITS MEMBERS HAVE MADE BIG FORTUNES.

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

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WITH Messrs. Faris and Ziyadeh

SUBJECT

FOR F.N.B. R. V. Lindabury, C. W. Blegen C.W.B.

DATE 27 January 1945 INITIATIVE Mr. Lindabury ☐ BY TELEPHONE

PLACE University Club, New York ☒ FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

Nabih Amin Faris has accepted an appointment under the State Department and is about to leave for Lebanon. Before departing he wished to introduce Mr. Farhat Ziyadeh who is to take over the reading of the Arabic-language papers on the first of February.

Ziyadeh is a young man, born in Jerusalem, educated in the Quaker school at Ramalah, the American University at Beirut, and in England. He handles English easily with only a slight foreign accent. He came to this country some years ago and has recently been teaching in the School of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Princeton, where his appointment will come to an end the first of March. He plans eventually to return to Palestine.

Ziyadeh seemed to us intelligent, alert, and understanding, and we have high hopes that he will be a success. We explained to him that our particular interest lay in political news and comments. He said he would try to send us summaries each Monday or

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Tuesday covering the Arabic press of the preceding week. We asked him to include brief quotations in literal translation whenever they seemed to be warranted. Mr. Faris will instruct Ziyadeh in his system of making reports.

Ziyadeh offered to provide soon a brief appraisal of the editorial policies of the different Arabic-language papers in this country. Both he and Mr. Faris agreed to send us also some further material on the Arab Bureau of Information 2,16 which was being set up in this country. The local organizers have encountered some difficulties especially in raising the funds that were deemed necessary. Some of the trouble was caused by the announcement of the Arab States that they proposed to set up an official bureau of information in the United States with substantial funds at its disposal. This report made Arab-Americans somewhat loath to give their own money for an Arab-American bureau which might not be needed in competition with the official bureau.

cc; Mr. Lindabury

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NEWS NOTES

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

The following current news is circulated at once by reason of its timeliness. In conjunction with other and later intelligence the material may be used again in the long-range studies of this Branch.

☒ *Press Item* ☐ *Account of Oral Interview* ☐ *Confidential Report*

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Number N-225 12 March 1945

ARAB-AMERICANS ASKED TO BACK PROJECTED MOSQUE IN WASHINGTON

THE Arab-American community has recently shown tendency to submerge differences, at least when confronting great issues like Zionism and Pan-Arab Federation. A new development which may not be devoid of political implication is the formation of "the Washington Mosque Foundation, Inc.," which aims to sponsor the building of a "really splendid mosque" in the capital. An advertisement appealing for contributions was published in the Arabic-language newspapers over the signatures of the Egyptian Ambassador and the Ministers of Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan.

In an editorial endorsing the undertaking, the Druse-Moslem Al-Bayan of Washington (27 February) said it had often advocated the erection of a mosque in Washington, and not merely for religious purposes. The Moslem community of this country was a self-respecting community. Such an institution would be a medium of understanding among the Eastern peoples here and would express to others the glory of Eastern civilization.

The Christian Maronite (Catholic-affiliated) Al-Hoda of New York gave enthusiastic support to the project. There was already a Moslem mosque in Detroit, the paper said 1 March, but it was of

local character like any small community church. The building of a fine mosque in Washington would convey in a semi-official way something of the spirit of the East to the West.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

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WITH Rev. Alphonse D. Chaurize SUBJECT Assyrians

FOR F.N.B. Richard V. Lindabury RVL

DATE January 31, 1945 INITIATIVE Mr. Chaurize ☐ BY TELEPHONE

PLACE 302 West 27th St., N.Y.C. ☒ FACE TO FACE

OSS ARCHIVES

SUMMARY

Mr. Chaurize is an American citizen, of an extraction which he finds difficult to define by a single word. He would call himself an Arab, were that name not usually restricted to Mohammedans. As a Christian from the Mesopotamian region, he might be called an Assyrian, if that name were not usually reserved for Nestorians and Jacobites. Actually he is a Roman Catholic priest, by his own account, and a member of the Chaldean Church. The Chaldean Church, composed originally of Nestorians of Cyprus who renounced the doctrines of Nestorius and acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, received its name from Pope Eugenius IV, in 1445 at the Council of Florence. Three fairly large communities of these Chaldeans now exist in the United States: in Chicago, San Francisco, and Jacksonville, Florida. The present head of the Chaldean Church in Iraq, who is regarded as supreme head of the Chaldean Church in the World, is His Holiness (literally His Beatitude) Emmanuel Joseph II. Thomas, Patriarch of Babylon. Emmanuel Joseph II. was elected to office in 1900, in accordance with Chaldean practice. On that occasion, Mr. Chaurize observed with some amusement, the Patriarch was designated by the Pope Delegate to the Nestorians, with the obvious mission of gaining converts to the Catholic faith in Iraq.

Mr. Chaurize's experiences with the Chaldean Church of Iraq seem to have been somewhat unfortunate. According to his story, he returned to Iraq to assume pastoral duties after spending some twenty years of his life in France. While in Western Europe he had imbibed democratic ideas which made many of the ceremonious, authoritarian observances of the East repugnant to him, and one gathers that he became persona non grata to the Hierarchy at Bagdad. In 1931 he was sent with the title of Patriarchal Curate on a mission to the Assyrian settlements in the Valley of the Khabour (in Eastern Syria). Ostensibly he was to report back to the Patriarch upon the religious state of the Assyrians, but he believes that the purpose of the Patriarch was to get him out of Iraq. The Khabour settlements were subject at this time to the authority of Alphonse Chaurize's cousin, Monsignor Philippe Chaurize, who had been entrusted with the task of conducting his charges from Iraq and establish-

ing them in their Syrian home. The choice of a Roman Catholic to guide the Nestorian Assyrians into this new Promised Land had met with little enthusiasm from Mar Shimun, head of the Nestorian Church, Mr. Chaurize observed, but after all he had strong French backing, he was aceeptable to British, Iraqi, and of course Vatican authorities, and he could deliver to the Assyrians the haven that they desired. With his cousin's assistance Alphonse Chaurize secured the information for a comprehensive report, returned to Bagdad in 1932 - and was refused an audience with the Patriarch. His own explanation of this curious sequence is that the Iraqi Government, recognizing his potential value to the State, saw through the schemes of the Patriarch and demanded his recall from Syria. Be that as it may, he was thenceforth unable to secure a pastorate in Iraq, but accepted an appointment as professor of French and International Law at the University of Bagdad. Faced with the hostility of the Patriarch on the one hand, however, and under the constant dread of anti-Christian demonstrations from the Arabs on the other, he lived in hourly readiness for flight, and finally came to the United States upon a rapid decision in 1937.

The extraordinary volubility of Mr. Chaurize made it difficult to guide his discourse into coherent sequences. By direct questioning I succeeded in securing the following disconnected scraps of information:

1.) The majority of Assyrians in America came over after 1918, but a very considerable number had arrived during the twenty or thirty preceding years. The prime motive for the earlier emigration was always religious persecution at the hands of or with the connivance of the Turks. It had been observed by the Turkish nationalists that the Assyrians, the Kurds, and the Yezidi were three germs endangering the health of the body politic, and they had been only too prone to encourage internecine warfare between the three groups. After 1918 the chief danger threatening Assyrians came of course from the Mohammedans of Iraq.

2.) The Assyrian associations in the United States may be regarded as nationwide organizations. Local societies, in other words, share common purposes with those of identical name in other communities. Although this broad network might seem to suggest potential political strength in the Assyrian community, actually the existing clefts make any general cooperation unlikely, if not impossible. Thus, Mr. Chaurize spoke with warmth of the refusal of Nestorians and Jacobites to salute each other on the street, and the inability of Chaldeans to maintain friendly relations with either. In fact, the only group that possesses the slightest political importance is the Nestorian. It is the Nestorians who want redress of grievances, and for leadership they will look to none but Mar Shimun. Inasmuch as neither Jacobites nor Chaldeans are disposed to consider Mar Shimun their leader, no concerted movement seems at all likely. One particular incident, according to Mr. Chaurize,

Mar Shimun

SECRET

proved fatal to Nestorian Chaldean relations: when the British were holding Mar Shimun virtually a prisoner at Bagdad in 1933, Nestorians pleaded in vain with the Patriarch of the Chaldean Church to intercede with the British on their behalf. When the massacre on the Tigris followed, the Nestorians considered the Chaldeans traitors to the Assyrian cause, and have never forgiven them.

3.) Recent distribution of Nestorians, Jacobites, and Chaldeans in the Near East has been as follows: until World War I. the Nestorians chiefly inhabited the mountainous country at the junction of what is now Iraq, Turkey, and Iran; the Jacobites had formed large settlements toward the West, principally in Syria; the Chaldeans had for the most part remained in the lower basin of the Tigris and Euphrates.

4.) The Patriarch of the Jacobite Church, like the Patriarch of the Chaldean, holds an elective office; the Patriarchate of the Nestorians, on the other hand, is an hereditory office. The Jacobite Patriarch, Mar Ephrem Barsum, has his present residence at Homs, in Syria. After presenting the case of the Assyrians at the Peace Conference at Paris in 1920, while he still held the rank of bishop, he appears to have lost interest in the Assyrian cause and to have become as much of a Syrian as the Syrians, according to Mr. Chaurize. Some ten years ago he paid a brief visit to the United States.

5.) The Patriarch of the Nestorians, Mar Shimun XXIII, has been in the United States for about a year. What his post-war plans of residence may be Mr. Chaurize did not pretend to know. With some hesitation he said that there had been some talk of Canada as a possible homeland for the Assyrians, and it might be that Mar Shimun was not unfavorable to the idea. In answer to my surprised query, he said that the Canadian climate was not much more rigorous than that of the mountains of Kurdistan.

6.) Another homeland, suggested for the Assyrians by the League of Nations in Western Syria, was dismissed as wholly impractical by Mr. Chaurize. The Assyrians, he said, had regarded the proposal as a scheme to exploit their labor for the purpose of reclaiming unproductive land, and they felt no assurance that they would later be permitted to enjoy the fruits of their toil. (He knew nothing about a plan, once under serious consideration, to establish the Assyrians on Brazilian territory.- RVL)

7.) The French mandate over Syria, said Mr. Chaurize, was popular with the Assyrians, who saw in France a powerful "protectrice" against the Mohammedan peril. He added that he considered this a mistaken view, for he was inclined to interpret the interest of both France and England in the Middle East as wholly venal.

8.) Mr. Chaurize was convinced that Russian prestige was high among the Assyrians, chiefly because the Assyrians are a traditionally brave and warlike people, able to appreciate bravery and military success in others. The Russians, he said, have understood

this quality in the Assyrians, and have capitalized on it by permitting them to fight with the Russian armies, and acknowledging the value of their services. Assyrians generally believe, he added, that Marshal Timoshenko comes of Assyrian stock.

9.) Great Britain, according to Mr. Chaurize, is blamed by the Assyrians for fair words and false promises which have never been fulfilled. Perhaps his remarks should be accepted with reservations, since he assured me disarmingly that there was no one who could hate the British more than he did. However, he was very positive in his statement that the Assyrians throughout World War I. were convinced that they had been promised a British reward for their services to the Allied cause, and when the time of reckoning came, they felt themselves grievously deluded, (Mr. Chaurize's emotional presentation of the grievance could not be reduced to reasonable terms without presentation of the British side of the argument, and this seemed scarcely a proper task for the interviewer to assume.- RVL)

10.) The policy of the Iraqi Government, Mr. Chaurize said, has been to encourage division among the Assyrians and thus reduce their power to menace the State. The Iraqi are uncomfortably aware of the fighting quality of Assyrians, and the panic of 1933 was the natural expression of their underlying fear. It was in an attempt to separate the Chaldeans from the Jacobites and Nestorians that the Government of Iraq gave the head of the Chaldean Church a seat in the National Senate. (I was unable to learn from Mr. Chaurize precisely how senators achieve office in Iraq, and should be wary in accepting this view of His Holiness's political advancement.- RVL) King Feisal, on the other hand, perhaps because he was not an Iraqi himself, was inclined to befriend the Assyrians. Mr. Chaurize intimated that Feisal had some idea of using the Assyrians to keep the Iraqi in check - as a form of "insurance", in fact. It was a great misfortune for the Assyrians that in the crisis of 1933 Feisal was lying ill in Geneva, while the reins of government were in the hands of his eldest son, Razzi. The order to fire on the Assyrians was issued by Razzi, and was not countermanded until the sick King was able to reach Bagdad by plane, too late to avert the impending catastrophe.

11.) As an example of the feeling against Assyrians in Iraq in the dangerous days of 1933, Mr. Chaurize told a grim story of the streets of Mosul. One day he was walking with Yunus Bahri, whom he described as a well-known announcer on the Berlin radio in after years. At the time they were friends, though of course he added that Bahri's later pro-Nazi proclivities had set a gulf between them. Outside a grocery store they came upon an Assyrian examining a pile of melons, one of which he was holding in his hand. Without a moment's hesitation Yunus Bahri struck him dead. When Chaurize remonstrated, Bahri merely said: "I thought it was a bomb", an explanation so ridiculous that it seemed to Chaurize to add insult to the murder. The streets were crowded, countless passers-by witnessed what had happened, but there was no indication that any one was displeased.

Comment: It is extremely difficult to evaluate the statements of this vivacious and highly intelligent man. The engrafting of Gallic wit and temperament upon what I take to be Arab shrewedness has produced an astonishing, rather fascinating article. If he had not been brought to our notice by the reliable Nabih Faris, I should have been inclined to distrust his accuracy and to scrutinize his prejudices closely. He appears to be in his late fifties. He lives in comfortable, but most unpretentious quarters, in a flat on the corner of Eighth Avenue and 27th Street. How he makes a living I do not know; it is unlikely that he is now in holy orders.

Certain aspects of this interview may appear somewhat disquieting: Chaurize's acknowledged intimacy with Yunus Bahri, his hatred of Britain and his distrust of France. To these impressions might be added a passing remark of his that he was an ardent Iraqi Nationalist upon his return from France, and a xenophobe to boot. On the other hand he had a good word for Russia, he seemed wholly sincere in expressing the warmest admiration for his adopted country and its democratic modes of thought and behavior, and it is clear that he finds authoritarianism uncongenial whether in Church or State. If his sympathy with the Assyrians appears inconsistent with his professed Iraqi nationalism, it may be that his hatred of Britain will explain both. Evidently this man's opinions have not hardened in the usual political molds. In consequence dolts would probably characterize him as "politically naive".- RVL

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The Assyrians CONFIDENTIAL

Who are they?

1. Those who lived in Assyria and were recognized as Assyrians historically.

2. In the Near East this name is given only to the Nestorians.

3. In the United States the term included for awhile all those in America whose origin was the Near East, especially Turkey, Kurdistan, Persia and Iraq.

4. After World War I the name was kept, here in the United States, by the Jacobites, the Nestorians, some Armenians, and in the American press, amazingly, often by the Syrian community.

However, years and circumstances are bringing a more exact identification of the Assyrians in the United States, so that two big groups of Christians now call themselves Assyrians, and are officially recognized as such. These two groups are the Nestorians and the Jacobites (it is not our duty to demonstrate here that these two groups, historically and religiously, were and still are opposites).

How many are there?

More than 30,000 scattered over all the United States and Canada. This figure leaves Mexico and South America out of account.

Where are they?

New York	New York City Brooklyn Yonkers Long Island Great Neck Suffern Albany
D.C.	Washington
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia
Indiana	Gary
Michigan	Flint Detroit Highland Park

Illinois	Chicago Cicero
California	Turlock Los Angeles San Francisco Carmel Glendale Hollywood Burbank Oakland Fresno Hugshore ?
New Jersey (Large community)	Union City Newark Summit Elizabeth New Brunswick Paterson East Orange Weehawken Rutherford Clifton Passaic Maplewood West New York North Bergen Woodcliff Ridgefield Caldwell Upper Montclair Hackettstown Grantwood
Connecticut (Large community)	New Britain New London Middletown Kensington Hartford
North Carolina	Charlotte
Mississippi	Keesled Field Columbus
Kentucky	Maysville

Massachusetts (Large community)	Boston Worcester Springfield Leominster Watertown
Maryland	Bainbridge
Ohio	Toledo
Rhode Island	Providence
Florida	Jacksonville

and in many other states.

Canada	Quebec Toronto

Their organizations:

Assyrian School National Association

Ladies Guild

Old Home

Assyrian Young (Men) Association
(boys & girls- men & women)

Assyrian Federation

Assyrian National Association

Assyrian Ladies Aid Society of West New York

Good Samaritan Society

(These organizations have their branches all over the cities where Assyrians live).

Magazines and Newspapers:

a) The New Beth-Nahreen
455 Cedar Lane
Teaneck, New Jersey

b) Assyrian Progress
Assyrian American Benevolent Association of California
Fresno, California

c) Ashur (?) = Assyria
Published by Good Samaritan Society
New Britain, Conn.

Assyrian Publishing Company
P.O. Box 964
New Britain, Conn.

d) Another publication in Chicago, name unknown.

(In Chicago they have a very beautiful printing machine belonging to Mr. E. Abraham, where they published several religious books both in the Syriac language and in English.)

Their churches:

In almost all of the above mentioned cities they have a church, and in general their churches are under the title of:

Assyrian Apostolic Church of the Blessed Virgin

or, St. John of Damascus

or, St. Ephrem

(Many of the Nestorians have Protestant churches, such as Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, etc. but their liturgical language is still the Syriac.)

Their personalities:

His Beatitude Mar Shimun XXIII
- Religious and political Head of the Assyrian Church in the World -
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. David Jacobs
Yonkers, New York
(A highly influential member of the community).

Joseph J. Durna (Lawyer)
17 Academy Street
Newark, N.J.
(President of the Assyrian School National Association - well informed).

Dr. David Perley (Lawyer)
Paterson, New Jersey
(A celebrated author in English).

Dr. K. S. Khedros (Dentist)
100 West North Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Sheik Mar Elia (D.C.)
1322 North Labrea
Hollywood, California

Dr. G. Lamsa
Philadelphia, Pa.

The Reverend Sadok (?) de Mar Shimun
The University of Chicago
5757 University Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. John Malik

Reverend Stephen Dorghalli
Detroit, Michigan

Their personalities- contd.

Reverend Peter Barsum
Boston, Mass.

Very Reverend Paul Samuel

John Shamsey (Lawyer)
George Khedersha (Lawyer)
Dr. Khedersha (MD)
Dr. Ishak (Druggist)
} New Jersey

Reverend Elias Sugar
West New York, New Jersey

Abdul Messih Hannoush
Detroit, Mich.

Yacoob Asfar (Dean of Assyrians in America)
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Simon Malko
78 Washington Street
New York City, N.Y.

Joseph Rojy (?)
Newark, N.J.

John Foroujy
Brooklyn, N.Y.

(There are scores and hundreds of Assyrians serving under the Colors. Many have been promoted in recognition of their quality as soldiers. War is in their blood).

Remarks-

a) There was a mass meeting on October 27, 1944 (?), at 8 p.m. in the Olivet Institute, Chicago, Illinois. The principal speaker was His Beatitude Mar Eshai Shimun XXIII, who delivered a long address on the subject United We Stand, Divided We Fall. He traced the glorious history of Assyria, and went into the details of the work done by him in the League of Nations, but the outbreak of World War I (This should probably have been "World War II". RVL) shattered the national plan for settlement. He stated also that contact with the State Department in Washington has already been made and statements deposited with the governments of other United Nations, and he has been working hand in hand with the National Federation. Also he said that the establishment of a National Fund is a matter of prime importance, and called upon all the Assyrians to unite regardless of denominational differences. "We must present a united front for a successful solution of our nation problem in the East. Our failure at the last Peace Conference was largely due to our lack of unity of thought and of action."

b) Speaking about the Peace Conference, I have to say that the first delegates representing the Assyro-Chaldean problem to the League of Nations were Said Namik and Rustem Nadjib. They expounded the Assyro-Chaldean question in French on the 16th of July 1919. After that, the problem was expounded very sharply to the same League of Nations by Captain Hormuzd Rassam, grandson of the late famous orientalist, Hormez Rassam. He entitled his work: "Petition for and on behalf of the Chaldee-Assyrian Nation to be preserved as a National Entity, and for the protection of the Jews, Yezidis, and other Racial and Religious Minorities", and he sent it confidentally to the League of Nations, Geneva, on the 23rd of September 1931.

c) My personal impression is that this "Assyrian" nation should not die, for many reasons, and sooner or later we will hear about another bloody scene in the Near East for the simple reason that the Assyrian problem was not and still is not solved in a right and fair way.

(The above report is a reproduction, with occasional paraphrases, of notes submitted by Alphonse D. Chaurize at the instance of Mr. N. A. Faris.- RVL)

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MARCH 21, 1945

DEAR MR. BRAATOY,

HEREWITH ADDITIONAL MEMORANDA ON THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE GROUPS IN LATIN AMERICA.

SINCERELY YOURS,

N. SLEPAK
SECRETARY

MR. BJARNE BRAATOY, CHIEF
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE GROUPS

ADD TO SYRIAN-LEBANESE.

THE ARABIAN SPEAKING PEOPLE ARE ONE OF THE LARGEST MINORITIES OF ARGENTINA. UNOFFICIAL STATISTICS SHOW AN IMMIGRATION OF MORE THAN 200,000, WHICH STARTED ABOUT 60 YEARS AGO. TODAY, WITH THEIR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN, THERE MIGHT BE UP TO HALF A MILLION. THIS LARGE NUMBER OF ARAB-DESCENDANTS IS LITTLE APPARENT, AS THEY USUALLY ASSIMILATE VERY SOON. THERE ARE, F.I. NO ARABIAN SCHOOLS IN ARGENTINA SO THAT THE ARABIAN CHILDREN GROW AND STUDY TOGETHER WITH OTHER ARGENTINE CHILDREN AND LITTLE DIFFERENCE IS NOTICEABLE.

IN BUENOS AIRES THERE ARE SOME STREETS POPULATED MOSTLY WITH ARABS, AND SOME BUSINESS-QUARTERS SHOW AN ARAB MAJORITY, BUT THE LARGEST GROUPS OF ARAB IMMIGRATION WENT TO THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF ARGENTINA WHERE CLIMATICAL CONDITIONS ARE MORE FAVORABLE FOR THEM. IN THESE PROVINCES THEY OFTEN REPRESENT MINORITIES OF 15 AND MORE PERCENT. WHILE THE FIRST IMMIGRANTS WERE MOSTLY ENGAGED WITH TEXTILE MANUFACTURE AND IMPORT, TODAY ALL SOCIAL CLASSES AND ALL OCCUPATIONS ARE REPRESENTED AMONGST THEM.

ABOUT 80% ARE BUSINESSMEN, WORKING IN THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF COMMERCE. THERE ARE ALMOST NO ARABIAN INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. ABOUT 10% ARE FARMHANDS AND LANDOWNERS, AMONG WHICH QUITE BIG ONES, MAINLY IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES. IN THE SUGAR INDUSTRY SOME 20 TO 30 MILLION PESOS OF ARAB CAPITAL ARE INVESTED. IN B.A. AN IMPORTANT NUMBER OF THE BIG TEXTILE MANUFACTURE IS OWNED BY SYRIANS OR LEBANESE.

THERE IS A BANCO SIRIO-LIBANES IN BUENOS AIRES WITH A CAPITAL OF FIVE MILLION PESOS. ITS PRESIDENT IS MOISES J. AZIZE.

THERE ARE SOME THOUSAND TO TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED ARAB INTELLECTUALS IN ARGENTINA. A FAMOUS PHYSICIAN IS DOCTOR JOSE TOBIAS, ANOTHER, LIVING IN CORDOBA IS DR. ABELARDO RAHAL. ALSO DR. FIAT, A LAWYER, VERY WELL KNOWN. ENGINEER NASSIF IS A KNOWN ARCHITECT; AMONGST OTHERS HE BUILT THE CENTRO NAVAL. ANOTHER ARAB, ENGINEER TURBAY HAS CONSTRUCTED AN AIRPLANE, WHICH HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE ARGENTINE ARMY. HE IS NOW A BIG MAN IN THE ARGENTINE AIR MINISTRY.

THE GREAT MAJORITY OF ARAB-SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS CAME FROM SYRIA (ABOUT 35%) AND LEBANON (ABOUT 55%). THERE ARE A FEW PALESTINE-ARABS, AND ARABS FROM ARABIA AND EGYPT.

THE MAJORITY OF THE COMMUNITY IS CHRISTIAN: 35 PERCENT ROMAN CATHOLIC. 35 PERCENT ORTHODOX, 25 PERCENT MAHOMEDANS, 5 PERCENT JEWS. THE JEWS DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE LIFE OF THIS COMMUNITY.

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BRAZIL HAS AN EQUALLY LARGE ARABIAN COLONY, AND THERE ARE 10,000 ARABS EACH IN PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY, 8,000 IN BOLIVIA, 20,000 IN CHILE, 15,000 IN COLOMBIA AND 15 OR 20 THOUSAND IN THE REST OF SOUTH AMERICA. POLITICALLY THESE ARABS ARE DIVIDED INTO A GREAT NUMBER OF FACTIONS, SO THAT IT IS HARD EVEN FOR AN ARAB TO UNDERSTAND ARABIAN PETTY-POLITICS IN ARGENTINA, THE INTERNATIONAL TENDENCIES OF WHICH ARE EXTREMELY CONFUSED. EVEN IN THEIR ANTI-SEMITISM THEY ARE NOT UNITED. THERE IS A VIOLENTLY ANTI-SEMITIC NEWSPAPER, "NATUR-ISLAM" WHOSE EDITORS WANT TO HAVE ALL JEWS SENT TO THE SAHARA, AND A PRO-JEWISH, ANTI-WHITE PAPER, ASSALAM (PEACE).

THE MAJORITY OF THE SYRIO-LEBANESE SEEM TO BE IN FAVOR OF AN ABSOLUTELY INDEPENDENT SYRIAN REPUBLIC AND AN EQUALLY INDEPENDENT LEBANON. THEY ARE FOR COLLABORATION WITH ENGLAND, THE USA AND RUSSIA, BUT ARE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO FRANCE, SINCE THEY FEAR THIS COUNTRY WISHES TO HAVE A SPHERE OF INFLUENCE IN ARABIAN REALMS. MOST DO NOT APPEAR TO BE ANTI-JEWISH AS SUCH, BUT THEY DO NOT WANT TO RECOGNIZE JEWISH CLAIMS ON PALESTINA. THERE IS NO COMMUNISM IN THIS COMMUNITY, MAINLY BECAUSE OF STRONG FAMILY IDEALS WHICH THEY FEEL COMMUNISM DOES NOT RESPECT.

ALTHOUGH PROBABLY 60% OF THE ARGENTINE ARABS STAND ON THE SIDE OF THE UNITED NATIONS, SYMPATHIZING OR ACTIVELY CONTRIBUTING TO THE WAR EFFORT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO UNITE THEM, MINOR QUESTIONS BEING TOO IMPORTANT.

A COLORFUL PERSONALITY IN ARABIAN POLITICS HERE IS ANTOUN SAADI, A YOUNG FELLOW, 35 YEARS OLD, WHO FOR TEN YEARS TRIED TO BECOME THE "FUEHRER" OF ALL SYRIAN AND LEBANESE ARABS. HE PROPAGANDIZED THE FORMATION OF AN ARAB STATE UNDER THE NAME OF SYRIA WHICH WOULD CENTER ROUND THE PRESENT SYRIAN REPUBLIC AND INCLUDE ALL REPUBLICS, KINGDOMS AND DISTRICTS OF ARABIAN SPEAKING PEOPLE. IN SOME QUARTERS IT IS CLAIMED THAT HE STUDIED FASCIST METHODS IN GERMANY, AND BECAME A FRIEND OF HITLER AND MUSSOLINI. ANYHOW HE RETURNED TO SYRIA IN THE EARLY THIRTIES, WELL PROVIDED WITH MONEY FROM SYRIAN NATIONALISTS. HE ORGANIZED THE "SYRIAN NATIONALIST PARTY", WHICH HE SUCCEEDED TO DEVELOP INTO AN IMPORTANT MOVEMENT, CAUSING MUCH TROUBLE TO THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES. SHORTLY BEFORE THE WAR, THE FRENCH SUPPRESSED THIS PARTY. SAADI LEFT THE COUNTRY (MAYBE FOR GERMANY) (AS HE DOES NOT LIVE ANY LONGER IN BUENOS AIRES, I COULD NOT SPEAK TO HIM PERSONALLY BUT HAD TO PUT HIS STORY TOGETHER FROM OTHER SOURCES.) ONE DAY, TWO OR THREE YEARS AGO, HE APPEARED IN BRAZIL, TOGETHER WITH

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A COUPLE OF FRIENDS, WHERE HE STARTED A FASCIST NEWSPAPER "THE NEW SYRIA" AND ORGANIZED A COUPLE THOUSAND "SYRIO-BRAZILIANS" IN HIS "NATIONALIST SYRIAN PARTY". WHEN THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT BECAME WAR-CONSCIOUS, DISOLVED FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS AND CLOSED DOWN THE AXIS-PRESS, ANTOUN AND A FEW OF HIS LEADERS FOUND ASYLUM AGAIN IN ARGENTINA. HIS FOLLOWERS CLAIMED A YEAR AGO THAT THE PARTY HAD MORE THAN 20,000 MEMBERS IN ALL AMERICA, WITH BRANCHES IN ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, CHILE, URUGUAY, PARAGUAY, BOLIVIA, PERU, COLOMBIA, MEXICO AND CONTACTS IN THE UNITED STATES. ALTHOUGH HIS FOLLOWERS CLAIM THAT HE HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE GERMANS AND IS ONLY A SYRIAN NATIONALIST, MOST ARABIANS DO NOT BELIEVE THIS. THEY POINT TO THE FASCIST TONE OF SAADI'S PAPER "AZZAUBAHA" (THE CYCLON), TO HIS INVITING OFFICIALS OF THE GERMAN AND ITALIAN EMBASSY TO HIS BIRTHDAY PARTIES, AND TO THE OATH TO HIS PERSON WHICH, LIKE THE OATH TO THE FUEHRER, HIS FOLLOWERS MUST TAKE. THE LIBERAL ARABS HERE ARE CONVINCED THAT HE WAS FINANCED IN TIME BY THE GERMAN EMBASSY, BUT THAT, FAILING TO ACHIEVE SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS, THEY ABANDONED HIM, ALSO BECAUSE MOST OF THE MONEY APPARENTLY DISAPPEARED INTO HIS OWN POCKETS. OUT OF MONEY MOTIVES HE ALSO QUARRELED WITH HIS OWN SECRETARIES, ASSAD ASCHCAR AND JELID ADILE WHO HAD COME TO SOUTH AMERICA WITH HIM. ANTOUN'S GLORY HERE MAY HAVE LASTED ABOUT A YEAR. TODAY HE HAS BEEN ABANDONED BY MOST OF HIS FOLLOWERS, LIVES IN THE PROVINCIAL TOWN OF TUCUMAN AND RUNS A SMALL BOOKSHOP. HE HAS ALSO HAD TROUBLE WITH THE ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES, WHO HAD ADVISED HIM TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY SINCE HIS PAPERS WERE NOT IN ORDER. HE THEN MARRIED AN ARGENTINE GIRL AND SO SUCCEEDED IN REMAINING. HE STILL PUBLISHES THE CYCLON, BUT VERY IRREGULARLY. IT IS NOW MAINLY DEDICATED TO PERSONAL ATTACKS ON HIS ENEMIES AND ON THE JEWS.

PUBLICATIONS: THE MOST IMPORTANT PAPER IS "ASSALAM" A DAILY 42 YEARS OLD. ITS EDITOR CLAIMS FIVE THOUSAND CIROULATION (OTHER SOURCES GAVE THREE THOUSAND). ITS CHIER EDITOR IS MR. ANIS, A PROFESSIONAL JOURNALIST. THIS PAPER IS PRO-ALLY, REPRESENTING THE ABOVE MENTIONED TENDENCY FOR INDEPENDENT SYRIAN AND LEBANESE REPUBLICS.

"EL DIARIO SYRIO LIBANES", ALSO A DAILY WITH 5,000 CIRCULATION, FOLLOWS THE SAME POLITICAL LINE. ITS CHIEF EDITOR IS EMILIO CONSTANTINO, ALSO A PROFESSIONAL JOURNALIST.

"LA UNION LIBANESA" IS A WEEKLY WITH 1,500 CIRCULATION. THIS PAPER IS CONCERNED MAINLY WITH LEBANESE QUESTIONS, AND IS STRONGLY NATIONALIST. ITS EDITOR IS MR. RUSTOM. HE WAS PUT ON THE NORTHAMERICAN BOACK LIST, BECAUSE HIS PUBLISHING COMPANY PRINTED THE NAZI PAPER "EL PAMPERO".

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"LA BANDERA ARABE", 1,500 CIRCULATION, WEEKLY, HAS A MAHOMEDAN DIRECTOR, JECHEN. HE IS AN ISLAMISTIC NATIONALIST, AND GOES SO FAR AS TO SUPPORT THE GERMANS, IN ORDER TO OPPOSE THE ENGLISH. ONE OF THE REASONS FOR THIS OPPOSITION IS THE BALFOUR DECLARATION PROMISING PALESTINE TO THE JEWS.

THE SAME LINE IS FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER MAHOMEDAN, MR. RAHAL IN "NATUR ISLAM". IT IS PUBLISHED EVERY FORTNIGHT, BUT NOT REGULARLY, CIRCULATION ABOUT 1,500. IT IS STRONGLY ANTI-SEMITIC AND PRO-NAZI.

"EL MISIONERO" IS A WEEKLY OF RELIGIOUS CHARACTER, ABOUT 1,000 CIRCULATION, EDITED BY THE MISSIONAIRES, PADRES MISIONEROS MARONITOS, ROMAN CATHOLICS.

"LA INDEPENDENCIA", WITH A CIRCULATION OF 500 PUBLISHED BY EMIR EMIN ARSLAN IS ALSO STRONGLY NATIONALISTIC, WITHOUT GOING AS FAR AS SUPPORTING THE NAZIS. EMIR ARSLAN IS A CONTRIBUTOR TO "EL MUNDO".

"BIENVENIDA" IS A MONTHLY COMICAL MAGAZINE WITH A CIRCULATION OF ABOUT 2,000. ITS DIRECTOR IS MR. DRABULSI. IT IS MEANT ONLY FOR ENTERTAINMENT.

"LA VIDA LITERARIA" A MONTHLY REVIEW, 1,000 CIRCULATION, IS DEDICATED ENTIRELY TO LITERATURE. ITS DIRECTOR IS JORGE ASSAF.

THE SYRIO-LEBANESE ARE OFFICIALLY REPRESENTED HERE BY THE FRENCH EMBASSY.

ASSOCIATIONS: THERE ARE TWO PRINCIPAL ASSOCIATIONS:

1. THE "ASOCIACION SIRIO-LIBANES HONOR Y PATRIA", 1,500 MEMBERS. PRESIDENT MR. AZIZE, WHO IS PRESIDENT OF THE BANCO SYRIO LIBANES, UNPOLITICAL.
2. THE "ASOCIACION PATRIOTICA LIBANESA". ALSO 1,500 MEMBERS. ITS PRESIDENT IS ELIAS RICHA, OWNER OF A TEXTILE FACTORY, UNPOLITICAL.

SECTIONS OF THESE ASSOCIATIONS ARE:

"CLUB HOMSIENSE", TO WHICH BELONG ALL PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE OF HOMS IN SYRIA. IT HAS A PURELY SOCIAL CHARACTER, HAVING 1,000 MEMBERS. ITS PRESIDENT IS MR. BETHUN.

"CLUB DE JUVENTUD" ABOUT 1,000 MEMBERS, AND

"SOCIEDADES SIRIO LIBANESES" ARE ORGANIZED AS RELIEF ASSOCIATIONS IN EVERY PROVINCE OF THE COUNTRY WITHOUT EXCEPTION.

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

WITH Habib Kurani

SUBJECT

FOR F.N.B. Carl W. Blegen C.W.B.

DATE 27 March 1945 INITIATIVE Mr. Blegen

☐ BY TELEPHONE

PLACE National Gallery

☒ FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

Dr. Habib Kurani, a native of Lebanon, graduated from the American University of Beirut and was subsequently a member of the faculty of that institution. Coming to the United States he became an American citizen and was for some time contributing editor of the Federation Herald of Boston, organ of the Syrian-Lebanese American Federation of the Eastern States. He is now with OWI in Washington, but expects to go to Lebanon in some Government service in June.

Kurani seemed not much perturbed about the present situation of the Levant States with reference to the San Francisco Conference. He thought matters would be straightened out in time so that Lebanon and Syria would be invited to send delegations. He had seen an item in the New York Times this morning reporting a statement of a French official that Syria and Lebanon would be invited as a result of French insistence. Kurani believed that the French,

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on second thought, were making the best of the situation; they knew that if Lebanon and Syria were excluded from the San Francisco Conference France would inevitably be charged with the blame for it, and French prestige and standing in the Levant States would consequently sink even lower than at present.

Kurani doubted the good faith and sincerity of Salloum Mokarzel, editor of Al-Hoda. Kurani thought it very likely that Al-Hoda was subsidized by the French. In any case Mokarzel represented a reactionary group of Maronite and Melchite Lebanese-Americans who were completely out of touch with recent developments and attitudes in the homeland. This group, in Kurani's opinion, did not care much whether Lebanon had representatives at San Francisco or not. They were counting on French support and they still regarded France as the traditional defender of the Christians against the Moslems.

There was another more liberal and up to date group among Lebanese-American Maronites, Kurani declared, that took a strong nationalist and anti-French stand. In this they agreed with the overwhelming majority of the Moslems and Druses in this country who were very vigorously nationalistic along with those of the Eastern Orthodox faith. They wanted Lebanon and Syria to be represented at San Francisco, and their pride was hurt at the omission of those countries from the list of the invited. But the more thoughtful among them were not very much alarmed; for Egypt had

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been invited to participate and the Egyptian delegation would, in case of need, be ready to speak up for the other Arab states.

If Lebanon and Syria should not be invited, Kurani remarked, an informal delegation of Lebanese and Syrian Americans might go to San Francisco. Kurani had heard some talk of such a move. Professor Philip Hitti of Princeton had been mentioned as a possible representative.

Kurani said he was very happy to make the acquaintance of a member of the Foreign Nationalities Branch and he assured me that he would be delighted to assist us in any way possible at any time and would be glad to pass on such information as came to him. In particular he said he would look out for any items dealing with the San Francisco Conference. He said that he was very busy as all the Arabic-language newspapers published in this country came across his desk and also many from abroad.

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WITH Dr. Afif Tannous

SUBJECT

FOR F.N.B. Carl W. Blegen

DATE 7 April 1945 INITIATIVE Mr. Blegen ☐ BY TELEPHONE

PLACE Cassandra Restaurant ☒ FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

Tannous said that he had been very much surprised on reading a report in a local newspaper that a certain Ali Abdullah Alireza, enrolled as a student at the University of California, had been named to represent Saudi Arabia at the coming World Security Conference at San Francisco. Tannous said that he had never heard of Alireza, but at my request he had made some inquiries in the Arab-American community in Washingtc and also at the Iraqi Legation. All declared they had never heard of the young man in question. Many were somewhat skeptical of the news item, doubting that the man really came from Saudi Arabia. Some thought he was probably a Syrian or an Egyptian who may have had connections in Saudi Arabia and had perhaps been appointed simply because he happened to be in the United States. Tannous said that if he learned anything more about Alireza he would let me know.

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Tannous said that the project for building an Arab mosque in Washington was well in hand and he thought unquestionably it would be carried out. There are very few Moslem Arab-Americans in Washington; and the mosque would be therefore more for show purposes than for religion. It could in any case count on the support of the Arab diplomatic delegations in Washington. Three were already established here, those of Egypt, Iraq and Syria, and a fourth would soon be set up with the arrival of the Lebanese Minister and his staff. The newly appointed Lebanese Minister Mr. Charles Malik, a Harvard graduate who was now on his way from Lebanon, was an Orthodox Christian but he would undoubtedly be happy to support the project for the mosque.

Tannous said that Arab-Americans were naturally much pleased that Syria and Lebanon had at last been invited to send representatives to the San Francisco Conference. There had been a feeling of great disappointment and dissatisfaction at the apparent omission of those two states, or at least the long delay in inviting them. But Arab-Americans now felt much happier over the situation.

Tannous spoke with great approval of the recently organized Institute for Arab-American Affairs. It was founded in New York largely through the initiative of Professor Philip Hitti of Princeton. An organization had been made and a charter obtained from New York State. In theory the Institute was to be

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composed of representatives of all the various Arab-American organizations in this country, constituting the Assembly. The Assembly has not yet had a meeting. Provisionally, the affairs of the Institute were being managed by an Executive Committee of which Mr. Faris Malouf, a lawyer of Boston, was President and Professor Hitti the Executive Director. There had been some discussion as to the purposes to be pursued by the Institute but in the constitution as finally adopted, educational and cultural aims were paramount and political aims were minimized. Tannous said his advice had been asked during the formative period of the organization and he had supported the cultural view as opposed to the political. He hoped the new Institute would be a success. Financial support, he said, so far had been largely accorded by a wealthy Arab-American real estate dealer of Washington, Mr. Joseph Howar.

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Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

AB - 281
APR 20 1945
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VIA AIRMAIL

TO : Mr. Bjarne Braatoy

FROM : John Norman

FNE - SS-San Francisco

DATE: 17 April 1945

SUBJECT: Report of conversation with George A. M. Fuleihan in Los Angeles on 3 April 1945.

Report No. 86

APR 1945 RECEIVED

George A. M. Fuleihan, a locally important person among Syrian-Lebanese Americans, was consulted on 3 April in Los Angeles through Mr. A. M. Malouf, director of the Syrian-Lebanon American Federation of the Far Western States. Mr. Malouf was visited first, but he either knew nothing or would say nothing except to suggest Fuleihan as a contact.

Fuleihan is a middle aged man with gray hair on his massive head, which only a wrinkle separates from his short, stocky body. Besides being executive member of the California Farm Debt Adjustment Commission and chairman of the Commission of Los Angeles County, Fuleihan is founder and president of the Syrian Civic League of Southern California (this league comes into life every election time), chairman of the Syrian-Lebanon American War Finance Committee since the start of the war, president of the Syrian-Lebanon American Society, and chairman of the Red Cross Drive among the Syrian-Americans. He said that during the Sixth War Loan Drive he was chairman for the thirty-three nationalities of Southern California.

Fuleihan began by praising his people. The Syrian-Lebanese, he said, are successful, law-abiding people in this country. The average Syrian-Lebanese, Fuleihan pointed out, was not anti-Jewish

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but anti-Zionist. He himself professed to share this sentiment even though he said that Roosevelt was too pro-Jewish and that if the Jews didn't like the climate of Abyssinia, he couldn't help it.

Fuleihan said that the Syrian-Lebanese in the Los Angeles area had no use for France, although they have the greatest respect for French civilization. When France was awarded the Syrian mandate, he complained, she did not send Frenchmen to rule the country; she sent Senegalese soldiers. He went on to say that France took everything out of Syria in contrast to England, who in her colonies put in more than she took out. "We don't hate France, but we hate the way she governs Syria." He spoke with glowing optimism of the Pan-Arabian Federation as representing 70,000,000 Moslems along with 15,000,000 Christians, "the Holy Land included." "The Arabs have always looked up to the English as great colonizers. The troubles of the Near East have always been the result of English, French, and Russian political ambitions." Fuleihan was very gratified with President Roosevelt's statement that he learned so much in five minutes about Arab affairs in his talk with Ibn Saud.

Describing Syrian-Lebanese Americans in the Los Angeles area, Fuleihan reported that there were only about ten Mohammedan families among them. He himself is a Presbyterian. There is an extremely large group of Greek Orthodox people among the Syrian-Lebanese, and these generally favor Russia -- "even Soviet Russia."

There is a good deal of inter-marriage between them and Americans. There are no Communists among them, and on political issues they generally take sides not as Syrian-Lebanese but as Republicans and Democrats, according to Fuleihan.

Fuleihan disclosed that he had received a letter from the Institute for Arabian-American Affairs indicating that a drive for funds was on.

Attached is an out-of-date booklet by A. M. Malouf entitled The Syrian People in the United States as a Cornerstone in American Life. Malouf offered this book in lieu of an interview.. It may be of some interest.

cc: Mr. Edward Haines
Capt. E. D. McHendrie

JN:ja

Pamphlet mentioned above is in Arabic pamphlet file.

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NEWS NOTES

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

The following current news is circulated at once by reason of its timeliness. In conjunction with other and later intelligence the material may be used again in the longer-range studies of this Branch.

☒ *Press Item* ☐ *Account of Oral Interview* ☐ *Confidential Report*

Number N-297 26 April 1945

ARAB-AMERICANS DENY REPORT OF ARAB COMPROMISE PROPOSAL FOR PALESTINE

ON THE basis of information received from Egyptian sources, Arab-American journalists have denounced as false the New York Times dispatch of 11 March stating that the Foreign Ministers of the Arab states, meeting in Cairo in the interests of Arab federation, had worked out a compromise solution for the Palestine problem.* The compromise, it will be recalled, was said to provide for increasing the Jewish population in Palestine to about one million, or approximate parity with the Moslem element, thereby putting the balance of power between Mohammedans and Jews into the hands of the Christian Arab minority which numbers some 150,000.

The report that Arab statesmen had sponsored a proposal so at variance with the views hitherto held by the Arab world left many Arab-Americans in a state of bewildered incredulity, although the Times's reputation for reliability deterred them from rejecting the story immediately and induced them to wait

* See FN Number N-234 of 19 March 1945, "Early Zionist Reactions to Arab Compromise Proposal for Palestine."

for enlightenment from Cairo. Al-Bayan of Washington (15 March), frankly doubted the truth of the story; and As-Sameer of New York (24 March) hoped it was not true, adding: "Surely no Arab minister would think of bringing such a monstrous notion into the Arab world."

Subsequent news from Egypt led As-Sayeh of New York (9 April) to assert that there was "not a shred of truth" in the New York Times story; it quoted the Egyptian press as stating that the Arab ministers "had never even dreamed of such a solution," and were still just as strongly opposed to Zionism as ever. What it could not understand, As-Sayeh concluded, was the failure of the New York Times to retract its correspondent's "erroneous report."

It has been reported to this Branch that Mahmoud Bey Abul Fath, owner and editor of the Cairo newspaper Al-Misri, who has been sojourning in this country for some time, cabled officials in Cairo inquiring about the authenticity of the Times report. The answer denied the story categorically, and asserted that the Arab Foreign Ministers, far from proposing the solution mentioned, had not even considered it. Mahmoud Bey thereupon wrote a letter to the Times to set matters right; but for some reason (the report goes on) the Times had not published the letter.

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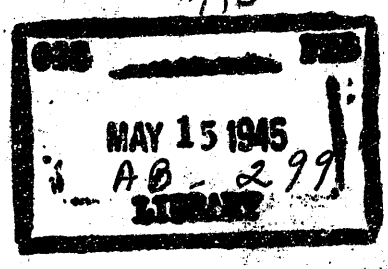
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Mr. Bjarne Braatoy

Carl W. Blegen

Assyrians

AB



7 May 1945

Assyrian-Americans estimated to number 35 to 50 thousand mainly of two religious denominations, about two-thirds being Jacobites, one-third Nestorians. Mar Shimun XXIII, Patriarch of Nestorians, has spent past two years in Chicago. There are also a few Chaldeans who are Uniate Assyrians. Latest estimate of Assyrians in Middle East about 100,000, half in Iran, 25,000 in Iraq, 20,000 in Syria. Practically none in Turkey.

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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

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MAY 26 1945
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AB

WITH Habib Kurani SUBJECT

FOR F.N.B. Miss Frantz, Mr. Blegen

DATE 24 May 1945 INITIATIVE Mr. Blegen LWB ☐ BY TELEPHONE

PLACE Sheikh Restaurant, Washington ☒ FACE TO FACE

SUMMARY

Mr. Kurani has given up his idea of leaving Washington in June and said he expected now to stay on in OWI. He said he would be happy to help us with information and advice at any time so far as possible for him. This meeting was arranged mainly in order to pursue our acquaintance and to explore possibilities for future exchange of information.

Kurani said Arab-Americans in Washington were deeply interested in the recent course of the controversy between the Levant States and France and were discussing it widely. They deplored the bloodshed reported in the press, but they believed the question now was at last coming to a real "showdown." The great majority of Arab-Americans sided with Lebanon and Syria against France, Kurani said, although there were some Lebanese Maronites who were still rather sympathetic with the French. In those two homelands nationalist sentiments apparently predominated fairly strongly as shown by

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the elections of 1943 which were on the whole fair and free from coercion.

The Arabic-language newspapers in this country had not yet got around to commenting much on the recent flare-up of the controversy; they were always very slow to react. In general, Kurani said, there were no editors of Arabic-language papers in this country who were sufficiently educated politically to make any really intelligent and constructive comment on the proceedings of the San Francisco Conference or on the larger problems of world politics.

On one problem all people of Arab stock wherever they were were agreed, Kurani stated, and that was in their opposition to political Zionism. They had nothing against the Jews as people, nothing against recognition of the special interest of the Jews in Palestine as a religious home and center; but Arabs and Moslems were unanimous in their determination to resist ~~in~~ the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

Kurani spoke with some enthusiasm of a project for building a Moslem mosque in Washington. OWI had featured this report in a news release to Moslem countries, he said, and had received great numbers of letters of appreciation from Moslem countries extending all the way to India. The mosque was to be of the Sunnite sect. It would serve as a Moslem center in the United States being provided with a library, school and other facilities.

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Dr. William L. Langer,
Office of Strategic Services,
25th and "E" Streets, Northwest,
Washington, 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Langer:

Enclosed herewith is a memorandum on an interview concerning Iraq.

Yours very truly,

Edward W. Allen.

EWA:lmp.

Enclosure.

cc: Colonel G. Edward Buxton,
Colonel E. F. Connely,
Dr. R. W. Scott,
Mr. Edward W. Haines,
Mr. John O'Keeffe.

ack - Jack
6-1-45

SECRET

AIR MAIL

INTERVIEW CONCERNING IRAQ

A Syrian born Boston resident, whose name was not secured, but who stated that he was American advisor to the Iraq delegation, spoke somewhat freely in a joint taxi cab ride until he got out too soon really to finish the conversation which the writer was successful in starting. The adviser was pessimistic over the conference which he said would evolve a form of organization which would probably be agreed to but which, in fact, would be nothing but a hodge-podge. He believed practically all of the delegates present really desired to bring about a permanent peace organization and program but that there was altogether too much suspicion prevalent and most unfortunate of all, lack of real leadership. He stated particularly that the Russians were suspicious of the United States but that as a matter of fact, all the Europeans were suspicious of the United States as well as of each other, the difference being that the Russian psychology was particularly hard for Americans to understand just as ours was for the Russians to understand. He regretted greatly that the United States and Great Britain had openly allied themselves against Russia. He also thought it unfortunate that the South and Central American nations formed in a block and that parts of the British Commonwealth formed in a block. The writer was just about to inquire concerning the Arab block but the advisor got out of the taxi cab at that point.

Edward W. Allen.

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Language: Arabic
Special Report: H.R.H. Prince Abdul-Ilah, Regent of Iraq at Banquet held by Institute of Arab American Affairs.

7 June 1945
Reader: Ziadeh

On Saturday evening June 2, 1945, the Institute of Arab American Affairs held a banquet at the Waldorf Astoria, New York, in honor of H.R.H. Prince Abdul - Ilah, Regent of Iraq. The guests of honor were H.R.H. Prince Abdul- Ilah; Nuri Pasha As-Said; David Pasha Al-Haidaii; Ali Jawdat Bey, Iraqi Minister at Washington; Lt.Col. Ubayd Abdallah, aide de camp to the Regent; Dr. H.C. Sinderson Pasha; Honorable William Phillips, special assistant to the Secretary of State; Brig. Gen. Albert C. Oliver, U.S.A., Military aid; Capt. Arthur H. McCollum, U.S.N., Naval aid; George V. Allen, Deputy Director, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs; Mr. Raymond D. Muir, Protocol Division, Dept. of State; Capt. Archibald Roosevelt, Assistant U.S. Military attaché to the American Legation in Baghdad; and Mr. Robert Bannerman, special agent, Dept. of State.

About three hundred people attended the banquet. The chairman was Ali Mahadeen an industrialist of New Jersey and Chairman of the executive committee of the Institute. Faris S. Malouf, attorney of Boston and President of the Institute was toastmaster. The speakers were the Hon. William Phillips, Prof. Philip K. Hitti of Princeton, Mr. Abbas Nasser, an Arabic poet of Connecticut, Mr. Ismail Khalidi, secretary of the Institute and a member of a prominent Palestinian family, and H.E. Ali Jawdat Bey.

The speech of Mr. Phillips was reported in the New York Sunday Times June 3 and must have come to your attention. It praised Americans of Arab origin for finding no difficulty in Assimilating themselves in American life, lauded Iraq for being the first Arab state to join the United Nations, and stressed cultural and economic relations, both present and future, between the U.S.A. and the Arab World. He also praised the League of Arab states and stated that the U.S.A. welcomes it for it enables the Arab states to work toward world peace. He further stated that the American government and people were deeply depressed about the fighting in the Levant, that the U.S. government could not ignore such a situation so she tried to stop the armed conflict and work for resolving differences in a peaceful manner.

Mr. Phillips speech had a very fine effect upon those present. It convinced them that the U.S. government cannot stand aside while the very principles this war is being fought for are being violated. They were proud to be American.

Mr. Khalidi's speech was in Arabic. He praised Iraq for leading the Arab states towards unity, lauded its stand during this war by putting its territory and resources at the disposal of the

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Allies, and generally thanked the Hashimite family (family of the Regent) for their efforts in behalf of the Arabs. He reminded the Regent that Palestine is the only Arab country in the Middle East which has not gained its freedom, and that when the Arab states and governments intervened in the Palestine problem in 1939, Palestine assumed the character of a trust in their hands. He expressed his confidence and that of the Arabs of Palestine that the trust will not be neglected, and stressed the fact that the Palestine problem is no more a local one, but a general Arab problem and hoped that the Arab states will strive to gain for her her independence.

Prof. Hitti delved into history to show the contribution of ancient Iraq to civilization especially in the matter of writing, and its contribution to world culture during the period of Harun al-Rashid. He explained how with the Mongolian invasion blackout descended on it till King Faysal I tried to pull it out of the pit of darkness.

Mr. Abbas Nasser delivered a poem, an institution without which, the Arab's love for poetry being what it is - no Arabic speaking meeting could really be complete. He praised the Hashimite family and the progress of Iraq, exorted the French to be more careful in the Levant, and asked H.R.H. Prince Abdul - Ilah to protect Palestine if for no other reason than the fact that His grandfather King Husayn is buried there (in the Aksa Mosque).

His Excellency Ali Jawdat Bey praised the Arabic- speaking immigrants for their progress and for identifying themselves with American life and exalted the Hashimite family for their sacrifices on behalf of their people especially in trying to unify them. He stressed the fact that Iraq has been helping its neighboring Arab states to attain their independence and will always strive to help them without exception (meaning Palestine?) till their independence is complete within an orderly world organization.

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By Sgpe NARS, Date 11/14/08

attach to NB-308

PUBLIC MEETING REPORT — RESTRICTED

Foreign Nationalities Branch — Office of Strategic Services
Number M-318 — 14 June 1945

Event:	DINNER IN HONOR OF PRINCE ABDUL-ILAH, REGENT OF IRAQ
Sponsor:	Institute for Arab-American Affairs
Speakers:	William Phillips, Ali Jawdat Bey, Philip K. Hitti, Ismail Khalidi, Abbas Nasser
Place:	New York City
Date:	2 June 1945
Attendance:	About 300

Praise of Iraq's leadership in the movement for Arab independence and appeals for that country's aid in securing freedom for Palestine were voiced at a banquet given for H.R.H. Prince Abdul-Ilah, Regent of Iraq who recently came to the United States to pay a visit to President Truman. Sponsored by the Institute of Arab-American Affairs, the dinner, which took place 2 June at the Waldorf-Astoria, was attended by about 300, mainly Arab-Americans. The Prince was accompanied by Nuri Pasha as-Said, former Prime Minister of Iraq; Daud Pasha al-Haidari, former Iraqi Minister to Great Britain; Ali Jawdat Bey, Iraqi Minister in Washington; Lieutenant Colonel Ubayd Abdallah, aide-de-camp to the Regent; and Dr. H. C. Sinderson Pasha, the Regent's physician. Officials of the State Department and Army officers were also present.

Ali Mahadeen, chairman of the executive committee of the Institute and president of the Young Men's Moslem Association, acted as chairman and Faris S. Malouf of Boston, president of the Institute, was toastmaster.

Mr. William Phillips, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, was one of the principal speakers at the banquet. His speech, which was fully reported in the New York Times, 3 June, appeared to make an impression on Arab-Americans present. After commending Arab-Americans for so easily assimilating themselves in American life and lauding Iraq as the first Arab state to join the United Nations, Mr. Phillips stressed the cultural and economic relations between the United States and the Arab world and praised the newly formed Arab League as a step enabling the Arab states to work toward world peace. The American Government and people, Mr. Phillips said, deplored the fighting going on in the Levant; the Government could not ignore such a situation and was therefore trying to stop the armed conflict and work toward reconciling the differences in a peaceful manner.

The Iraqi Minister, Ali Jawdat Bey, complimented Arab-Americans for their progress and rapid Americanization, and praised the Hashimite house, the royal family to which the Regent belongs, for their sacrifices in behalf of their people, especially in trying to unify them. He emphasized that Iraq has been helping its neighboring Arab states to attain independence and would continue to do so "in every instance."

19

Professor Philip K. Hitti of Princeton delivered an historical survey, pointing out ancient Iraq's contribution to civilization in the invention of writing, and its contribution to world culture during the period of Haroun al-Rashid. A revival of Iraqi culture, he stated, had taken place under the late King Faisal I, uncle of the Regent.

Ismail Khalidi, an Arab-American of Palestinian descent, who is secretary of the Institute, spoke in Arabic. He commended Iraq for leading the Arab states toward unity and for putting its territories and resources at the disposal of the Allies, and expressed gratitude to the Hashimite family for all they had done for the Arabs. He reminded the Regent that Palestine was the "only Arab country in the Middle East" that had not yet gained its freedom, and that when the Arab states and governments intervened in the Palestine problem in 1939, Palestine assumed the character of a trust in their hands. The Arabs of Palestine, he continued, were confident that that trust would not be neglected; the problem was no longer merely a local one, but a general Arab problem.

Abbas Nasser, an Arab-American poet, read a poem in praise of the family of the guest of honor. The poem incidentally exhorted the French to be more careful in the Levant and asked Prince Abdul-Ilah to protect Palestine.

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Language: Arabic
Special Report: Visit of H.R.H. Prince Abdul-Ilah to Princeton University.

June 1945
Reader: Ziadeh

On June 5th H.R.H. Prince Abdul-Ilah visited Princeton University at the invitation of its President Dr. Harold Dodds. He was accompanied by Nuri Pasha As-Said, Ali Jawdat Bey, Lt. Col. Ubayd Abdallah, Capt. Arthur H. McCollum, U.S.N., Mr. Raymond D. Muir of the Protocol Division of the Dept. of State, and a few representatives of the O.W.I. and the Associated Press. They visited the President at his home, he not being able to leave it because of an operation, then inspected a display of the best collection of Arabic manuscripts at the University Library. A few people were presented to the Prince at Prof. Hitti's home, and most of them praised his gentle attitude.

Luncheon was served at the Princeton Inn. Dean Root, dean of the faculty, spoke on behalf of the President who was not able to attend, and characterized himself jokingly as a President Regent! He pointed out that if he were to choose the four cities the world that evoke more than others memories of civilization he would choose Athens for its art and literature, Rome for its laws and government, Jerusalem for its spiritual message and Baghdad for science and knowledge during the Middle Ages.

He pointed out that is one of the reasons Princeton is very aware of Islamic studies. He went on to say that Princeton is the foremost in this field in America, that summer seminars in Arabic studies are held every third year, that Princeton owns the best collection of Arabic manuscripts in the U.S.A., that Princeton University Press was the first to obtain Arabic linotype, and that the U.S. Army made Princeton the first University to teach Arabic and Turkish to its members of the Army Specialized Training Program.

H.E. Ali Jawdat spoke in Arabic and Prof. Hitti translated. He thanked the University for its hospitality and praised its efforts in spreading knowledge and enlightenment which are the true bases of civilization. He also pointed out that the Arab World wants to benefit from the light of knowledge emanating from the U.S.A.

The visit of the H.R.H. Prince Abdul-Ilah helps to place Princeton in the lime-light as the leading Arabic and Islamic centre in America.

The visit was a short one. I tried desperately to have and interview with the Prince, but only succeeded in exchanging pleasantries with him as he was rushed from one place to another and had to meet so many people. However, I talked at length with his aide at table. He said Iraqis were determined to see to it that the independence of Syria and Lebanon is secure, and expressed his pleasure at the enthusiasm the Arab League has evoked in the

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By Epe NARS, Date 11/4/88

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Box 2 of 2

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Arab World. I asked him about the attitude of the Iraqis towards Palestine and the Palestinians. He answered by saying Iraqis support the demands of Palestinian Arabs wholeheartedly, but that for a time there was a coolness in Iraq towards the Palestinians because of the activities of the Mufti of Jerusalem during the uprising of 1941 in Iraq, which resulted in so much unnecessary bloodshed and which was contrary to the very best interests of Iraq and the Arab World. I thought that if he does represent the average Iraqi soldier, the feeling of the Iraq army towards democracy and the ideals of democracy must be genuine indeed.

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30 June 1945

DOS AB-313 JUL 6 1945 LIBRARY

Mr. John Norman
402 Kohl Building
406 Montgomery Street
San Francisco, 4, California

Dear John:

At the invitation of our mutual acquaintance George A.M. Fuleihan, I attended a dinner at the Ambassador Hotel Thursday evening, June 28th, sponsored by "The Arabic speaking people of Southern California" in honor of the delegates to the United Nations Conference from the five Arabic speaking countries of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria.

Except to report that the dinner was held and, judging from the attendance and general air of enthusiasm, was a great success, there is little else I can pass on of interest to your branch. The proceedings were about half in English and half in Arabic. The English portion of the program consisted of platitudes not worth repeating. Some of the more impassioned pronouncements in Arabic evoked enthusiastic applause, but since my knowledge of Arabic is limited to two words neither one of which was used by any of the speakers, and since I could not understand the purported English explanations of my Arabic neighbors, I came away empty handed. Two or three politicians, Dr. von Klein-Schmidt and I appeared to be the only pale faces present -- except for Roy Rogers in a cowboy suit! Trigger did not attend.

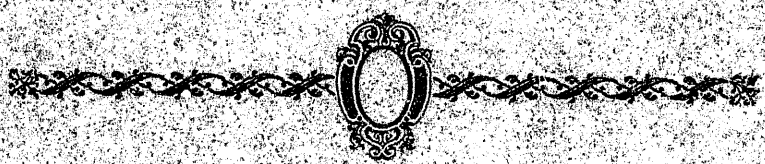
Very truly yours,

A.D. McHENDRIE, Capt., AC

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PROGRAM

RECEPTION and DINNER

In Honor of

THE ARABIC SPEAKING DELEGATES

to the

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE

EGYPT

IRAQ

LEBANON

SAUDI ARABIA

SYRIA

●

Sponsored by

The Arabic Speaking People of Southern California

Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles

Thursday, June 28, 1945, 7 P.M.

Program

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

Introduction A. B. MALOUF

Master of Ceremonies GEORGE A. M. FULEIHAN

SPEAKERS

MR. MICHEL G. ACKARY

MR. MALICK K. DOUMANI

MR. JOHN ASSAD EDWARDS

MR. BADIH H. JOSEPH

MR. A. M. MALOUF

H. E. ABDEL HAMID PASHA MADAWI, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt

H. E. DR. FADHIL AL-JAMALI, Director General Foreign Affairs, Iraq

H. E. CHARLES HABIB MALIK, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States

H. R. H. PRINCE FAISAL IBN ABDUL AZIZ, Prime Minister, Saudi Arabia

H. E. FARIS AL-KHOURI, Prime Minister, Syria

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EGYPTIAN DELEGATION

Represented by

H. E. ABDEL HAMID PASHA BADAWI Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Delegation

H. E. IBRAHIM PASHA ABDEL HADI, Minister of Public Health

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TAHA EL SAYED NASR, Assistant Royal Counsellor

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DR. MOHAMED AWAD, Professor Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University

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The Star Spangled Banner

O say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, thro' the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watch'd, were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof thro' the night that our flag was still there.

O say, does that star spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

On the shore dimly seen thro' the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er towering steep
As it blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines in the stream.

'Tis the star spangled banner, O long may it wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

And where is the band who so vauntingly swore,
'Mid the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
A home and a country they'd leave us no more?
Their blood has wash'd out their foul footstep's pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave;

And the star spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

O thus be it ever when free men shall stand
Between their loved homes and the war's desolation;
Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the heaven' rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, "In God is our trust."

And the star spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

MEMORANDUM TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FROM THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Number B-389 13 July 1945

ARABIC-LANGUAGE PRESS DENOUNCES FRENCH POLICIES IN SYRIA AND LEBANON

Several Arabic-language papers looked hopefully to the United States for support in their defense of Syrian and Lebanese independence *vis-a-vis* the French. Only one paper, the Lebanese Maronite *al-Hoda*, could find a vestige of justification for de Gaulle and French policy, but this paper expressed a fear the French might withdraw from Syria only to cling to Lebanon. Little or no blame was attached to the British for their part in the incidents.

WITH a single exception, the Arabic-language newspapers in the United States have laid the blame for the recent bloodshed in Syria and Lebanon on the French and have excoriated General de Gaulle, France, and French "imperialist" policies. Only the Lebanese Maronite daily *al-Hoda* of New York, known for its traditional Francophile attitude in the past (and charged by its enemies with being the recipient of a subsidy from the French) has taken a restrained stand and has refrained from complete condemnation of France's motives and actions. In general the Arabic-language press has exculpated Great Britain and has approved the American stand.

Druse-Moslems Indignant

Speaking for Druse and Moslem elements *al-Bayan*, which appears thrice weekly in Washington, has carried on a vigorous anti-French campaign. In its issue of 14 June it said:

> The French have cut the last link of their friendship with the Syrian and Lebanese people.... The world has been shown the

true picture of the imperialistic French in all their ugliness.

Expressing indignation at the bombardment of open, undefended cities like Damascus, *al-Bayan* (14 June) insinuated that the French had used Lend-lease equipment obtained from the United States "to inflict disaster on peaceful, unarmed civilians and cities." The only effective way to counter French action, *al Bayan* maintained (26 May, 2, 9, 14 June), was to boycott France:

> They [the French] recognize only one type of arms. Let us show them -- we, the united Arabs. Let us boycott the French, their culture, their goods, and their persons -- whether they are friend or foe.

Syrian-Orthodox View Equally Condemnatory of France

As-Sayeh, Syrian-Orthodox semi-weekly of New York, has been no less forthright than *al-Bayan* in denouncing France. Particularly resentful over the French employment of "Senegalese Negro soldiers to kill and wound civilians in the street," the paper (24 May) protested against French "aggression and injustice." The only way in which the problem of the Levant could be solved, *as-Sayeh* asserted 14 June, was through intervention of the Great Powers:

> It will be easy for the Big Powers to come to a solution in the Syro-Lebanese crisis. The question is simple -- a weak, small nation has met injustice at the hands of de Gaulle and his Frenchmen. But the difficulty is that the Allies had just put all their efforts into freeing the world from tyrants. Among those freed were the French and their leader, de Gaulle. Now they find that the French Government under de Gaulle is putting difficulties in the way of the establishment of peace and freedom for the world.

Comparing de Gaulle to Franco, *as-Sayeh* continued (25 June) its criticism:

> ...to us de Gaulle is another tyrant, and he is one of the Big Five. In North Africa and Syria he has shown himself to be worse than Franco.

That is why the President of the Republic of Syria is demanding de Gaulle's inclusion among the war criminals, and is asking that he be judged for his killing of the poor, unarmed peoples of Algeria and Syria.

The recent difficulties provided *as-Sayeh* with an opportunity to protest an earlier "injustice" inflicted by the French in 1939, when France ceded the Sanjak of Alexandretta to Turkey. The paper insisted (21 June) that

[Alexandretta] is an integral part of Syria, containing Antioch, Syria's old capital. Yet without the consent of the Syrians, the French protectors gave Alexandretta to Turkey, hoping that Turkey would join France in the war against Germany. Everyone knows what happened next, and if the Syrians are now demanding their state back, it is well to remember that they never ceased demanding it.

Answering the French claim that France was responsible to the League of Nations for Syria and Lebanon, *as-Sayeh* asked how France could explain to the League, if it were still in existence, the cession of part of Syria to Turkey. Why did she base her actions on the League and her responsibility to it only when the complete independence of Syria and Lebanon were concerned, the paper inquired. *As-Sayeh* concluded:

We must dismiss this poor argument and ask France to give an account to the United Nations Organization as to what she did to her wards, Syria and Lebanon. We must accuse France of misuse of her trust, for she forfeited her right to the mandate by selling a part of Syria to Turkey; we must ask justice for Syria and demand her rights.

Lebanese-Orthodox Single Out de Gaulle for Criticism

Lebanese-Orthodox papers also joined in the chorus of criticism. *Al-Islaah*, semi-weekly of New York, directed its barbs against General de Gaulle. It was time for him to realize his mistakes,

the paper said (8 June) and to see how much hatred for France his policy in Syria and Lebanon had stirred up. France was unlucky in having him at the head of her government.

> France today needs a man with a clear view into the future -- a broad-minded and big-hearted man.... France must make more friends, and de Gaulle has made only enemies for his country. De Gaulle has offended everyone, and committed an act unfriendly to the United States and our late great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt....
>
> Arabs all over the world were angered at this rash and unjust act, and as a result, France will lose prestige and influence in the entire Arab world.

Mediation was the only solution, *al-Islaah* asserted (12 June):

> De Gaulle will have to agree to put the problem to mediation, as suggested by Britain and the United States. He has no alternative.
>
> To pretend that France has cultural and military interests in Syria and Lebanon is false. We can truthfully say that other powers also have some cultural and military interests in those lands, but no one came with the pretense that, therefore, they should occupy the country or be given special prestige or privilege there.

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Heraat-ul-Gharb Spurs Readers to Action

The Lebanese-Orthodox *Heraat-ul-Gharb* of New York (5 June) compared the French attack on Lebanon and Syria to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, for both were delivered while negotiations for reaching an understanding were going on. Previously (23 May) the paper had expressed its horror at the bloodshed in Beirut, Damascus, and Aleppo, which it blamed on "a base group of French villians," and their "Senegalese dogs"; and it urged Arab-Americans to protest to "official quarters" against French aggression. Reporting a mass meeting in New York sponsored by the Arabic-language press of America, *Heraat-*

ul-Gharb (8 June) said committees had been formed to cable protests to the authorities of the Allied nations and to collect funds to aid families of victims of French killings and bombardments in the various cities of Syria:

> The general feeling against the French was shared by the Arab colonies in Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Santo Domingo, and all other Latin American countries. All the Arab newspapers in New York, with the exception of *al-Hoda*, were represented.

Urging that something be done to relieve the suffering of the Lebanese and Syrian people, the paper suggested (15 June) that Arab-American women's organizations take the lead in a drive to collect clothing and other necessities for shipment to the Levant.

As-Sameer Jeers at French

Probably the most bitter and unrestrained of the Arabic-language papers has been the daily *as-Sameer* of Brooklyn. Characterizing de Gaulle as "a little Hitler" the paper (29 May, 1 June) inveighed against him and "his Senegalese troops who had no regard for the lives of Syrians and Lebanese, nor for those of the people of Algeria." What France really wanted, *as-Sameer* declared (28 May) was not merely a sphere of influence guaranteeing cultural and commercial interests, but naval bases, airdromes, etc., -- real domination of the Levant states, a thing no free nation in the world would uphold.

The French fled like rabbits before Hitler, *as-Sameer* declared (1 June). They gave up their capital without a fight and sent their men to work for the Nazis; but today they were assuming the character of a lion when fighting people who were unarmed. De Gaulle had written the blackest chapter in French history, the paper continued, and had committed acts worse than those perpetrated in Belgium and Holland by Hitler; and like his prototype he disregarded covenants

and agreements. Subsequently (11 June) *as-Sameer* heaped abuse on the French commander in Syria who

> ...bombed and used big guns on Damascus and Hama, and then returned to Paris laying all the blame on England which had prevented him from finishing his job of killing the Syrians and destroying their country. He is like that wolf who excused himself for not tearing lambs to pieces because the shepherds suddenly smote him with a big stick that smashed his canine teeth.

As-Sameer concluded with an attack on *al-Hoda* of New York whose editor, it asserted, had sold his pen and his tongue to the de Gaullists; and it solemnly warned the Syrian and Lebanese delegations at UNCIO to beware of this "jackal in the form of a man."

The discussion in the French Consultative Assembly when several political leaders criticized the aggressive policy of de Gaulle in the Levant and North Africa gave *as-Sameer* occasion for further comment (27 June). Pointing out that the General had reversed the position he took in 1941 "when he appealed to the Syrians and Lebanese to side with the Free French against the Vichyites," the paper went on:

> It is little wonder that Frenchmen who wish to vindicate the honor and veracity of France are as critical of their leader's policy in the Levant as Englishmen and Americans, not to mention the Syrians, Lebanese, and other Arabs.... The Arab world is determined to see justice done to Syria and Lebanon. Their independence, recognized by France herself, should be realized at once through withdrawal of French troops from the two countries.

As-Sameer concluded by emphasizing the action of the Arab League in supporting such a demand.

Lebanese-Maronites Split; al-Akhlak Opposes French

A good many Lebanese-Americans of the Maronite faith, many of whom have leaned toward France as a protector against the Moslems, are believed to share in the general condemnation of France. This is especially true of the small group represented by the semi-weekly *al-Akhlak* of New York which (13 June) stated "...our countrymen now know that France, their former friend and idol...is but a selfish and greedy tyrant." Earlier (5 June) *al-Akhlak*, laying chief blame on General de Gaulle, wrote:

> We believe de Gaulle is harming the cause of France by pursuing his corrupt policies, as is evident by the Levant situation. France needs a real diplomat and not a person who understands nothing but force.

In another article (25 May) the paper summarized the French record in the Levant:

> It is painful to recollect the era of French rule in Syria.../which/ was altogether selfish, bent on the interests of France only. France killed in the bud all native enterprises, and broke the native back with heavy taxes, carrying all the gold to France without anyone bringing her to account. And every time France makes a demand she dispatches Senegalese soldiers to pierce their lances into the necks of her "friends" in Syria and Lebanon.... One of the good lessons of this war is that people are being taught to achieve their desires in the right way, without resorting to brute force.... May France learn something!

Quoting an Arab proverb "Feed me, and I am your master," *al-Akhlak* (29 June) accused de Gaulle of ingratitude in turning against England, which had given him refuge and help after France's fall, and the United States, which had provided arms, money, and uniforms to reorganize the French Army.

Al-Hoda Sees No Fruitful Results From Attacks on French

A substantial body of Maronites, however, seem still to be following *al-Hoda* in its more cautious attitude of suspending judgment on France and in clinging tenaciously to its traditional friendship for and reliance on the French. *Al-Hoda* has held to its stand despite concerted criticism and name-calling from almost all the other Arabic-language papers in the country. *Al-Hoda* had presented fully, it asserted (14 June), all available news on events in the Levant; it had also acknowledged receipt from its readers of protests against French action in Lebanon and Syria.

The editor of *al-Hoda*, Salloum Mokarzel, who was attending the conference at San Francisco, stated that all such protests had been transmitted, for its guidance, to the Lebanese delegation at the Conference. In an editorial (14 June) Mokarzel said he believed the "extravagant attack" on France in the Arabic papers would not yield any fruitful result for the "old country", either in international relations or in strengthening the bonds between the elements of its population. *Al-Hoda* had taken the same stand, he continued, during a period when some of the Arabic papers attacked Great Britain for her policy in Palestine. For, though *al-Hoda* shared most of the opinions and aspirations of Palestinian Arabs, it had to follow a course of propriety in speaking of powers with which it was necessary, because of world circumstances, to maintain contacts. Attacks and protests, Mokarzel went on, did not secure rights, but added fuel to the fire and widened the chasm between different elements of the people in the Levant countries. The question of Syria and Lebanon was not a local question, Mokarzel declared; it was only a phase of a conflict of spheres of influence. In following a cautious policy of restraint, the editorial concluded, *al-Hoda* was convinced it was serving the best

interests of the United States as well as those of Lebanon.

Holding to its traditional Francophile line *al-Hoda* 23 June said:

> The French are not all like de Gaulle for we have heard the voice of a well-known French leader, Edouard Herriot, recently liberated from a German concentration camp. The voice of Herriot is the voice of the true France which Syria and Lebanon loved and respected. Herriot spoke for the cause of freedom and independence. His sympathies were for Syria and Lebanon.

Concentration in Lebanon Feared

A note of alarm, however, appeared in the same editorial. Quoting Churchill's statement that relations between Britain, the United States, and Russia had "improved" and that there was no cause for a misunderstanding with France on the Syrian question, *al-Hoda* commented:

> On the other hand the actual withdrawal of the French from Syria is regarded with suspicion and alarm by the Lebanese, for it seems that the French are concentrating on Lebanon with the intention of retaining it under the pretext of safeguarding Christian minorities. At present anyway most Lebanese consider this a flimsy pretext.

Attitude Toward Great Britain and the United States

While heaping condemnation on the French the Arabic-language papers in this country have for the most part tried to exonerate Great Britain and have praised the attitude of the United States. *As-Sameer* in particular (22, 25 May) asked why France could not follow the good example set by America, Britain, and Russia and be on good terms with the two sister republics "especially since the interests of those powers in the Levant are greater than French interests." The paper has continued almost daily to absolve Britain from responsibility which, *as-Sameer* said, must be borne by the French themselves.

Declaring the "action taken by President Truman in the Syrian-Lebanese crisis one of the most encouraging signs of the times," *as-Sameer* (21 June) characterized Truman's "backing of the British" as "justified on grounds of high idealism and practical politics." Recent British concessions in India, the paper thought, had given hope that Great Britain's post-war colonial policy might be closer to that of the United States than was the case after World War I. But it was on the United States that *as-Sameer* placed its chief reliance: "Thank God that America has acted with directness and dispatch...to restore hope to our house." And this sentiment was echoed in *al-Akhlak* (27 June): "America will see to it that those nations which believe in the principles of the four freedoms get their freedom and complete independence."

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REPORT # 929

SUBJECT: Syrians

PLACE: Detroit, Michigan

DATE: July 5th, 1945

PRINCE FAISAL IBN ABDUL AZIZ, son of King Ibn Saud of Saudi-Arabia, was honored with a banquet at the Statler Hotel in the evening of July 5th. The chairman of the arrangements committee was HENRY S. NAGGAR of the Detroit Committee of Arabic Speaking Americans. On the reservation committee were the following: George Bashara, Philip Shammas, and Charles Harris.

I personally went to attend the banquet and found over 1200 people present. They sold more tickets than they had accommodations for and several hundred had to be turned away. The ticket was $10.00 per person. I had another person also cover the meeting for me, and therefore I decided not to insist upon attending.

However I had a chance to observe those present and found 25 to 30 Americans, among them some attorneys representing different commercial enterprises. The Chrysler Corporation had a considerable number of people present from their Export Division. Arabs of various denominations were present. Nineteen speeches were delivered. The speech-making started at nine p.m. and finished at one-thirty. Palestine was not mentioned, however several speakers underscored the idea that the Arabs who are here to greet the celebration and the celebrities were from Iraqi, Syria, Lebanan, South Arabia and Palestine. Delegations from the middle-west cities were also there.

It is interesting to give you the viewpoint of an American girl of Syrian descent who attended the banquet. She sells cigars at the Hotel counter. I asked her what she thought of the meeting and she said she was not very impressed - that she was given a free ticket and therefore attended. That sne does not understand Arabic and wasted her entire evening, and she could not see why so many people attended.

I then spoke to attorney Philip Alexander, active among the Syrians in Detroit. I asked him who attended the meeting and he said he could divided them into three groups as follows: (1) Obligated. When I asked him what he meant by that word, he answered: "For instance, myself. When asked I could

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not refuse because I would be condemned by the Arabic world in Detroit. (2) Those who attended for curiosity's sake. (3) Those who have intense loyalty to the old world. He claimed that the Arab celebreties came to Detroit purely for commercial purposes.

I asked him then about the recent Syrian uprisings, and he stated he speaks as an American and if this country is to take an interest in the whole world, it might as well see that it is done on a democratic basis, and not allign itself with the plutocrats of the world. That the Syrians resented the attitude of the French, feeling they were only recently liberated themselves and now are trying to cause trouble for others.

In speaking further about the Syrian situation, he stated the English and the French are battling for the lifeline in the East, and England does not want France to create a turmoil which might inflame the entire East. That England at present has a calm sea and is afraid of creating a boiling pot.

In talking about the meeting, he personally felt there were too many speeches but he liked the speech of the Prince in which he called upon the Americans to be loyal to their own country; and did not call for support of the Arab world. He did not ask those present to go back to the old country but invited them there for a visit. (SL - A Syrian sitting next to me remarked "He does not want us around. We might sell the Syrians the idea about better standards of living."

Alexander and I then discussed Palestine, and he stated that the Arabs in Detroit are convinced that Palestine will be a Jewish Commonwealth; that the Arab League for Democracy tried to organize a meeting in Detroit recently to protest against the Jews but that he personally was against it, because in his opinion you cannot destroy opposition. His reasoning is as follows: "When the Jews in Palestine get powerful, if their intention is to dominate the Arab world and the near East, they will kill the Arabs and get public opinion against them. If on the other hand their intentions are to come to settle peacefully, nobody will be hurt. Some of us feel the Jews will not get along among themselves and if their intentions are bad, they will destroy one another."

* * *

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Office Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

OSS AB-316 JUL 27 1945 LIBRARY

TO : Mr. Bjarne Braatoy AB

FROM : John Norman JN

OSS-San Francisco

DATE: 25 July 1945

SUBJECT: Conversation with Sidi Mohamad Ali Barada in Hollywood on 18 July 1945.

JUL 1945 RECEIVED

Report No. 438

Here is the biographical material requested by FN in Washington on Sidi Mohamad Ali Barada, president of Free Colonies Incorporated. The data was provided by Mr. Barada himself in an interview given in Hollywood on 18 July.

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With his swarthy features Barada looks like the Arab he is. He is a middle sized, corpulent, balding, wrinkle-less individual who does not look his fifty-one years. As he conversed he lolled on a half dozen cushions sipping good Scotch and smoking from a gurgling water pipe. His quarters were untidily comfortable in the Bohemian manner and were located in a place called the French Village, directly across the street from the Hollywood Bowl at 2342 Highland Avenue.

Barada was born on 27 October 1893 in Fez, Morocco. He studied both at the University of Fez and the nearby University of Meknes, after which he spent some time studying in the following places: the University of Foreign Industries in Paris, a small university in Manchester, England, Columbia University, and Stanford University. His major fields of study were English and Economics.

Barada was very active in Moroccan politics. He published a newspaper in Fez, and after eleven months of activity the

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publishing house was burned down by nobody knows whom. His political and journalistic efforts aimed at emphasizing for his people the fact that Morocco was a protectorate and not a colony, and that in due time the Moroccans could free themselves by knowledge and wisdom rather than force. "The curse of our country is the strong class distinctions there," the former prince declared. "Our worst enemies are our own rulers." This thought was later repeated: "Our own native rulers appointed by France have done more harm than the French Government itself." However, Barada explained, "the corrupt methods of the French are almost as bad as those of the Nazis." The French authorities expelled Barada from Morocco on twenty-four hour notice, and informed him that his living expenses would be provided for as long as he did not return to his native country. The French paid for a time but soon ceased doing so.

Barada, who first came to the United States twenty-five years ago, became an American citizen about ten years later. Extremely proud of his citizenship, he has abjured his title of Prince. He married and later divorced the Baltimore heiress and Vassar graduate, Mary McKormick Finney. A boy was born of this marriage. (If Barada was heard correctly, he is the uncle of the Sultan of Morocco).

Barada considers himself a businessman -- specifically, a dealer in Moroccan goods. He claims to have been connected with the following firms: John Wanamaker in New York, May Company in

Cleveland and Akron, B.H. Dyes of Hollywood and Los Angeles, and the City of Paris in San Francisco. He said that he himself once "had" six retail shops. He has crossed the ocean many times on business and took occasion to meet many Arab leaders in North Africa.

Barada at present devotes much time to writing short stories for magazines and ghost stories for the movies. He has written numerous articles and letters to the editors of various newspapers on Arab affairs. He displayed some of these. Not long ago he went to work for the Lockheed Aircraft in what appears to have been a blaze of publicity. (He showed me clippings containing pictures of himself as a prince in overalls. One picture showed him with Maria Montez in the Lockheed Company). He claims to have worked in every department of the huge factory, his object having been the recruitment of local Arabs for work there. His pride of citizenship has manifested itself in such things as being an air raid warden, the writing of numerous letters to public officials, and the contributing of money to the United States Treasury.

For twenty years attempts have been made to incorporate the Free Colonies group, but Barada was against them. Just before the United Nations Conference opened in San Francisco, he received communications from this group in Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco asking him to reorganize Free Colonies so that it could present its views to the Conference. In April, therefore, the

organization was registered in Sacramento and in Los Angeles County as an educational, non-commercial, and non-profit corporation. No fees are charged and no contributions solicited or desired. The purpose of the organization is an educational one. The membership in the United States is claimed to be about 200,000. The same number is also claimed for Morocco alone.

The vice president of Free Colonies Incorporated is Mohamed Zwitin, who has spent three and a half years in the United States Army and has returned to civilian life about two weeks prior to this interview. The secretary is Kaye Hedy, who is at present doing some mining research in Mexico. The treasurer is Miss Fannie Hyde, who is described as an American scholar. Four members of Free Colonies went to San Francisco including Hedy and Barada. They stayed there during the whole period of the Conference. Barada, who received a pass on the recommendation of Stettinius himself (he showed a letter signed by the former Secretary of State to that effect), attended every plenary session. He claims to have spoken to most of the Conference leaders including Molotov, Padilla, General Romulo, and all the Arab delegates. "The Arab delegates don't want me to say anything."

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Information from [illegible] AB-218

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March 29, 1943.

Syrian-Lebanon American Federation of the Eastern States

All entities in the old country represented. There was some disagreement concerning the title for this organization. It was thought by some that "Syrian American" was enough. Finally it was decided to make the name "Syrian Lebanon"--but that includes also the Palestinian--in fact, all Arabic-speaking peoples. "American" was inserted to indicate that the members of the Federation are American citizens. Altogether there are four federations. They have the same name with only slight local differences. Headquarters in Boston. President: George M. Barakat, 60 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts. He is an attorney and would furnish further information regarding the Federation.

Syrian-Lebanese American Federation of the South

Headquarters not certain--probably Birmingham, Alabama. Dr. Khoury may be president of the organization. Since the beginning of the war, they have suspended their conventions and elections of officers.

MidWestern States American-Syrian Federation (Not exact title)

The term "Lebanon" may be omitted from the title. Headquarters, Chicago. The person in charge is Mr. S. J. Sa'd whose address is 222 Keystone Avenue, River Forest, Illinois.

Federation of the Far West States

Centered in Los Angeles. The director is Abraham Ma'aloof.

Members of these organizations do not interfere in the politics of the old country--and they have organized for the purpose of expressing themselves socially, culturally and philanthropically. Each branch has its own separate meetings, conventions, etc. Before the war, plans were set afoot for the amalgamation of these Federations into one organization, national in scope, and they went as far as to draft a constitution for the national federation. Members of the four federations were about to elect a central board when the war intervened and the plans were suspended. There is no real central organization at the present time.

Mr. ~~Muchlezell ?~~ Mokarzel owner and publisher of Al-Hoda has stood aloof from these Federations. He belongs to the Maronite group. He adheres to the belief that Lebanon should be a separate state. He tried to sponsor a movement which he named the"Lebanon Awakening " (not exact title). This was successful for a while but it is rather quiet now. Recently the leaders of the four Federations tried to get Mr. Mokarzel to come into their organization in cooperation with them, but he didntt come back completely--he attended a few meetings and conventions, but nothing further developed.

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From: Nabih Amin Faris

Subject: List of Syrio-Lebanese Notables

[Supplied by MR. NASEEB ARIDA, ed. Mersat-ul-Gharb, New York.]

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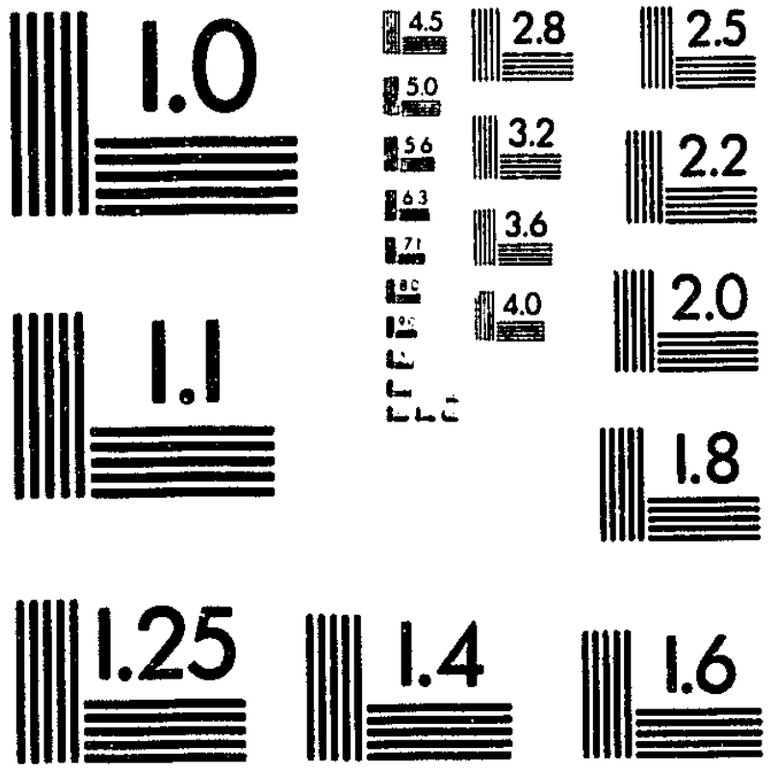
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